AN HISTORICAL CONNECTION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS

COMPRISING THE
HISTORY OF THE JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,
FROM THE DECLINE OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH
AND ISRAEL TO THE TIME OF CHRIST.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D.

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BY

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D.D.,

DEAN OF NORWICH.

NEW EDITION, REVISED,

WITH NOTES, ANALYSES, AND INTRODUCTORY REVIEW,

BY J. TALBOYS WHEELER,

AUTHOR OF THE "ANALYSES AND SUMMARIES OF OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY," "GEOGRAPHY OF HERODOTUS," ETC., ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES. — VOL. I.

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INTRODUCTORY REVIEW

OF PRIDEAUX'S

CONNECTION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

COMPRISING AN

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE SIX CENTURIES IMMEDIATELY

PRECEDING THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

BY

J. TALBOYS WHEELER.

THE present work forms the first portion of a new edition of those three celebrated Connections of Sacred and Profane History, by Prideaux, Shuckford, and Russell, which combine the several annals of mankind from the creation of the world to the advent of the Redeemer. In the years 1715 and 1718, the learned Dean Prideaux first published the present Connection. His object was to bridge over the great chasm between the Old Testament and the New, by combining in one continuous narrative the history of the Jews and other nations of the ancient world, as contained in the works of Josephus and the Rabbinical writers on the one side, and in those of the multitude of Greek and Roman historians on the other. All this he achieved, and at the same time illustrated the whole by exhibiting throughout his book the results of a profound Biblical and philological knowledge, and such a critical acquaintance with geography and antiquarian lore as belonged to his age. This design Dr. Shuckford endeavoured to extend and complete, by connecting the sacred and profane histories of the whole preceding period, namely, from the creation of the world down to the captivities of Israel and

Judah, which form the opening events in the Connection of Prideaux. Accordingly, in 1727, he published his first volume, and in 1736 he published his third; but the latter brings down the connected history only to the death of Joshua; and a century passed away before the design was resumed. At last, in 1827–1836, the works of Shuckford and Prideaux were finally united by Dr. Russell; and thus was completed the connection of Sacred and Profane History from the Creation of the World to the Redemption of Mankind. [1]

[1] In the original editions Prideaux's Connection formed 2 volumes folio, or 4 volumes 8vo; Shuckford's Connection, together with his Dissertation on the Creation and Fall of Man, likewise occupied 4 volumes, 8vo; whilst Russell's Connection was comprised in 3 volumes, 8vo. In the present edition the whole series of 11 volumes, with numerous editorial additions, will all be comprised in 6 volumes, 8vo.

It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the importance of this undertaking, carried out as it was by three orthodox scholars so eminent in their several generations. Indeed for more than a century the works of Prideaux and Shuckford have been held in the highest esteem throughout both England and the Continent, and have been translated into more than one continental language; whilst the learned and comprehensive work of Dr. Russell has been duly appreciated, not only as perfecting the scheme of his predecessors, but as exhibiting the results of a profound and varied scholarship in a congenial spirit of unshaken orthodoxy and Christian zeal. Still the unparalleled discoveries which of late years have been effected in Egypt, Assyria, and the far East, have to some extent impaired the usefulness of the entire series, and consequently there remained much for a modern editor to accomplish before the several Connections could be elevated to the present standard of knowledge. The critical examinations of the Zendavesta, and advance in geographical information since the days of Prideaux; the grand achievements in the fields of comparative philology and mythology since the time of Shuckford; and the astounding discoveries in Egyptian hieroglyphics and Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions since the more recent date when Dr. Russell published his last volume; are alone sufficient to indicate the time and labour to be expended in rendering these three great works extensively useful to the theological students of the present generation. Moreover, besides this class of additions, the Editor has sought to introduce throughout the entire series those modern appliances by

which the labour of the student is abridged, and a multitude of varied facts the more easily impressed upon his memory. In all previous editions, the progress of the reader was necessarily dreary and slow, owing to the utter absence of "contents," and the wearying length of the paragraphs. They neither possessed landmarks for mapping out the subjects, nor analyses for the digestion of facts; and nothing but the intrinsic value of the matter could have induced scholars to expend so much labour in mastering it. In the present edition, therefore, the Editor has introduced similar aids to those which characterized his Analyses and Summaries of Herodotus and Thucydides, and of Old and New Testament History. In the first place, the books in which Prideaux, Shuckford, and Russell had arranged their several labours, have again been separated into divisions, and each division into shorter paragraphs, more in accordance with the subject-matter. Secondly, such an analytical heading and date have been attached to each paragraph, division, and book, as will sufficiently indicate the contents. Thirdly, a list of the contemporary kings, prophets, and high priests, has been added, wherever necessary, to the title of each division. Fourthly, such head-lines and dates have been placed at the top of every page, as will at once put the reader in possession of the period and subject at any opening of the book. Fifthly, all the "contents" of the paragraphs are thrown together at the commencement of each volume, so as to form a complete and comprehensive analysis of the whole.

The present Connection, by Dean Prideaux, required these analytical aids to a much greater extent than the works of Shuckford or Russell, but it needed fewer corrections or additions. The abundance of our author's historical materials, and the numerous nations to which they referred, demanded in an especial manner the careful mapping out of subjects and labelling of paragraphs; but, at the same time, the matter of his book is much less affected than the works of his successors by the grand discoveries which have followed modern investigations. The results of later geographical researches have in the present edition been inserted wherever it was deemed necessary; and a further inquiry into the true date and character of Zoroaster and the Zendavesta has been likewise added to our Author's account of the Magian religion. But on nearly all other points the statements and opinions of the great Dean are still held to be of the highest

authority; and indeed his deep and profound knowledge, not only of the whole range of Greek and Roman literature, but of all the host of commentators, Christian and Rabbinical, has rarely been equalled. The revision of the Scriptures by Ezra and the Great Synagogue, the prophecies of Daniel, the origin and character of the Septuagint, the Mishnah, the Gemaras, the Talmuds, and the Targums, the constitution of the Sanhedrin, —the establishment of Synagogues and the Synagogue service, the schools of the Masorites, Cabbalists, Scribes, Lawyers, and Rabbis,—the ancient cycles for calculating festivals, and the practices, doctrines, and philosophical notions of Jewish sects and Samaritan heretics,—are all treated with an unwearied labour and exhaustive learning which have never been surpassed since the venerable scholar first gave his volumes to the world.

The period selected by Prideaux was indeed one which required not only the grasp of a comprehensive genius, but the treatment of a scholar who should at once be a Hebraist and a Classic, a zealous divine and an orthodox historian. But in the time of our author, what may be called the philosophy of history was in a great measure disregarded. The moral conduct of individuals was judged by too narrow a standard; whilst the great political lessons which may be deduced from the rise and fall of nations were but too frequently passed over in silence. We therefore propose to take, within the compass of a few pages, a review of the general history of the entire period from the end of the Old Testament to the end of the New; illustrating the history of the Jews by the history of the world; and thus supplying the only defect in our author's work, namely, the want of such a grouping together of the leading ideas which belong to the several annals, as may enable the student to take at one view a comprehensive and philosophical survey of the whole.

B.C. 600

The very commencement of the period under review was a grand crisis, not only in the history of the Jews, but in the historical progress and spiritual development of the whole human race. It was the opening of the second act in the great drama of human advancement. Japhet was about to dwell in the tents of Shem. The empires established by Shemitic races were

about to pass into the hands of Japhetic conquerors. The agony of Ham was already complete, and henceforth the conflict was to be between the spiritual and the intellectual, the profound contemplation and burning religion of the Shemites, and the more comprehensive genius in science, politics, and war of the sons of Japhet. The sceptres of Nineveh, of Babylon, and of Memphis were to be swayed by Arian hands. The arts of Greece, the arms of Rome, and the intellect and energy of Saxon and of Teuton, were to conquer and civilize the world.

Coëxistent with this historical crisis was a spiritual revolution. In all directions the mythologies of the several races, the petrifactions of the first efforts of awakening conscience, were rent asunder by the volcano of religious reformation. The Pantheons of the Hindoos, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians, were as rudely invaded by the Reformers of the sixth century before Christ, as the Christian Pantheon of the Romanists was assailed by the Reformers of the sixteenth century of the Christian era. In India the mythology of the Vedas was broken through by the teachings of Buddha, who threw away the whole ceremonial of Brahmanism, with all its sacrifices, penances, and castes, changed the complicated systems of old Hindoo philosophy into a short doctrine of salvation, and enforced the duties of morality, justice, kindness, and self-sacrifice. In Central Asia, the migration of that great branch of the Arian race whose line of march is indicated in the Zendavesta had carried with it the Zoroastrian faith of Ormuzd. The worshippers of fire, with all the stern enthusiasm of the Puritans, were trampling under foot the idolatries of the West, the sensual heathenism of the Sabæans, the horrible rites of the Magian Medes, and the grovelling animal worship of the besotted Egyptians. In Europe, the intellectual and civilized Greek and the tattooed and savage barbarian were alike yielding to the influence of this wide-spreading revolution in religious belief. The poets and philosophers of Hellas were contemplating the mysteries of Eleusis, or discussing the doctrines of Pythagoras and Orpheus:—mysteries which initiated the trembling devotee into the secrets of immortality, the happy tranquillity of the Islands of the Blessed, and the mysterious horrors of the under-world; doctrines which taught him a purer morality on earth, and instilled in him brighter hopes of the world beyond the grave. And, perchance, even at that early time, the painted savages of

Britain were already imbibing from the Druidical hierarchy the dogma of the transmigration and immortality of the soul; whilst the Scalds of the wild and icy North may even then have awakened to a sense of the imperfections of their warlike deities, and from the depths of their moral consciousness may already have foretold that terrible twilight of the gods, when Odin and Valhalla should pass away, a mightier Deity and a purer heaven arise upon their ruins, and cowardice and courage be no longer regarded as the only standards of evil and of good.

B.C. 563-480

The general history of the six centuries before Christ is a series of gorgeous pictures. The Arian empire, better known as the Medo-Persian, was established by Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspis, on the ruins of the Bactrian, the Median, the Babylonian, the Lydian, and the Egyptian. It extended from the classic waves of the Ægean and Mediterranean to the snowy heights of the Hindoo Koosh and sandy banks of the Oxus and Jaxartes, and thus embraced the vast region bounded east and west by the two mysterious and crocodile-bearing rivers, the Indus and the Nile. The varicoloured battlements of Ecbatana, the palaces and hanging gardens of Babylon, the marble shrines of Ionia, the pictured temples and stupendous pyramids of Egypt, the golden Belus and the voluptuous Astarte, bright Apollo and beautiful Aphrodite, all became the prize of that hardy race of conquerors who came from the land of Ormuzd and Jemshid, who possessed neither gods nor temples, but worshipped the rising sun from the tops of the loftiest mountains. The Persians had indeed burst like a torrent upon Western Asia; but the nomad tribes of the north still defied their arms, as they had done in the days of Jemshid. The old struggle between Iran and Turan still continued; for neither Cyrus nor Darius could overcome the kingdom of Turan—the hordes of Tartary or the hordes of Southern Russia. Iran, unable to inflict a deadly blow on Turan, rushed on to Hellas. The impassioned Ionians of Asia, who had been trampled down by Cyrus, arose against Darius Hystaspis, and Athens aided them in the struggle. But the time for liberty had not yet arrived. The insurrection was crushed by overwhelming forces, and massacres, confiscations, and slavery broke the spirit of the Asiatic Greeks. Then the haughty Persian sought to avenge himself on that presumptuous foe which had dared to support the rebellion

of his slaves. The noblest virgins of Athens should be handmaidens to his queens; her proudest sons should be eunuchs in his harem; her insolent democracy should be trampled beneath the iron hoof of Persian despotism. A mighty armament reached the shores of Attica; but young Athens, exulting in new-born liberty, marched out to Marathon in festival array, and drove the barbarians from the soil. The Persian king, maddened by defeat, aroused all Asia for another expedition; but death carried him away in the midst of his preparations. His son Xerxes succeeded to the empire and the conflict. The story of his expedition is familiar to all men. Armies bridged the seas, and navies sailed through mountains; but proud and stubborn Greece staked her all against the foreign despot. Heaven itself sympathized with such lofty patriotism and heroic valour: the winds and waves came to the succour of Hellas. At Thermopylæ she gained immortal glory; at Salamis and Platæa she found victory and revenge.

The tide of Persian conquest was thus rolled back from the shores of Europe. The mortified despot sought to drown the memory of his defeat in the rainbow palaces and park-like gardens of Susa and Persepolis, in a constant change of concubines and perpetual banquetings in luxurious pavilions—couches of gold and silver—flowers, wines, and perfumes—the richest robes and the rarest gems. The imperial voluptuousness described in the Book of Esther surpasses all that has been depicted in the tales of the Arabian Nights, but finds a fitting moral in the stories of Amestris and Parysatis, and the dark and horrible deeds which stain the later annals of the Persian empire. The history of the century and a half which intervenes between the battle of Salamis and the burning of Persepolis is a frightful chronicle of intrigues and jealousies, treacherous poisonings and revolting outrages. The government was wholly concentrated in the seraglio, and the seraglio became a theatre of horrors, in which the leading actors were vindictive women, with the malevolence of fiends, and perfidious eunuchs, with the bloodthirsty instincts of savage beasts. The monstrous abuses in the court were followed by fatal rebellions in the provinces. The empire was fast hastening to its dissolution, when its total overthrow was suddenly achieved by a foreign hand.

The world was now to be the scene of one of the grandest reactions in its history. Europe was to avenge herself upon Asia for the invasion of Hellas,

as she subsequently avenged herself by the Crusades for the Mohammedan conquest of Spain. In Greece the repulse of the Persian had been followed by the tremendous struggle between Athens and Sparta, and then by the struggle between Sparta and Thebes. The national patriotism of Hellas disappeared; but, meantime, whilst the voice of inspiration was dying away from Zion, the intellect of the Hellenes achieved its loftiest triumphs. The spiritual fervour of the chosen children of Shem was succeeded by the intellectual energy of the sons of Japhet. The histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, the dramas of Æschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles, the mocking satire of Aristophanes, the teachings of Socrates, the ideal philosophy of Plato, the practical philosophy of Aristotle, and the burning oratory of Isocrates and Demosthenes, were then first given to the Greek world; and at the same time the gods of Olympus were revealing themselves beneath the chisels of Phidias and Praxiteles, in all the purity and beauty in which they had first appeared to the glowing visions of the epic bards. But Hellas was doomed. Disunion and decay rendered her an easy prey to the barbarian arms and intrigues of Philip of Macedon; her liberties expired for ever on the field of Cheronea. The dagger of the assassin carried away her conqueror, and Alexander the Great ascended the throne of Macedonia.

B.C. 336-323

The invasion of Persia had been projected by Philip to distract the attention of Hellas from her degradation. [B. C. 336-323.] The conquest of Asia was achieved by a prince who succeeded to a throne at twenty, and died at thirty-three. The Macedonian kingdom included the modern provinces of European Turkey, and extended from the Danube to the southern points of the Peloponnesus. With a mixed array of 35,000 horse and foot, drawn from this limited territory, Alexander crossed the Hellespont into Asia Minor, and gained his first triumph over the Persian on the banks of the Granicus. The Gordian knot was cut in twain. Then followed a victory over half a million of the enemy in the narrow plain of Issus. All Asia was aroused. Phoenicia, Palestine, and Egypt submitted. The young conqueror founded the city of Alexandria at the mouth of the Nile, and penetrated the burning sands of Sahara to the oasis of Siwah, there to offer sacrifice in the mysterious temple of Jupiter Ammon. From the West

he sped to the East. Leading his army over the Euphrates and Tigris, he at last struck the fatal blow in the battle of Arbela. A million warriors were utterly routed, and the panic-stricken Darius fled in dismay to fall by the hand of a traitor. Alexander abandoned himself to wine and beauty in the gorgeous palaces of Babylon and Susa. Within a century and a half from the burning of Athens by Xerxes, the flames of Persepolis proclaimed to the world that the Persian empire was destroyed, and that Asia must henceforth acknowledge a new lord and master.

But the career of Alexander had only just commenced. He passed over the eastern Caucasus, the Hindoo Koosh, and traversed Bactria to the Oxus and Jaxartes. He crossed the Indus for the invasion of India, and defeated Porus on the banks of the Hydaspes, near the scene of the modern battle of Chillianwallah. He advanced through the Punjab to the banks of the Sutlej; but here the prayers and entreaties of his exhausted veterans compelled him to retrace his steps to Susa, whilst his fleet descended the Indus, under Nearchus, and navigated the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. At last, in spite of the warnings of the Chaldæan astrologers, Alexander returned to Babylon. The conquest of Asia had fired his imagination, and he panted to conquer the world. He would subdue Arabia, Carthage, Italy, and the far West. Babylon should become the capital of an empire which should stretch from the rising to the setting sun. Death broke in upon the ambitious dream. In the midst of his revels and preparations, the conqueror of Asia was carried off by a drunken fever.

The great horn of the he-goat was thus broken. A fearful struggle arose between the generals of Alexander for the possession of his empire. For a quarter of a century western Asia was the theatre of wars as terrible as those which desolated Hindostan after the fall of the Mogul empire. Lured by licence and rapine, the rival armies were constantly recruited by the mountaineers of Asia Minor and nomads of Syria and Kurdistan. At length the storm exhausted itself, and comparative tranquillity followed. The four surviving generals divided the empire between them. The four horns of the he-goat and the four heads of the leopard were represented by the four kingdoms. Macedonia and Greece fell to Cassander; Thrace and Asia Minor to Lysimachus; Egypt, Palestine, and the hollow vale of Cœle-Syria between the two Lebanons, to Ptolemy Lagus; and all the vast territory of

Central Asia, from the Halys to the Indus, better known as the great Syrian empire, was given to Seleucus. The supremacy over Judea, previously possessed by Persia, thus fell to Egypt, and was subsequently retained by the Ptolemies for a hundred years; after which, for a brief interval it passed, as we shall see, into the hands of Syria, from whom it was finally wrested by the arms of the Maccabees.

The history of the Jewish provinces under the domination of Persia, Egypt, and Syria, is lost in the history of empires. The books of the Chronicles of Judah and Israel were abruptly closed by the Babylonian captivity. The scribe no longer stood at the king's right hand to record the wars with Benhadad, or perpetuate the national deliverance from Moab or Ammon. Henceforth it was his lofty mission to preserve intact the Law and the Prophets amidst the wreck of the Mosaic institutions and the contaminations of foreign idolatries. Thus the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, a few allusions in the later prophecies, and a few doubtful traditions preserved in Josephus and in the Apocrypha and Talmud, are our only records of the four centuries intervening between the Babylonian captivity and the war of independence under the Maccabees; and the annals of Judæa are as silent under the domination of Persia, Egypt, and Syria, as the annals of Britain during the four centuries of Roman supremacy. After the return from captivity, Judæa was governed by its own high priest, assisted apparently by a national council composed of chief priests, scribes, and elders, known as the Sanhedrin. But at the same time the Jewish people paid a fixed yearly tribute to the prevailing power, whether Persian, Egyptian, or Syrian, and were at times required to furnish a contingent to the armies of their foreign masters. Whilst Persia was warring against Hellas, whilst Greek was warring against Greek, whilst Alexander, like a second Bacchus, was traversing Asia from the Hellespont to the Indus, the Jewish rulers were busied with the rebuilding of the temple, the restoration of the law, and the revision of the Scriptures; and the nation appears to have been chiefly disturbed by conflicts with Samaritan heretics, and occasional quarrels between rival candidates for the high priesthood.

But meantime the national character had undergone considerable modification. The Captivity had purified the masses from idolatry; and the children of Israel no longer yielded to the fascinations of Baal and Astarte,

or yearned towards the worship of the host of heaven. They exhibited rather a leaning towards the Persian followers of Zoroaster; and it is a significant fact that the iconoclasts who so rudely assailed the shrines of Egypt and Ionia, should have permitted the restoration of the temple at Jerusalem. In some points, however, there was but little conflict between the faith of the Arians and the faith of the Hebrews. The worshippers of Ormuzd had arrived at a far higher conception of the Divine Being than the Sabæan idolaters of the West. Cyrus especially acknowledged and obeyed the Lord God of heaven, "the Lord which formed the light and created darkness," and who was thus to be identified with that glorious abstraction of "Uncreated Time," who was himself the creator of Ormuzd and Ahriman. At a subsequent period, when the nationality of the Jews had grown more intense, the people regarded the Zoroastrian Gentiles with more intolerance. The Hebrew author of the Book of Esther exulted in the elevation of his heroine to the throne of Persia. It is only in the Greek apocryphal additions of a later age that she is represented as expressing a loathing of her position, "hating the glory of the unrighteous, and abhorring the bed of the uncircumcised."

At the same time the political and social condition of the people had greatly changed. Under Zerubbabel and Ezra, the Jewish settlements were confined to Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood, but in the age of the Ptolemies and Seleucidæ they had spread over Palestine. Some had passed to the north of the Samaritans, and, mingling with the Gentiles of Galilee, had cultivated that rich and fruitful country as far as the borders of Phoenicia and Syria, or established themselves as fishermen on the shores of lake Gennesaret. Others had crossed the Jordan into Peræa, and grazed cattle in the fat pasture-lands of Gilead and Bashan, surrounded by the Bedouins and other wandering robbers of the desert. Meantime commerical relations were fast spreading between Judæa and foreign countries. During the Captivity, the Jews generally had acquired that taste for banking and retail trade which they still retain. When Alexandria was outstripping Tyre and Sidon, and becoming the emporium of the world, Ptolemy I. had transplanted a large body of Jews to the new city, where they rapidly increased in numbers, wealth, and influence, and soon had a synagogue and government of their own. The Jewish rabbis thus came in contact with the

Greek literati; and the Hebrew Scriptures were for the first time translated into the Greek language, and given to the world under the name of the Septuagint.

But a time of trial for the Jewish nation was at hand. During the struggle between the generals of Alexander, Palestine had been frequently both the theatre and the prize of the contest between the governors of Egypt and Syria; and the commencement of the second century before Christ saw a renewal of the conflict, and a transfer of the supremacy from the Ptolemies to the Seleucidæ.

The contemporary history of the Macedonian kingdoms of Egypt and Syria deserves a careful study. A Græco-Egyptian influence hovered over the orthodox inhabitants of Judæa; whilst a still stronger Græco-Syrian influence acted upon the more Gentilized Jews of Galilee and Peræa. Egypt undoubtedly flourished under the three first Ptolemies. At Alexandria the sciences found not only a shelter, but a rallying point amidst the destruction and revolutions of the world around. The third Ptolemy wrested from the Seleucidæ all Syria as far as the Euphrates, and conquered Nubia and Abyssinia as far as the Blue Nile. But the court at Alexandria was thrown open to effeminate luxury. The royal blood was foully contaminated by pernicious intermarriages, and the fourth Ptolemy was the first of a series of the most degraded sensualists that ever disgraced a throne. Meantime the great Syrian empire of the Seleucidæ had approached the verge of ruin. In the East, Parthia and Bactria had broken off from the parent state and become independent empires, whilst Persia and Media were in a state of revolt. In the West, her provinces in Asia Minor were annexed to the kingdom of Pergamus. In the centre, Syria Proper was torn away by Egypt. At this juncture Antiochus III., afterwards surnamed the Great, ascended the tottering throne, and by the recovery of Persia, Media, and Syria, and the conquest of Palestine and Cæle-Syria, restored for a brief period the empire of Seleucus Nicator to nearly all its pristine glory. The unexpected and decisive defeat at Raphia checked him only for awhile. Leaving the West, he undertook a successful expedition into Upper Asia, and crossing the Hindoo Koosh, formed an alliance with the Indian king, Sophagesenus. At this moment the infant Ptolemy V. ascended the throne of Egypt, and Antiochus took advantage of the crisis. He again seized upon Palestine and

Cæle-Syria, which he had lost after the battle of Raphia, and formed a league with Philip V. of Macedon for the partition of all the Egyptian dominions.

But now the grand prophetic vision vouchsafed to Nebuchadnezzar was approaching its fulfilment. The great image of excellent brightness and terrible form was nearly completed. The Babylonian empire of gold, the Medo-Persian empire of silver, and the Macedonian empire of brass, were now to give place to that empire of iron, which, in its turn, was to be broken into pieces by the stone cut out without hands.

The eye of the historian is suddenly turned from the languid streams of the Euphrates and Tigris, to the cold waters of the yellow Tiber. There, near the time when the ten tribes of Israel were carried into Assyrian captivity, the stern old Romans first built their rocky nest on the Palatine hill. The annals of the infant city are almost lost in a cloud of heroic legends. But amidst domestic broils of patricians and plebeians and desperate wars with neighbouring states, a constitution sprang, which bound her sons together by the equal love of liberty and law, and taught them to glory in the title of citizens of Rome. The political divisions of Italy laid the foundations of her dominion, and the want of political union in the world at large paved her way to universal empire. Whilst Judæa still paid tribute to the Ptolemies, the conflict began between Rome and Carthage. Whilst Antiochus was pursuing a career of glory in the East, Hannibal was carrying the second Punic war into the heart of Italy. When Scipio had reduced Carthage to submission, the Romans began to interfere in the East, and first came into collision with Antiochus. They took the young Ptolemy V. under their protection. They utterly defeated Philip V. of Macedon, and thus brought Macedonia and Greece into dependence upon Rome. They sent an embassy to warn Antiochus not to interfere with the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Antiochus, puffed up with the renown of his Indian expedition, dismissed the ambassadors, and thus the war began. At this crisis Antiochus was joined by Hannibal. The old Carthaginian hero still breathed the same bitter vengeance against Rome, as when he had laid his infant hand upon the altar and sworn eternal hostility. Eager to renew the triumphs of Thrasymenus and Cannæ, he boldly advised another campaign in Italy. Antiochus, however, adopted a feeble and fatal policy. He entered Greece, but was

driven out by the Romans, who followed up their success by the invasion of Asia and the victory at Magnesia. Antiochus, utterly defeated, was compelled to evacuate Asia Minor, and pay the expenses of the war. The power of the Syrian empire was thus for ever broken. The Seleucidæ were doomed to become more and more dependent upon Rome, until another century saw their dominions formally annexed as a province to the Roman empire.

B.C. 176-168

Meanwhile, however, the death of Antiochus the Great was followed by a few years of forced tranquillity. A terrible storm then burst upon Judæa. Another Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, sat upon the throne of Syria. Epiphanes had been educated at Rome, and now sought to Romanize the Syrian empire. The Jews especially fell victims to this mania. The struggles for the high priesthood rose to an alarming height. Rival candidates were eager to purchase the support of Epiphanes, not only by lavish offers of money, but by apostatising from the faith of their fathers and worshipping the divinities of Greece and Rome. Joshua, one of these infamous intriguers, having succeeded in obtaining the pontificate, resolutely set himself to carry out the policy of Epiphanes. He assumed the Greek name of Jason. He suffered the temple services to fall into disuse. He erected a gymnasium at Jerusalem. He endeavoured to wean the young men of the principal Jewish families from the true faith by the fascinations of Greek manners, Greek arts, Greek vices, and Greek worship. In three years, however, another apostate, named Menelaus, succeeded, by means of still larger bribes to Epiphanes, in obtaining a transfer of the pontificate to himself. A tumult arose. At the same time Jason expelled Menelaus by force, and regained the high priesthood. Epiphanes, on hearing the news, supposed that the whole Jewish nation had revolted. He immediately marched to Jerusalem, reinstated Menelaus, and within three days is said to have slain 40,000 of the inhabitants, and sold as many more into slavery. This terrible massacre was followed by an awful sacrilege. Epiphanes determined to pollute the temple at Jerusalem beyond all hope of purification, and thus to root out the worship of Jehovah for ever, and drive the people to the worship of the Greek gods. He entered every part of the sanctuary, and was even conducted by the apostate Menelaus into the

mysterious Holy of Holies. He commanded a sow to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt-offering, and sprinkled the entire temple with a vile broth made from the flesh. He then carried away all the sacred utensils, the golden candlestick, the table of shewbread, and the altar of incense: and having appointed two foreign officers over Jerusalem and Samaria, he returned to Syria with an immense booty.

Having thus crushed Judæa, Epiphanes invaded Egypt. Within two years that country was within his grasp, when he was compelled by the all-powerful Romans to relinquish his prey. Maddened by disappointment, he vented his wrath upon the Jews, and sent his general, Apollonius, to execute his vengeance. Amidst the holy silence of the Hebrew sabbath, Apollonius let loose his brutal soldiery upon Jerusalem. Multitudes were butchered in the streets; women and children were dragged into slavery; houses were plundered and walls demolished. A strong fortress was erected on the highest part of Mount Sion, to command the surrounding country, and cut off all approach to the temple on Mount Moriah. An aged Greek named Athenæus was dispatched to initiate the Jews in the ceremonies and usages of the Greek religion, and to enforce compliance with the will of Epiphanes. The flames of persecution spread throughout the land. The celebration of sabbaths and festivals was punished by death. Copies of the books of the law and the prophets were destroyed by fire. The temple of Jehovah was dedicated to Jupiter, and the statue of the god was erected on the altar of burnt offerings. The riotous orgies of the Bacchanalia were substituted for the national festival of the Tabernacles; and the most horrible tortures were employed by the Syrian officers to force the pious upholders of the law to swallow the flesh of swine.

B.C. 168

Then broke out the revolt of the Maccabees. An old priest, named Matthias, publicly proclaimed in a distant town, that though all others might fall away from the true God, yet he and his sons would live and die in the faith of their fathers. He then, like another Phinehas, slew an apostate Jew who was at that moment approaching the idolatrous altar. A violent tumult ensued. A Syrian officer was slain; the altar was thrown down; and Matthias

and his sons and followers fled to the mountains and caves of Judæa to wage war against the apostasies and idolatries.

B.C. 166-146

The history of this war is preserved at length in the books of the Maccabees. Old Matthias was soon gathered to his fathers, but was succeeded in the military command by his celebrated son, Judas Maccabæus. Under the energetic rule of Judas the Hebrew patriots were speedily enabled to abandon the guerilla mode of warfare, and boldly meet the trained soldiers of Syria in the open field. Epiphanes withdrew from the contest. The idolatrous altars throughout the country were demolished; the public worship of Jehovah was resumed; the temple at Jerusalem was purified; and the Jewish nationality was saved when on the very brink of destruction.

Meantime Epiphanes died, but in the reign of his successor tremendous efforts were made to restore the Syrian ascendency in Judæa. Enormous armies of infantry, cavalry, elephants, and war-chariots invaded Palestine. The vacant high-priesthood was conferred on a tool of Syria, named Alcimus, in opposition to Judas Maccabæus, who was merely military governor of Judæa. Judas for awhile gained a succession of victories, but was at last overpowered and slain. The war was again doubtful, but the civil dissensions and family feuds which accelerated the decline of the Syrian empire paved the way to Jewish independence. Rival claimants for the Syrian throne strove to purchase the coöperation of the Jewish rulers. Jonathan, the brother of Judas, obtained the high priesthood and government of the Jews, upon the simple condition of continuing to pay tribute. His successor Simon, however, obtained in addition an immunity from all tribute whatever. Thus the cruel persecution of the Jewish faith led to the entire independence of the Jewish nation. Simon became a sovereign prince, coined money in his own name, and concluded an alliance on equal terms with the senate and people of Rome.

B.C 146-136

For a brief interval the golden age of David and Solomon seemed to be restored to Zion. Men who had fled from the persecutions of Epiphanes,

and fought valiantly under the banners of Judas and Jonathan, lived to behold their own high priest and prince reigning in triumphant splendour at Jerusalem, and the national services once more performed in strictest accordance with the laws of Moses. Quaint synagogues, with courts and porches after the fashion of the temple on Moriah, were for the first time erected throughout the towns and villages of Galilee and Judæa. The land again rejoiced in her new moons, her sabbaths, and her festivals. The Passover, which told of the deliverance from Egypt; the Pentecost, which commemorated the promulgation of the Law; the Tabernacles, which recalled the dwelling in the wilderness; the Trumpets, which proclaimed the commencement of the civil year; and the solemn fast of Expiation and day of Atonement, when the mysterious scape-goat bore away the sins of the nation; — were all zealously celebrated by a people who once again left their vines and corn-fields in perfect safety, to worship the Lord God of Israel upon his holy mountain.

B.C. 136-69

But the glory of that brief interval was soon overshadowed by civil war. The Maccabean power scarcely lasted a century. It reached its zenith in the reign of John Hyrcanus, the successor of Simon, and then rapidly declined amidst the intrigues of the Pharisees and dissensions in the royal house. With the enormous increase of traditions which followed the final revision of the Scriptures, two religious sects had sprung up in Judæa, namely, the Sadducees and the Pharisees. The Sadducees were the aristocratic party, who retained the five books of Moses only, haughtily slighting the later Scriptures, rejecting the traditions of the elders, and denying in the spirit of Epicureans the immortality of the soul. The Pharisees, on the other hand, were the democratic party, who not only received all the Scriptures, but ascribed a still greater authority to their own traditions; and, at the same time, yielded to all the popular superstitions concerning the existence of angels, and nature of the under world. John Hyrcanus was a Pharisee, but in his old age was publicly insulted by one of his own sect; a presumptuous zealot insinuated that the character of his mother was not free from stain, and that therefore he ought to retire from the high priesthood. Hyrcanus, in a transport of rage, joined the Sadducees, but died soon afterwards. The dissensions which ensued converted the two sects into political factions,

and hurried the nation into civil war. The hands of the two successors of Hyrcanus — Aristobulus and Alexander Jannæus — were imbrued with the blood of their brethren. Aristobulus died of remorse. Alexander Jannæus, whilst officiating as high priest at the feast of Tabernacles, was pelted by a Pharisaic mob, and reproached with the baseness of his descent; upon which the royal guards fell upon the unarmed multitude and slew six thousand. Alexander, whilst endeavouring to distract the attention of the factions by foreign wars, lost his entire army. The Pharisees took advantage of his weakness; and for six years they maintained a bloody war against him, utterly refusing all terms of accommodation. At last they called in the aid of Syria, and cutting off his forces to a man, compelled him to flee to the mountains. But now a sudden revulsion of feeling took place. The nation hated Syria more than it hated Alexander, and joined the exiled king in thousands. Alexander regained his crown, and cruelly revenged himself by the crucifixion of eight hundred Pharisees, and the massacre of their wives and children before their eyes. After his death the Pharisees obtained the direction of affairs. They gave the high priesthood to his son Hyrcanus II., but they themselves exercised the power. The feeble-minded Hyrcanus was utterly powerless, whilst the relentless Pharisees revenged themselves upon his father's adherents; but his brother, Aristobulus, raised an army of those adherents, and utterly defeated both Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. Aristobulus II. thus obtained the kingdom and high priesthood; and Hyrcanus, for awhile, was contented to lead a retired life under his protection.

B.C. 69-63

The political power of the Pharisees was now for ever destroyed, but an enemy yet remained to complete the downfal of the royal house of Maccabees. Antipater, father of Herod the Great, was an Idumean by birth, but a Jew by religion. He had been educated in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and there acquired great influence over the feeble mind of Hyrcanus. His ambitious hopes, like those of the Pharisees, were thwarted by the accession of Aristobulus II. At length he insinuated to Hyrcanus that his life was in danger from his brother, and persuaded him to fly to Aretas, the king of a large Arabian territory on the south of Palestine, of which the celebrated Petra was the capital. Aretas was induced to march an army to

Jerusalem for the restoration of Hyrcanus. The expedition was successful. Aristobulus was defeated, and fled for refuge to the temple on Moriah, and there prepared to stand a siege. But, in the mean time, another and a greater power appeared in the arena, and directed the destinies of Palestine with a hand of iron.

B.C. 146-118

The commonwealth of Rome was dying, but dying in the fulness of her strength. Thrones and republics were falling at her feet, whilst the throes of death were rending her in twain. Her power was spreading east and west. Carthage was destroyed. Macedonia and Greece were reduced to provinces. The kingdom of Pergamus, comprising the finest portions of Asia Minor, had fallen to her possession. But her acquisitions proved her ruin. The senatorial families absorbed the wealth of the provinces, whilst the people sank lower and lower in poverty and distress. The class of free husbandmen disappeared. Nobles had driven out the tenant farmers, and cultivated their immense estates by hosts of slaves. The new struggle between the aristocracy and democracy became more terrible than the old struggle between the patricians and plebeians. In vain the Gracchi for awhile revived the agrarian law and re-distributed the public lands; they were sacrificed in successive revulsions of public feeling, and the aristocracy again triumphed. At last a true revolutionary leader sprang from the people in the person of Marius; a rude democrat, who united the spirit of a demagogue with the powers of a general.

B.C. 118-88

Marius obtained the consulship in the Jugurthine war, at a time when the Roman people were especially exasperated at the avarice and corruption of the aristocracy. He brought the war to a triumphant conclusion, and still further increased his power and popularity by the overthrow of the gigantic Cimbri and Teutones. In the political arena he was opposed by Sylla, the leader of the aristocratic party. The hatred of these two men reached its climax during the first war against Mithridates, king of the mountainous region along the south-eastern coast of the Black Sea, known to the Roman world by the name of Pontus. Mithridates was the most powerful enemy which had appeared against Rome since the days of Hannibal. He had

massacred all the Roman citizens in Asia Minor, and taken possession of the entire country. He had passed into Europe, and made himself master of Macedonia and Greece, and even threatened Italy itself. Sylla obtained from the senate the command of the Roman army against Mithridates. Marius, however, procured from the people a transfer of the command to himself. Sylla immediately entered Rome at the head of his soldiers, and Marius and the chiefs of the democratic party were compelled to fly. Sylla then adopted certain measures for the strengthening of the senatorial party, and proceeded as speedily as possible to prosecute the war against Mithridates.

B.C. 87-79

But during that war a new and more terrible democratic revolution broke out in Rome. Marius returned from the ruins of Carthage, and was joined in Italy by Cinna's band of desperadoes. Rome was captured, and given up to massacre, pillage, and the wildest anarchy. The leading members of the aristocracy, including the most renowned senators and consuls, were ruthlessly butchered, their houses destroyed, their estates confiscated, and their dead bodies given to the dogs. The aged Marius died a few months afterwards; but a fearful punishment awaited his partisans. Sylla, having brought the war against Mithridates to a triumphant conclusion, returned to Rome burning with rage and vengeance. In a murderous battle he annihilated the adherents of Marius, and then proceeded to exterminate the democratic party by his ghastly proscriptions. Rome became a theatre of horrors. Avarice and private enmity completed the work of blood. Sylla was named perpetual dictator. The aristocracy of the senate was reëstablished, and the influence of the tribunes destroyed. But within three years Sylla voluntarily abdicated, and died shortly afterwards of a loathsome disease.

B.C. 78-63

Pompey now became the head of the aristocratic party. New dangers threatened Rome. Sertorius kindled a fresh democratic war in Spain. Bands of slaves and gladiators revolted in Italy. Fleets of pirates ravaged the Italian coasts, and threatened Rome herself with famine. Whilst, to crown all, Mithridates raised a new and fiercer tempest in the East. Pompey then commenced a career of victory. After a six years' struggle he terminated the war against Sertorius. He shared with Crassus the glory of subduing the

slaves and gladiators. He was elected consul in conjunction with Crassus. The aristocracy began to regard him with jealousy, but he openly defied their influence by joining the democratic party and reëstablishing the authority of the tribunes. He next cleared the Mediterranean of the pirates, and demolished all their strongholds. Lastly, he obtained the conduct of the war against Mithridates, whose power, however, had already been broken by the victories of Lucullus. He now triumphed in all directions. Mithridates fled to the Crimea, and shortly afterwards committed suicide. Tigranes, the old ally of Mithridates, only saved himself by abject submission. Pontus, Cilicia, and Syria were formed into Roman provinces. At this crisis Aretas retired from Jerusalem, and Pompey, whilst settling the affairs of Asia with the haughty hand of a conqueror, was humbly requested by Hyrcanus and Aristobulus to decide upon their rival claims to the Jewish throne.

B.C. 63

Pompey hesitated, but appeared to lean towards the weak Hyrcanus; and Aristobulus prepared to resist the expected decision. Pompey then marched to Jerusalem, and captured the temple after a three months' siege. He entered the sacred courts, and even penetrated the Holy of Holies, but left the treasures and sacred vessels untouched. He appointed Hyrcanus to be high-priest and governor, but required him to pay tribute to the Roman republic, and refused him permission to wear the diadem. He then carried away Aristobulus and his sons as prisoners, and returned to Rome with the intoxicating honours of a triumph.

B.C. 63-49

Antipater, from his influence over Hyrcanus, was now the actual governor of Palestine. The policy of himself and his sons was that of entire devotion to Rome, and few men understood the revolutionary changes better than Antipater and Herod. Pompey found a new rival in the more highly gifted Julius Cæsar, who united a burning ambition to the patience and energy of true genius. Cæsar formed the coalition with Pompey and Crassus known as the first triumvirate, and employed every artifice to win the favour of the people and gratify his colleagues. He obtained the government of Gaul for nine years, and was thus enabled to form a veteran

army ready and willing to carry out his designs. Pompey received Spain, but governed it by means of his lieutenants, whilst he himself remained at Rome. Crassus obtained Syria for the sake of its riches, but was defeated and slain by the Parthians in the plains of Mesopotamia. The death of Crassus reduced the triumvirate to a duumvirate. Meantime Pompey had grown bitterly jealous of the victories of Cæsar. By again joining the aristocracy, and artfully fomenting the civil broils at Rome, he had induced the senate to invest him with extraordinary powers; and he now sought to depress Cæsar, by compelling him to return to Rome as a private person. Cæsar offered to resign his command, if Pompey would do the same; but the senate, under the influence of Pompey, refused the compromise. At last, the senate commanded Cæsar to disband his army, under penalty of being declared an enemy to the republic. Two of the tribunes put their veto upon the resolution, but were set at nought. They then fled to Cæsar's camp, and summoned him to step forward as the defender of the outraged privileges of the people.

B.C. 49,48

Cæsar hesitated but for awhile, and then crossed the Rubicon and marched for Rome. Pompey now found that by joining the aristocracy he had sacrificed his popularity. His troops deserted him in crowds, and town after town opened its gates to Cæsar. Finding it impossible to maintain himself in Italy, he chose Greece for the principal theatre of the war. After a considerable delay, Cæsar followed; but a serious repulse soon after landing obliged him to retreat towards Thessaly. There the two armies met on the plains of Pharsalia; and the veterans of Cæsar gained a decisive victory over an army of double their numbers. Pompey, with a few faithful followers, fled across Asia Minor into Egypt, where he was cruelly assassinated by the treacherous Ptolemy.

B. C. 48—44

Cæsar was now nominated Dictator, but three years passed away before Pompey's party was completely subdued. At length he returned to Rome, and was saluted by the title of "father of the country," and elected dictator for life. He now began to revolve vast schemes for the benefit of the Roman world, and aimed at the title of king. But friends and enemies alike envied

his power and greatness. A selfish conspiracy was formed against him, and he fell by the daggers of assassins on the memorable Ides of March.

B. C. 44

The death of Cæsar convulsed the world like the shock [B. C. 44] of an earthquake. In vain the senate proclaimed an amnesty to the assassins. The fury of the people was uncontrollable. Inflamed by the eloquence of Antony over the dead body of their murdered hero, they cried aloud for vengeance. The murderers vainly disguised their selfishness behind a mask of patriotism, and hurried from the city to reap for themselves and their party a fitting reward for their crime.

B. C. 44—42

But it was the legions, and not the people, who were to decide the question. Brutus hastened to Macedonia, and Cassius to Syria, there to attempt the restoration of a republic of which nothing remained but a phantom, and in which, could they have succeeded, they themselves would have been greater despots than Cæsar. Meantime Antony laboured to raise himself into Cæsar's place, but was beaten by a new and unexpected rival. Octavian, grand-nephew and adopted son of Cæsar, succeeded at the age of twenty in blinding the most experienced statesmen of Rome. By the aid of the republican party he overcame Antony, and then by the aids of Antony and Lepidus he overcame the republican party. First, by defeating Antony he obtained the consulship; and then with the forces under his command formed the coalition with Antony and Lepidus, known as the second triumvirate. The new triumvirs marched upon Rome, and revenged the death of Cæsar by a terrible proscription. They next marched against Brutus and Cassius, who had united their forces in Macedonia. Within two years of the death of Cæsar, they overthrew his assassins on the plains of Philippi; and Brutus and Cassius, in utter despair, put an end to their own lives.

B. C. 42—31

Eleven years intervened between the battle of Philippi and the battle of Actium, but their history is little more than the history of the quarrels and wars of the triumvirs. The most subtle proved in the end victorious. The vain and insignificant Lepidus was easily subdued, and expelled from the

triumvirate, by Octavian. Foreign wars postponed for awhile the certain rupture between Octavian and Antony. Whilst Octavian was subduing every enemy, and gaining the affections of the Roman people, Antony was wasting Roman blood and Roman honour in an unsuccessful expedition against the Parthians, or frittering away his own power and reputation in the lap of Cleopatra. At last the war broke out. Antony had incensed the Roman people by his arrogance and arbitrary proceedings in the East; he had broken the only tie which yet united him to Octavian, by dismissing his wife Octavia, the sister of his rival, at the request of Cleopatra. A conflict was thus inevitable, and Greece again became the scene of the contest. In B. C. 31, Antony was utterly defeated at Actium by Octavian. The following year, Egypt was captured; Antony and Cleopatra perished by their own hands, and Octavian, under the honoured title of Augustus Cæsar, became emperor of Rome.

B. C. 63—48

We must now turn from Rome to Palestine. During the great civil wars the fate of Judæa, like that of the world, was hanging in trembling suspense. Hyrcanus II., the high priest and governor, was disliked by the majority of the Jews; they hated him as the nominee of the Romans, and despised him as a puppet of the Idumean Antipater. Many sighed for the restoration of the more energetic Aristobulus II.; but many more desired to see the high priest deprived altogether of his secular authority, and the government reörganized upon a more democratic basis. Two parties thus sprung up in Judæa; the Roman party, afterwards called Herodians, who supported Hyrcanus and Antipater, and the Jewish or national party, who desired either the restoration of Aristobulus, or the transfer of the government to the Sanhedrin.

The escape of Aristobulus II. and his sons from Rome, and subsequent disturbances in Palestine, brought affairs to a crisis. The insurgents were defeated with some difficulty by Gabinius, the Roman pro-consul of Syria. Gabinius was a democrat. He had been tribune of the Roman people, and a zealous supporter of Pompey, when Pompey was the leader of the democracy. He was desirous of conquering Egypt, and impatient of seeing the intervening province of Judæa disturbed by petty struggles for the high

priesthood. Accordingly, he carried out the wishes of the majority of the Jewish party, by depriving Hyrcanus of all secular authority, and establishing a senatorial form of government upon the basis of the old national council of the Sanhedrin. Hitherto a lesser Sanhedrin or tribunal had existed in every city, but all appeal cases were carried up to the Great Sanhedrin, composed of chief priests, scribes, and elders, which sat at Jerusalem, and of which the high priest was president in virtue of his office. Gabinius now established five other Great Sanhedrins in five different districts of Palestine, for deciding all cases of appeal. Thus the old system of centralization was abolished, and the civil powers of Hyrcanus were transferred to the chief priests and elders.

B. C. 57—48

Antipater was baffled, but only for a time. He saw that Rome was still all-powerful in her provinces, and he never relaxed in his devotion. He assisted Gabinius and Antony in their invasion of Egypt. He afforded still more valuable assistance to Julius Cæsar, after the battle of Pharsalia. Cæsar in return abolished the Sanhedrins of Gabinius, reëstablished Hyrcanus in the sovereignty, and appointed Antipater to be procurator, or collector of taxes, for Judæa.

B. C. 48—40

Antipater was now at the zenith of his power. Presuming on the incapacity of Hyrcanus and protection of Rome, he appointed his elder son Phasael to be governor of Judæa, and his younger son Herod to be governor of Galilee. The Great Sanhedrin at Jerusalem in vain protested against this usurpation of authority, and equally in vain endeavoured to restrain the arrogance of Herod. Their efforts were neutralized by the timidity of Hyrcanus and the constant devotion of the Herodians to the Romans. After the second triumvirate had overthrown the assassins of Cæsar in the battle of Philippi, Antony passed into Asia, to effect a new settlement of affairs. The Jewish party once more actively intrigued against the Herodians. They destroyed Antipater by poison. They loudly complained to Antony of the usurpations of Herod and Phasael. But Antony had already been gained over by the timely subsidies of Herod; and he not only confirmed Phasael

and Herod in their authority, but confided all the affairs of Palestine to their administration.

B. C. 40

But a new rival rose up against the Herodians in the person of Antigonus. This Antigonus was the surviving son of that unfortunate Aristobulus II., who had been carried prisoner to Rome, and who, with his son Alexander, had perished in the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey. Antigonus had been supported by the Jewish party, but defeated by Herod. At this juncture, however, he found an unexpected ally in a formidable army of Parthians.

Far away in the mountains and deserts of Khorassan, the mail-clad Parthian horsemen had established an independent empire, by wresting from the declining power of the Seleucidæ all their territories from the Euphrates to the Indus, and from the Indian Ocean to the banks of the Oxus. After the overthrow of Mithridates, the Parthians first came into collision with the Romans. They utterly destroyed Crassus and his army in the plains of Mesopotamia; and were now pouring into Syria and Asia Minor for plunder and revenge. Antigonus promised these terrible warriors 1000 talents in money and 500 Jewish women, if they would place him on the throne of Hyrcanus. The terms were accepted. Antigonus, supported by Jews and Parthians, fought his way to Jerusalem. There the struggle was bloody and protracted. At length Phasael and Hyrcanus fell by treachery into the hands of the Parthians. Phasael committed suicide. Hyrcanus was deprived of his ears, in order to incapacitate him from filling the office of high-priest. Herod, however, escaped to Egypt, and thence proceeded to Rome.

B. C. 40—37

Antigonus thus obtained the sovereignty of Judæa. But at Rome the second triumvirate was in the fulness of its power, and favourably disposed towards Herod. A war against the Parthians was the all-prevailing idea; and Antigonus was their ally, whilst Herod was their deadliest enemy. Accordingly, the Roman senate, under the influence of Antony and Octavian, decreed the crown of Judæa to Herod, and declared Antigonus an enemy of Rome. Herod immediately returned to Palestine, and, with the

assistance of the Romans, conquered the entire country, after a three years' contest. Antigonus was taken prisoner, and subsequently executed by the common lictor; and with him ended the dynasty of the Maccabees.

B. C. 37—4

Herod the Great was now king of the Jews. He first crushed the Jewish party by the massacre of the Sanhedrin; and then reigned for thirty-four years in comparative tranquillity, under the immediate protection of Rome. But his seeming prosperity is strangely contrasted with his domestic misery. His public life was a pageant, whilst his domestic life was a tragedy. His temper, naturally cruel, ungovernable, and intensely jealous, was aggravated by his peculiar position. He was compelled to be at once a slave to Rome, and a tyrant to his subjects. Nothing but the most entire submission to Rome could have preserved his kingdom from the grasp of a Roman procurator, and nothing but a stern system of military despotism could have preserved Judæa from similar atrocities to those which had been committed at Corcyra or at Rome.

The history of this reign is the most important in the later history of the Jews. It forms the link between Maccabean independence and Roman supremacy. Roman influences now came into immediate collision with Jewish prejudices. Then commenced that political, moral, and social revolution which could only end in the entire establishment of the Roman yoke, or in the destruction of the Jewish nationality. Above all, the reign includes two momentous events in the history of the world; but one infinitely more than the other. Shortly after its commencement, Augustus Cæsar became emperor of Rome. Shortly before its termination, a child was born at Bethlehem, of whose kingdom there shall be no end.

Under a system of military despotism, the court is naturally the centre-point of the history. But the history of the court of Herod is a record of the darkest vices and most atrocious crimes. The daring licentiousness of Rome was combined with the cruelty, the mendacity, and the jealousy of the Oriental. The modern historian may endeavour to unravel the web of court intrigues; but to the Jewish annalist alone can it be permitted to expose the foul mysteries of that blood-stained palace to the light of day.

On the accession of Herod, the Maccabean family was nearly extinct. Aristobulus II., and his sons, Alexander and Antigonus, were dead. A hapless pair, a brother and sister, alone survived of all this ill-fated race. These were the children of Alexander, son of Aristobulus II., by Alexandra, daughter of Hyrcanus II. They were young and eminently handsome. Their names were Aristobulus and Mariamne.

Herod, in order to consolidate his power, took to wife the beautiful Mariamne, and loved her with all the intensity of his passionate nature. By the entreaties of Mariamne, and infamous intrigues of her mother Alexandra, he was induced to appoint her brother Aristobulus to the high-priesthood; he himself being incapacitated by his Idumæan descent from filling the sacred office. The people were agitated to tears on seeing the lovely boy of seventeen, the heir of their rightful princes, sacrificing on the national altar in the splendid robes of his predecessors. Herod discovered that by promoting Aristobulus he had raised up a dangerous rival, and secretly caused him to be drowned whilst bathing in a pool. Alexandra panted for revenge; she immediately sent intelligence of the murder to Cleopatra, who at that time possessed unbounded influence over Antony, and desired possession of Judæa for herself. The fall of Herod appeared inevitable; but he dexterously turned aside the danger by proceeding in person to Antony, and winning him over by immense bribes and reminiscences of early friendship.

The murder of Aristobulus was but the first act of a terrible drama. Herod had by no means been assured of such complete success with Antony. Before he left Jerusalem, he had given directions to his uncle Joseph, that in case Antony should put him to death, Mariamne should be put to death likewise. During his absence, his sister Salome, who subsequently proved the firebrand of his family, was mortally offended by the haughtiness of Mariamne; and on his return she endeavoured to persuade him that Mariamne had been criminally intimate with Joseph. Herod next discovered that Joseph had declared to Mariamne the fatal orders which he had received. The betrayal of the secret seemed to confirm the truth of the accusation. In the madness of his jealousy he would have slain her on the spot, but her beauty disarmed him. He however ordered

Joseph to immediate execution, and threw Alexandra into close confinement.

Shortly afterwards a new danger threatened Herod. His patron Antony was overthrown at Actium, and Octavian became sole master of the Roman world. Again he prepared to meet the danger by a personal interview. But before his departure he executed the old Hyrcanus II. lest he should yet prove a rival to the throne; and he likewise gave to an adherent, named Soemus, the same fatal direction concerning Mariamne which he had previously given to Joseph.

Herod won over Octavian by engaging to serve him as faithfully as he had previously served Antony; and then returned to Jerusalem with his throne established on a surer foundation than ever. But Mariamne had again extorted the fatal secret, and not only refused to receive his caresses, but loaded him with reproaches for his barbarity to herself and her relations. Salome seized the opportunity for charging Mariamne with plotting the death of Herod by a poisonous philtre, and again accusing her of infidelity to her husband. Herod became furious. He directed that Soemus should be immediately dispatched, and at last reluctantly ordered the execution of Mariamne. The injured queen met her death with the intrepidity of innocence; but the jealous violence of her murderer was speedily followed by the agony of remorse. Herod was haunted night and day by the image of his murdered queen, and neither banquetings nor revelries could banish fond remembrances. Henceforth an indelible gloom settled upon his soul, only to be broken at intervals by wilder bursts of passion and a more inordinate thirst for blood.

Meantime Judea was tranquil; for the turbulent spirit of the national party was kept down by armed mercenaries. But the administration of Herod, though magnificent, was opposed to Jewish prejudices. He built a theatre at Jerusalem. He instituted horse and chariot races, and other Roman games. He began to adorn his theatre with suits of armour, as trophies of Cæsar's victories. The people were strangely moved. A flash of the old spirit, which a century and a half before had defied the armies of Antiochus Epiphanes, was again kindling the nation. A tumult ensued, which was repressed with difficulty. Next, ten malcontents conspired to assassinate

Herod, and were arrested in the theatre with their daggers beneath their clothes. Herod found that neither soldiers nor spies were sufficient to ensure his safety. Accordingly, he determined upon erecting new fortifications and splendid public works. He converted the old palace of the Maccabees, which commanded the temple, into the castle of Antonia. He rebuilt the city of Samaria, which he called Sebaste. He transformed the tower of Strato, on the Mediterranean coast, into the grand city and seaport which he named Cæsarea. Above all, he sought to win the favour of the national party by rebuilding the old temple at Jerusalem in all its ancient magnificence. The structure of Zerubbabel had fallen into decay; but now the nation beheld with the utmost pride a new and splendid edifice crowning the brow of Moriah with masses of marble and pinnacles of gold. At the same time, he did not neglect other means for acquiring popularity. During a severe famine he imported an immense quantity of Egyptian corn at his own expense, and freely distributed it amongst the poorer Jews.

But amidst the blaze of magnificent liberality, the spirit of the injured Mariamne seemed to hover over the palaces of Herod like an avenging Nemesis. Two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, had sprung from the union of that ill-fated princess and her barbarous husband. The youths were now verging on manhood. They inherited all the beauty and misfortunes of their mother. Through her they claimed the love of the nation as the descendants of the rightful line of Maccabees; through her they excited the hatred of the envious Salome, and at last aroused the jealousy of Herod. They had been educated at Rome, in the court of Augustus Cæsar; but on their return to Jerusalem had been received by the national party with the utmost enthusiasm. Herod for awhile exulted in their popularity. But Salome, and indeed all who had urged the execution of Mariamne, sickened at their praises. They insinuated to Herod that the young men regarded him as the murderer of their mother, and were already burning for revenge. Herod hesitated to adopt harsh measures. He first introduced Antipater, an elder son by his first wife Doris, as a counterpoise to the sons of Mariamne. But by so doing he only raised up another deadly enemy both against them and against himself. Antipater hated the sons of Mariamne with peculiar malignity, as the offspring of his mother's successful rival. He eagerly entered into all the plots of Salome and her brother Pheroras. Letters were

forged and accusations were invented. The court was crowded with spies, and filled with gloom, suspicion, and distrust. Herod was at last worked up to a pitch of frenzy. Augustus interfered, but in vain; the fury of the jealous king could only be allayed by blood. The two young men were brought before a special tribunal, at which the Roman governors of Syria presided. A verdict of condemnation was extorted by the vehemence of Herod, and the brothers were strangled. Well might Augustus exclaim, that he would rather be one of Herod's swine, than one of his sons.

But the crime was speedily avenged. The plotters, in their alarm lest their intrigues should be discovered, began to conspire against Herod himself. At this moment Pheroras died, and then the horrible secret came to light, that Antipater, for whom Herod had imbrued his hands in the blood of his children, had plotted with Pheroras to poison his father, in order to secure and accelerate his own succession. Herod, however, concealed for awhile his knowledge of the conspiracy. Antipater was returning from Rome, exulting in the success of his intrigues, the removal of his rivals, and his own speedy inheritance of the throne. He landed at Cæsarea unconscious of his danger; but scarcely had he reached Jerusalem when he was hurried before the tribunal of Herod. The proofs of his guilt were full and conclusive, and his condemnation was shortly followed by his execution.

A far more terrible retribution awaited the aged tyrant. His mental anguish was aggravated by physical torment and the disaffection of his subjects. A disease, at once loathsome and agonising, preyed upon his vitals. The national party chose the opportunity for committing a daring act of rebellion. He had affixed a large golden eagle, the image and symbol of the Roman supremacy, over the principal gate of the temple on Mount Moriah; and a band of enthusiasts conspired to pull down the idolatrous and insulting emblem. Herod ordered the ringleaders to be burned alive, but was soon aroused by far more dangerous rumours. A band of holy sages appeared suddenly from the far East, inquiring for an infant king of the Jews to whom they might pay homage and adoration. At the same time it was reported that at Bethlehem had been born that Messiah whom the prophets had foretold, and who was to rule the people Israel. The venerable Magi and the infant Jesus were preserved from his jealous wrath by warnings from on high; but the dying despot satiated his thirst for blood by

ordering the massacre of all the infants in Bethlehem. Meantime his paroxysms of pain threw him into a still wilder frenzy. He ordered the principal Jews to be imprisoned in his theatre, and directed that they should be slain immediately after his own death, in order that mourners might not be wanting at his funeral. Next in excruciating agony he attempted to commit suicide. At last death relieved him from his tortures, and arrested his career of blood. He died apparently unregretted by a single member of the family which remained behind to perpetuate his crimes.

B.C. 4 — A.D. 41

Three sons of Herod—Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip—were permitted by Augustus to divide between them the dominions of their father; but the title of king was denied them. Archelaus was simply ethnarch of Judæa and Samaria; whilst Antipas and Philip were entitled tetrarchs of their respective dominions in Galilee and Peræa. The two latter retained their provinces throughout the whole period of our Lord's life and ministry. Archelaus was not so fortunate. The nationality of the Jews was far more intense in Judæa than in Galilee or Peræa; and Jerusalem, with its temple and Sanhedrin, was the head-quarters of all religious sects and political factions. Archelaus dared not govern mildly, lest his subjects should rebel; nor severely, lest he himself should be deposed by Cæsar. Ten years after our Lord's birth, he was deposed and banished to Gaul; and Judæa fell into the hands of a succession of Roman procurators, of whom Pontius Pilate is the most celebrated.

A.D. 41—44

A few years after our Saviour's crucifixion, a new change came over Palestine. Herod Agrippa I., grandson of Herod and Mariamne, was permitted, by the favour of the emperor Caligula, to reign over the whole of Palestine with the title of king. Agrippa I. was popular amongst the Jews, but a violent persecutor of the Christian church. He beheaded St. James the elder, and cast St. Peter into prison. At length, having blasphemously permitted the people to address him as a god, he was smitten by the angel of the Lord, and died eaten up by worms.

A.D. 44—70

Palestine then again fell into the grasp of a Roman procurator, whilst the superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs was given to Agrippa II., son of Agrippa I. The grinding tyranny of successive procurators excited the national hatred against the Romans to the highest pitch. All excepting Festus—the same who admitted St. Paul's appeal to Cæsar—were avaricious and cruel in the extreme. At last, under the procuratorship of Florus, this hatred reached its climax. His rapacity drove the nation frantic. He even shared the plunder of the murderous banditti who infested the country, and at last, whilst zealots and false prophets called upon the people to throw off the yoke of the heathen, he systematically endeavoured to foment such a general insurrection as should conceal his own misdeeds from the eye of Cæsar. Under pretence of a riot at Cæsarea, he marched to Jerusalem, and permitted the soldiers to plunder the city and murder all they met. He even scourged and crucified Jews who were Roman citizens.

Then the fire of rebellion, which had so long smouldered in ashes, burst into flames. Agrippa II. and the leaders of the more moderate Jewish party attempted to mediate, but in vain. The war party of zealots and patriots rose in every city, and engaged in desperate conflicts with the Roman soldiers and with all who belonged to the Roman party. In Jerusalem they took the castle of Antonia, and put the Roman garrison to the sword. The prefect of Syria marched an army into Palestine to crush the rebellion, but was obliged to retire. The rising of the Jews was then formally organized; and the country was divided into four provinces, each having a Jewish governor of its own.

The successful issue of the rebellion called for the immediate and direct interference of Rome. Nero was emperor. He invested Vespasian with the command of all the forces in Syria, and despatched Titus, son of Vespasian, to command the forces in Egypt, and lead them into Palestine. Vespasian descended from the north into Galilee, with an overwhelming army of 60,000 men. His advance spread universal alarm, and every Jew who could escape from Galilee fled to Jerusalem. At Cesarea his progress was stopped by tidings of the profoundest importance. Nero was dead, and within a few months had been followed to the grave by two of his successors. The army heard that Vitellius was proclaimed emperor, and were greatly dissatisfied. The leading officers desired that Vespasian should be invested with the

imperial purple. He accordingly hastened to Rome, and left Titus in command of the legions.

Meantime Jerusalem was filled with wretchedness, profligacy, and blood. Eleazar, at the head of the Zealots, occupied the temple. Ananus, the high priest, at the head of the more moderate party, besieged the Zealots. A force of Idumeans came to assist the Zealots, and, during a night of earthquake and tempest obtained admittance into the city. The high priest was slain, and the vengeance of the Zealots and their new allies was glutted in the blood of multitudes. Then Simon of Gerasa, with another band of desperadoes, came to the assistance of the moderate party, and driving back the Zealots into the temple obtained possession of the whole city. Subsequently the Zealots split into two parties, and thus three factions were in perpetual conflict with each other, night and day. Eleazar, with one ferocious band, seized the highest battlement of the temple; there he was besieged by John of Gischala, who, with the other band, occupied the temple courts. John in his turn was besieged by Simon of Gerasa, who held the city. But during all this time the unhappy citizens were most horribly handled by every party, and all Jerusalem resembled a vast den of robbers.

A.D. 70

Titus still delayed the advance of his legions. But now the Passover was at hand. Fresh multitudes of Jews from every part of Palestine poured into Jerusalem. Suddenly the Roman eagles surrounded the devoted city; then the terrible famine began. Massacre, hunger, and pestilence filled the streets. Thousands of bodies contaminated the air. Parents and children fought like fiends for morsels of food. Death droopped his dark wings over wailing and despair, horror and unutterable woe. But still the starving maniacs who manned the heights of Zion and Moriah sullenly refused to surrender. At last the temple was set on fire and taken by storm. Titus in vain attempted to restrain the fury of the flames. The sacred edifice became a heap of ashes. The victorious eagles were soon planted on Zion; and thus perished the nationality of the Jews.

A few months longer and a triumphant procession accompanied the chariots of Titus and Vespasian through the streets of the imperial city; there, amidst an endless array of veteran legions and wretched captives,

amidst the gorgeous representations of vanquished cities, and all the spoils and trophies of a Roman triumph, were borne the golden candlestick, the table of shewbread, and the temple roll of the book of the law. Onward the pageant passed to the ancient Capitol, and with it passed away the last hope of the children of Israel; a nation never to be restored to Zion, until the Deliverer shall turn away the ungodliness from Jacob, and the fulness of the Gentiles be converted to the knowledge of Jehovah.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RABBINIC AUTHORITIES, ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY, BY THE REV. A. M'CAUL, D.D., CANON OF ST. PAUL'S, AND PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON

— OMITTED —

PREFACE. BY DEAN PRIDEAUX

— OMITTED —

HISTORICAL CONNECTION

OF THE

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

PART I.

HISTORY OF THE JEWS AND NEIGHBOURING NATIONS, FROM THE DECLENSION OF THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH TO THE DEATH OF SIMON THE JUST AND COMPLETION OF THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE.

B. C. 747 TO 292.

BOOK I.

DECLINE AND FALL OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH, B. C. 747 το 588.

I. Reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, B. C. 742-727. —

Kings of Israel—Pekah, 759,
Hoshea, 730.
—Assyria—Tiglath-Pileser or Arbaces, 747,
Salmaneser, 729.
—Babylon—Nabonassar or Belesis, 747.
—Prophets—Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah.

Dissolution of the ancient Assyrian empire: rise of the second Assyrian and Chaldee Babylonian, 747.—THE ancient empire of the Assyrians, which had governed Asia for above thirteen hundred years, being dissolved on the death of Sardanapalus, there arose up two empires in its stead; the one founded by Arbaces, governor of Media, and the other by Belesis, governor of Babylon, who were the two principal commanders that headed the conspiracy, whereby the former empire was brought to an end; which they having, on their success, parted among themselves, Belesis had Babylon, Chaldea, and Arabia; and Arbaces all the rest. This happened in the seventh year after the building of Rome, and in the second year of the eighth Olympiad, which was the seven hundred and forty-seventh year before Christ, i. e. before the beginning of the vulgar era, by which we now compute the years from his incarnation. ARBACES is in Scripture called

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Tiglath-Pileser and Tiglath-Pilneser; in Ælian, Tilgamus; and by Castor, Ninus junior. He fixed his royal seat at Nineveh [on the river Tigris], the same place where the former Assyrian kings had their residence, and there

he governed his new-erected empire nineteen years. BELESIS is the same with Nabonassar, from the beginning of whose reign at Babylon [on the river Euphrates] commenceth the famous astronomical era, from him called the era of Nabonassar [which began on the 26th of February, B. C. 747]. He is by Nicolas Damascenus called Nanibrus, and in the Holy Scripture Baladan, being the father of Merodac, or Mordac Empadus, who sent an embassy to king Hezekiah to congratulate him on his recovery from his sickness, which will be hereafter spoken of. And these two empires God was pleased to raise up to be his instruments in their turns to punish the iniquities of his own people; the first for the overthrowing of the kingdom of Israel, and the other for the overthrowing of the kingdom of Judah, as shall be shown in the sequel of this history.

First invasion of Judah by Rezin king of Syria and Pekah king of Israel, 742.—In the sixth year of Tiglath-Pileser, Ahaz began to reign over Judah; who, being a very wicked and impious prince, God stirred up against him Rezin king of Syria, and Pekah king of Israel, who, confederating together, invaded his land with a great army, and having harassed it all over, pent him up in Jerusalem, and there besieged him. Their design was, on the taking of that city, to have wholly extirpated the house of David, and to have set up a new king over Judah, the son of Tabeal. Who this person was is nowhere said in Scripture; but he seemeth to have been some potent and factious Jew, who, having revolted from his master, the king of Judah, excited and stirred up this war against him, out of an ambitious aim of plucking him down from his throne, and reigning in his stead.

Isaiah encourages Ahaz: the two prophetical signs.—But it being the will of God only to punish Ahaz for his wickedness, and not the whole family of David, for which he had always, for the sake of David, expressed mercy and favour, he was pleased to prevent the mischief, by blasting the whole design; and, therefore, he sent the prophet Isaiah unto Ahaz, to encourage him valiantly to withstand the enemy in the defence of the city, and to assure him that they should not prevail against him. And for this he gave him two signs, the one to be accomplished speedily, and the other some ages after. The first sign was, that the prophet should take him a wife, who should immediately on that marriage conceive a son, and that before that son should be of age to discern between good and evil, both these kings

should be cut off from the land; which accordingly came to pass: for the prophet, immediately after taking a wife, before Maher-shalal-hash-baz, the son born to him of that marriage, arrived at the age of discerning between good and evil, both these kings were slain, Rezin

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in the third year of Ahaz, and Pekah the next year after. The second sign was, that a virgin should conceive, and bear a son, who should be called Emmanuel, that is, God with us, the Messias that was promised, God manifested in our nature, and for a while here dwelling with us to accomplish the great work of our salvation. Which prophecy was then delivered to comfort and support the drooping and desponding spirits of the house of David; who seeing so great a force armed against them, and intending their destruction, were under terrible apprehensions, as if their utter extirpation were then at hand. From which despair this prophecy fully relieved them, in assuring them that their house should stand, and continue, till this prediction should be accomplished, and the Messias born of their race, in such manner as was hereby foretold. After this, the two kings, according to the words of the prophet, failing of their design, were forced to raise the siege, and return home, without prevailing in the enterprise which they had undertaken.

Second invasion: terrible defeat of Ahaz, 741.—But Ahaz, after this, instead of being reformed by the mercy, growing more wicked and perverse than before, in absolutely rejecting the God of Israel, and cleaving to the worst abominations of the heathen nations round him, even to the making of his sons pass through the fire to Molech, the next year after God brought again upon him the same two confederated kings, from whom he had delivered him the former year, who, coming with forces better appointed, and counsels better concerted than before, divided themselves into three armies; the first under Rezin king of Syria, the second under Pekah king of Israel, and the third under Zichri a mighty man of Ephraim; and with these three armies, the more to distract him, they invaded him in three different parts of his kingdom at the same time. Rezin, in his ravage, having loaded his army with spoils, and taken a vast number of captives, returned with them to Damascus, thinking it his best interest there to secure what he had

gotten. Pekah with his army marched directly against Ahaz, who had got together the main strength of his kingdom to oppose this invasion, and thereby for some time did put a stop to the progress of this part of the enemies' forces; but at length being encouraged by the departure of Rezin to give them battle, he was overthrown with a most terrible destruction, an hundred and twenty thousand of his men being slain in that day. Of which blow Zichri taking the advantage, led his forces to Jerusalem, and took the royal city, where he slew Maaseiah, the king's son, and most of the chief governors and great men of the kingdom, whom he found there. And both these armies of Israel, on their return, carried with them vast spoils, and about two hundred thousand persons, whom they had taken captive, with intention to have sold them for bondmen and bondwomen. But a prophet from God having severely rebuked them for this their excessive cruelty against their brethren, whom God had delivered into their hands, the elders of the land, fearing the like wrath upon themselves for the punishment hereof, would not permit them to bring the captives to Samaria; whereon they were clothed, and relieved out of the spoils, and again sent back unto their own homes.

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4 DECLINE OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH. [B. C. 740.

Ahaz applies for aid to Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, 740.—And the land was no sooner delivered from these enemies, but it was again invaded by others, who treated it with the same cruelty: for the Edomites and the Philistines, who next bordered on it, the former on the south, and the other on the west, seeing Judah brought thus low, took the advantage to seize on those parts which lay next unto them, and by ravages and inroads did all the mischief to the rest that lay in their power. But Ahaz, continuing still hardened in his iniquity, notwithstanding all this, which he had suffered for the punishment of it, would not seek the Lord his God, or return unto him from his evil ways; but, putting his confidence rather in man, pillaged the temple of all the gold and silver that was found therein, and sent it to Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, to engage him to come to his assistance against his enemies, promising thereon to become his servant, and pay tribute unto him.

Tiglath-Pileser subdues Rezin and Pekah, and extorts subsidies from Ahaz.—The king of Assyria, having an opportunity hereby offered unto him of adding Syria and Palestine to his empire, readily laid hold of the invitation, and marched with a great army into those parts; where, having slain Rezin in battle, he took Damascus, and reduced all that country under his dominion and hereby he put an end to the kingdom of the Syrians in Damascus, after it had lasted there for ten generations; that is, from the time of Rezon, the son of Eliadah, who first founded it while Solomon was king over Israel. After this, Tiglath-Pileser marched against Pekah, and seized all that belonged to Israel beyond Jordan, and also all the land of Galilee, and then went forward towards Jerusalem, but rather to get more money of Ahaz than to afford him any real help; for he assisted him not for the recovery of any of those places which had been taken from him during the war, either by the Philistines, Edomites, or other enemies; but when he had got from him all that he could (for the raising of which Ahaz cut the vessels of the temple into pieces, and melted them down), he marched back to Damascus, and there wintered, without doing anything more for him; so that, in reality, he was rather distressed than any way helped by this alliance, the land being almost as much exhausted by the presents and subsidies, which were extorted from him by this his pretended friend and ally, as it was by the ravages and pillages of his open enemies.

Threatening position of Assyria, and exclusion of the Jews from the Red Sea trade.—And, moreover, two lasting mischiefs followed hereon: for, 1st, instead of two petty princes, whom Ahaz had before for his neighbours, and with either of which he was well able to cope, he had now this mighty king for his borderer, against whom no power of the land was sufficient to make any resistance; and the ill effect hereof both Israel and Judah did afterwards sufficiently feel; for it became at length to both of them the cause of their destruction. 2ndly, From this time the Jews were excluded all their traffic into the Southern Sea, which had hitherto been one of the chiefest foundations of their riches.

Digression on the ancient maritime commerce of the Jewish nation: its extent in the reigns of David and Solomon.—This trade they had long

carried on through the Red Sea and the Straits of Babelmandel, not only to the coasts of Africa on the west, but also to those of Arabia, Persia, and India, on the east, and reaped a prodigious profit from it. King David was the first who began it: for, having conquered the kingdom of Edom, and reduced it to be a province of his empire, he thereby became master of two sea-port towns on the Red Sea, Elath and Esiongeber, which then belonged to that kingdom; and, seeing the advantage which might be made of the situation of these two places, he wisely took the benefit of it, and there begun this traffic. There are two places mentioned in Scripture to which it was from thence carried on, that is, Ophir and Tarshish. From the former of these David in his time drew great profit; for the three thousand talents of gold of Ophir, which he is said (1 Chron. xxix. 4) to have given to the house of God, seem to be of that gold of Ophir, which he himself had by his fleets in several voyages brought to him from thence: for what he had reserved for this work out of the spoils of war, the tributes of the conquered nations, and the public revenues of his kingdom, is before mentioned, (ch. xxii. 14), and amounted to a prodigious sum. The three thousand talents of the gold of Ophir, which he added, was over and above this, and out of his own proper goods, or private estate which he had, besides what belonged to him as king. And how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a sum, can scarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great returns which were made him from this traffic: for the gold alone amounted to above one-and-twenty millions of our money, besides the seven thousand talents of refined silver, which were included in the same gift. After David, Solomon carried on the same traffic to Ophir, and had from thence in one voyage four hundred and fifty talents of gold. And if Solomon got so much in one voyage, well might David have gained the sum above mentioned, in the several voyages which were made thither for him, from the time that he had subdued the land of Edom to the time of his death, which was at least twenty-five years. But it must be acknowledged that Solomon much improved this trade, not only by his greater wisdom, but also by his greater application to all the business of it: for, not being perplexed and encumbered with such wars as his father David was, he had more leisure to attend thereto. And therefore, for the better settling of it, he went in person to Elath and Esiongeber, and there took care by his own inspection for the building of his ships, the fortifying of both

those ports, and the settling of everything else which might tend to the successful carrying on of this traffic, not only to Ophir, but to all other parts, where the sea, on which these ports lay, opened a passage. But his chiefest care was to plant those two towns with such inhabitants as might be best able to serve him in this design. For which purpose he brought thither from the sea-coasts of Palestine as many as he could get of those who had been there used to the sea, especially of the Tyrians, whom his friend and ally, Hiram, king of Tyre, from thence furnished him with in great numbers, and these were the most useful to him in this affair: for they being in those days, and for many ages after, the most skilful of all others in sea affairs, they were the best able to navigate his ships, and conduct his fleets, through long voyages. But the use of the compass not being then known, the way of navigation was in those times only by coasting, which often made a voyage to be of three years, which now may be finished almost in three months. However, this trade succeeded so far, and grew to so high a pitch, under the wise management of Solomon, that thereby he drew to these two ports, and from thence to Jerusalem, all the trade of Africa, Arabia, Persia, and India, which was the chief fountain of those immense riches which he acquired, and whereby he exceeded all the kings of the earth in his time, as much as he did by his wisdom; so that he made silver to be at Jerusalem as the stones of the street, by reason of the great plenty with which it there abounded during his reign.

Continuation of the traffic after the division of the kingdom into the two monarchies of Judah and Israel.—After the division of the kingdom, Edom being of that part which remained to the house of David, they still continued to carry on this trade from those two ports, especially from Esiongeber, which they chiefly made use of till the time of Jehosaphat. But he having there lost his fleet, which he had prepared to sail from thence to Ophir, in partnership with Ahaziah, king of Israel, this spoiled the credit of that harbour. For there being nigh the mouth of it a ridge of rocks, as this fleet was passing out of the port, they were by a sudden gust of wind (which God sent on purpose for the punishment of this confederacy) driven upon those rocks, where they were all broken to pieces and lost. And, therefore,

for the avoiding of the like mischief for the future, the station of the king's ships was thenceforth removed to Elath, from whence Jehosaphat, the next year after, sent out another fleet for the same place. For whereas it is said, that he lost the first fleet for confederating with the idolatrous king of Israel; and we are told, in another place, of his sending forth a fleet for Ophir, in which he would not permit Ahaziah to have any partnership with him; this plainly proves the sending out of two fleets by Jehosaphat, the first in partnership with Ahaziah, and the other without it. And thus this affair was carried on from the time of David till the death of Jehosaphat. For till then the land of Edom was all in the hands of the kings of

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Judah, and was wholly governed by a deputy or viceroy there placed by them. But when Jehoram succeeded Jehosaphat, and God, for the punishment of the exceeding great wickedness of that prince, had withdrawn his protection from him, Esau, according to the prophecy of Isaac, did break the yoke of Jacob from off his neck, after having served him (as foretold by that prophecy) for several generations; that is, from the time of David till then. For, on Jehoram's having revolted from God, the Edomites revolted from him, and having expelled his viceroy, chose them a king of their own, and under his conduct recovered their ancient liberty, and were not after that any more subject to the kings of Judah. And from this time the Jewish traffic through the Red Sea had an interruption, till the reign of Uzziah. But he, in the very beginning of his reign, having recovered Elath again to Judah, fortified it anew, and having driven out the Edomites, planted it again with his own people, and there renewed their old traffic; which was from thence carried on and continued till the reign of Ahaz.

Subsequent history of the East India trade.—In the reign of Ahaz king of Judah, Rezin king of Damascus having, in conjunction with Pekah king of Israel, oppressed and weakened Judah to that degree which I have mentioned, the former king took the advantage of it to seize Elath, and driving out the Jews from thence, planted it with Syrians, purposing thereby to draw to himself the whole profit of that traffic of the Southern Seas, which the kings of Judah had hitherto reaped by having that port. But the next year after, Tiglath-Pileser having conquered Rezin, and subdued the

kingdom of Damascus, he seized with it Elath, as then belonging to his new conquest, and without having any regard to his friend and ally, king Ahaz, or the just claim which he had thereto, kept it ever after; and thereby put an end to all that great profit which the Jews till then had reaped from this traffic, and transferred it to the Syrians, which became a great diminution of their wealth. For, although they did not always carry it on with the same full gales of prosperity as in the time of king Solomon, yet it was constantly, as long as they had it, of very great advantage to them; for it included all the trade of India, Persia, Africa, and Arabia, which was carried on through the Red Sea. But after Rezin had thus dispossessed them of it, they never had it any more restored to them, but were ever after wholly excluded from it. From thenceforth all the merchandise that came that way, instead of being brought to Jerusalem, was carried elsewhere; but at what place the Syrians fixed their principal mart for it, while it was in their hands, is nowhere said. But at length we find the whole of this trade engrossed by the Tyrians, who, managing it from the same port, made it, by the way of Rhinocolura (a sea-port town, lying between the confines of Egypt and Palestine), centre all at Tyre; and from thence they furnished all the western parts of the world with the wares of Persia, India, Africa, and Arabia, which thus by the way of the Red Sea they traded to; and hereby they exceedingly enriched themselves during the Persian empire, under the favour and protection of whose kings they had the full possession of this trade.

But when the Ptolemies prevailed in Egypt, they did, by building Berenice, Myos-Hormos, and other ports on the Egyptian or western side of the Red Sea (for Elath and Esiongeber lay on the eastern), and by sending forth fleets from thence to all those countries to which the Tyrians traded from Elath, soon drew all this trade into that kingdom, and there fixed the chief mart of it at Alexandria, which was thereby made the greatest mart in the world, and there it continued for a great many ages after; and all the marine traffic, which the western parts of the world from that time had with Persia, India, Arabia, and the eastern coasts of Africa, was wholly carried on through the Red Sea and the mouth of the Nile, till a way was found, a little above two hundred years since, of sailing to those parts by the way of the

Cape of Good Hope. After this, the Portuguese for some time managed this trade; but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the English and Dutch. And this is a full account of the East India trade, from the time it was first begun by David and Solomon to our present age.

Supposed position of Ophir and Tarshish.—But though it be by all agreed that the trade to Ophir and Tarshish was the same that is now in the hands of our East India merchants, yet there are great disputes among learned men in what parts of the eastern world these two places lay. Some will have Ophir to have been the island of Zocatora, which lies on the eastern coasts of Africa, a little without the Straits of Babelmandel. Others will have it to be the island anciently called Taprobana, now Ceylon; and, for its being an island, they have the authority of Eupolemus (an ancient author quoted by Eusebius) on their side; for speaking of David, he saith of him, "That he built ships at Elath, a city of Arabia, and from thence sent metal-men to the island of Urphe or (Ophir), situated in the Red Sea, which was fruitful in yielding abundance of gold, and the metal-men brought it from thence to Judæa." But this being a question no way to be decided but from the Scriptures, all that is to be observed from thence is, 1st, That from Elath to Tarshish was a voyage of three years, going and coming; but in what compass of time the voyage to Ophir was completed is not said; and that therefore Tarshish might be somewhere in the East Indies, but Ophir might be anywhere nearer home within the reach of those seas. 2ndly, That the commodities brought from Tarshish were "gold and silver, and ivory, and apes, and peacocks;" and those of Ophir "were gold, and almug trees, and precious stones." And therefore any place in the Southern or great Indian Sea, at the distance of a then three years' voyage from Elath, which can best furnish the merchants with gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks, may be guessed to be the Tarshish of the Holy Scriptures; and any place within the compass of the same Southern Sea, that can best furnish them with gold, almug trees, and precious stones, and in that quantity of gold as Solomon brought home in one voyage, may be guessed to be the Ophir in the said Holy Scriptures mentioned. Only thus much I cannot forbear to say, that if the southern part of Arabia did

furnish the world in those times with the best gold, and in the greatest quantity (as good authors say), they that would have the Ophir of the Holy Scriptures to be there situated seem of all others to have the best foundation for their conjecture. But more than conjecture no one can have in this matter.

The Red Sea: ancient extensive application of the name.—But for the better understanding of what Eupolemus above saith of Ophir, "that it was an island in the Red Sea," it is proper here to take notice, that he doth not there mean the Arabian Gulf, which lieth between Arabia and Egypt, and is now commonly called the Red Sea; but the great Southern Ocean, which, extending itself between India and Africa, washeth up to the coast of Arabia and Persia, where it appearing of a reddish colour, by reason of the fierceness of the sun-beams constantly bearing upon it in that hot climate, it was therefore called the Red Sea; and this alone was that which was truly and properly called so by the ancients. For the Arabian Gulf, which hath now obtained that name, was never for any such redness of it so called; for neither the water (as some will have it) nor the sand (as others say) hath there any appearance of that colour, nor was it ever by any of the easterns formerly so called. Throughout the whole Scripture of the Old Testament it is called Yam Suph, that is, the Weedy Sea, by reason of the great quantity of sea-weed which is therein; and the same name it also hath in the ancient Syriac version, as well as in the Targum or Chaldee paraphrases. But among the ancient inhabitants of the countries adjoining, it was call Yam Edom, i. e. the Sea of Edom: for the sons of Edom having possessed all that country, which, lying between the Red Sea and the Lake of Sodom, was by the Greeks called Arabia Petræa, they then named it, from their father Edom, the land of Edom; and, because that which we now call the Red Sea washed upon it, thence

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it was called the Sea of Edom, or, in the dialect of the Greeks, the Edomean or Idumean Sea, in the same manner as that which washeth upon Pamphylia was called the Pamphylian Sea, and that which washeth upon Tyrrhenia the Tyrrhenian Sea, and so in abundance of other instances. But the Greeks, who took this name from the Phœnicians, finding it by them to be called

Yam Edom, instead of rendering it the Sea of Edom, or the Idumean Sea, as they ought, mistook the word Edom to be an appellative instead of a proper name, and therefore rendered it ᾽Ερυθρὰ θάλασσα, that is, the Red Sea. For Edom, in the language of that country, signified red; and it is said in Scripture, that Esau having sold his birthright to his brother Jacob for a mess of red pottage, he was for that reason called Edom, that is, the red. And Strabo, Pliny, Mela, and others, say that this sea was called so, not from any redness that was in it, but from a great king, called Erythrus, who reigned in the country adjoining upon it: which name, Erythrus, signifying the same in Greek that Edom did in the Phœnician and Hebrew languages, that is, the red, this plainly proves, that the great king Erythrus could be none other than Edom, who having planted his posterity in the country, as I have said, from him it was called the land of Edom, or with a Greek termination, Edomea, or Idumea, and from that land the sea which washed upon it was called the Sea of Edom; but the Greeks translating Edom as an appellative into the word red, which it signified, instead of rendering it in the same sound as a proper name, from this mistake it was by them called the Red Sea, and that name it hath retained ever since. But fully to clear what hath been above said, it is necessary further to observe, that the Idumæa mentioned by Strabo, Josephus, Pliny, Ptolemy, and other ancient writers, was not that land of Edom, or Idumea, which gave name to the Red Sea, but another ancient Idumea, which was vastly larger than that Idumea which those authors describe; for it included all that land which was afterwards, from Petra, the metropolis of it, called Arabia Petræa. For all this was inhabited by the sons of Edom, and from thence it was anciently called the land of Edom. But, on a sedition which arose among them, a party going off from the rest, while the land of Judæa lay desolate during the Babylonish captivity, they planted themselves on the south-western part of that country, where they were called Idumæans; and that land alone which they there possessed was the Idumea which those authors mention. Those who remained behind, joining themselves to the Ishmaelites, were from Nebaioth, or Nabath, the son of Ishmael, called Nabathæans, and the country which they possessed Nabathæa; and by that name we often hear of them in the ancient Greek and Latin writers.

Reign of Ahaz resumed: his idolatry, 739.—But to return from whence I have digressed, Ahaz, having gone so far with Tiglath-Pileser, as hath been said, found it necessary for him to overlook all injuries to avoid provoking greater; and, therefore, carrying on the

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compliment towards him, as if he had really been that friend and protector which he pretended to be, as soon as he heard that he was returned to Damascus, he went thither to him, to pay him that respect and obeisance, which, after having owned him as his protector and sovereign, he did now, as his client and tributary, owe unto him. While he was at Damascus on this occasion, he saw there an idolatrous altar, of a form which he was much pleased with; whereon, causing a pattern of it to be taken, he sent it to Urijah, the high priest at Jerusalem, to have another there made like unto it; and, on his return, having removed the altar of the Lord out of its place in the temple, ordered this new altar to be set up in its stead. And thenceforth giving himself wholly up to idolatry, instead of the God of Israel he worshipped the gods of the Syrians, and the gods of the other nations round him, saying, that they helped their people, and that therefore he would worship them, that they might help him also. And, accordingly, having filled Jerusalem and all Judæa with their idols and their altars, he would suffer no other god, but them only, to be worshipped in the land; whereby, having excluded the only true God, the Lord his Creator, whom alone he ought to have adored, he caused his temple to be shut up, and utterly suppressed his worship throughout all his kingdom. And this he did with an air and profession of anger and defiance, for that he had not delivered him in his distress, when the Syrians and Israelites came against him, as if it were in his power to revenge himself on the Almighty, and execute his wrath upon him that made him; to such an extravagant height of folly and madness had his impiety carried him beyond all that had reigned before him in Jerusalem; and in this he continued, till at length he perished in it, being cut off in the flower of his age, before he had outlived half his days.

Colonies of Syrians and Israelites planted by Tiglath-Pileser in Media.—Tiglath-Pileser, on his return into Assyria, carried with him great numbers of the people, whom he had taken captive in the kingdom of

Damascus and in the land of Israel. Those of Damascus he planted in Kir, and those of Israel in Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and on the river Gozan, in the land of the Medes. Kir was a city in the hither part of Media; but Halah, Habor, Hara, and the river Gozan, were farther remote. And herein was accomplished the prophecy of the prophet Amos against Israel, wherein he foretold, in the days of Uzziah, the grandfather of Ahaz, that God would cause them to go into captivity beyond Damascus; that is, unto places beyond where those of Damascus should be carried. St. Stephen, quoting this prophecy, renders it beyond Babylon. So the common editions of the Greek Testament have it, and it is certainly true; for what was beyond Kir was also beyond Babylon, for Kir was beyond Babylon.

But Wicelius's edition hath Damascus in St. Stephen's speech also, and no doubt he had ancient copies, which he followed herein. The planting of the colonies by Tiglath-Pileser in those cities of the Medes plainly proves Media to have been then under the king of Assyria: for, otherwise what had he to do to plant colonies in that country? And therefore Tiglath-Pileser and Arbaces were not two distinct kings, whereof one had Media, and the other Assyria, as Archbishop Usher supposeth, but must both be the same person expressed under these two distinct names. And Diodorus Siculus positively tells us, that Arbaces had Assyria as well as Media for his share in the partition of the former empire; and therefore, there is no room for a Tiglath-Pileser, or a Ninus Junior, distinct from him, to reign in Assyria during his time, but it must necessarily be one and the same person that was signified by all these different names.

Death of Pekah: rapid decline of the kingdom of Israel.—Pekah, by this conquest which the Assyrians made upon him, being stripped of so large a part of his kingdom, was hereby brought lower than he had afore brought king Ahaz. For he had now scarce anything left but the city of Samaria, and the territories of the tribe of Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasseh only; which bringing him into contempt with his people, as well as raising their indignation against him (as is commonly the case of unfortunate princes), Hoshea, the son of Elah, rose up against him, and slew him, after he had reigned in Samaria twenty years; and hereby was fully

accomplished that prophecy of Isaiah concerning him, which is above related. After this, the elders of the land seem to have taken the government into their hands; for Hoshea had not the kingdom till nine years after, that is, towards the end of the twelfth year of Ahaz.

Death of Tiglath-Pileser and accession of Salmaneser: Hoshea, king of Israel, a vassal of Assyria, 729.—In the fourteenth year of Ahaz died Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria, after he had reigned nineteen years; and Salmaneser, his son (who in Tobit is called Enemessar, and in Hosea, Shalman), reigned in his stead. And as soon as he was settled in the throne, he came into Syria and Palestine, and there subjected Samaria to his dominion, making Hoshea, the king thereof, to become his vassal, and pay tribute unto him. In this expedition, among other prey which he took and carried away with him, was the golden calf, which Jeroboam had set up in Bethel; and had been there, ever since this time, worshipped by the ten tribes of Israel, that had revolted with him from the house of David. The other golden calf, which was at the same time set up by him in Dan, had been taken thence, about ten years before, by Tiglath-Pileser, in the invasion which he then made upon Galilee, in which province that city stood.

Israel returns to the worship of the true God.—Therefore the apostate Israelites, being now deprived of the idols which they had so long worshipped, began again to return to the Lord their God, and to go up to Jerusalem, there to worship before him; and Hoshea

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encouraged them herein. For whereas the kings of Israel had hitherto maintained guards upon the frontiers to hinder all under their subjection from going up to Jerusalem to worship there, Hoshea took away those guards, and gave free liberty to all to worship the Lord their God, according to his laws, in that place which he had chosen; and therefore, when Hezekiah invited all Israel, that is, all those of the ten revolted tribes, as well as the other two, to come up to his passover, Hoshea hindered them not, but permitted all that would to go up thereto. And when those of his subjects who were at that festival did, on their return, out of their zeal for the true worship of their God, break in pieces the images, cut down the

groves, demolish the high places, and absolutely destroyed all other monuments of idolatry, throughout the whole kingdom of Samaria, as will be hereafter related, Hoshea forbade them not, but in all likelihood gave his consent to it, and concurred with them herein. For he being king, without his encouraging of it, and giving his authority for it, it could not have been done. And therefore he hath, as to religion, the best character given him in Scripture of all that reigned before him over Israel from the division of the kingdom. For although he were not perfect in the true worship of God, and therefore it is said of him, that "he did evil in the sight of the Lord;" yet it is subjoined, in the next words, "but not so as the kings of Israel which were before him." By which it appears, that his ways were less offensive to God than were the ways of any of those that had reigned before him in that kingdom. However, still he was far from being perfectly righteousness, which this alone sufficiently proves, that he treacherously slew his master to reign in his stead.

Death of Ahaz, 727.—Ahaz, in the sixteenth year of his reign, being smitten of God for his iniquities, died in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and was buried in the city of David, but not with a royal burial, in the sepulchres of the kings. For from this honour he was excluded because of his wicked reign, as were Jehoram and Joash before him, and Manasseh and Ammon after him, for the same reason; it being the usage of the Jews to lay this mark of infamy upon those that reigned wickedly over them.

II. REIGN OF HEZEKIAH, B. C. 727—699. —

Kings of Israel—Hoshea, 730.

Assyrian captivity of Israel, 721.

Assyria—Salmaneser, 729.

Sennacherib, 715.

Esarhaddon, 706.

Babylon—Merodach-Baladan, 721.

Media—Deioces, 709.—

Egypt—Sabacon or So, 727.

Sevechus or Sethon, 719.

Tirhakah, 705.

Prophets—Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, and Nahum.

Restoration of the true worship.—After Ahaz reigned Hezekiah his son, a very worthy and religious prince. He had in the last year of his father's reign been admitted a partner with him in the kingdom, while he was languishing (as it may be supposed) under the sickness of which he died. However, as long as his father lived, he could make no alteration in that evil course of affairs which he had put both church

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and state into; but, as soon as he was dead, and Hezekiah had the whole power in his hands, he immediately set himself with all his might to work a thorough reformation in both.

Purging of the temple, 726.—The first thing which he did was to open the house of God, which his father had impiously shut up, and restore the true worship therein; in order whereto he called the priests and Levites together, out of all parts of the land, to attend their duty in the temple, ordering them to remove his father's new altar, and to restore the altar of the Lord to its place again, and purge the temple of all other pollutions with which it had been profaned during the reign of his father. But it not being till the end of the former year that Ahaz died, the beginning of the first month of the ensuing year (which is called Nisan, and corresponds partly with March and partly with April in our calendar), was the soonest that they could be employed in this work; so that it not being completed till the 16th day of that month, the passover could not be kept that year in its regular time, which ought to have been begun on the 14th day of the said month of Nisan. However, the house of the Lord being now sanctified, and made fit for the service of God, Hezekiah went up thither, on the 17th day of that

month, with the rulers and great men of his kingdom, where the people being gathered together, he offered sin-offerings for the kingdom, and the sanctuary, and for Judah, to make atonement to God for them, and for all Israel; and after that he offered peace-offerings, and in all other particulars restored the service of God in the same manner as it had been performed in the purest times that had been before him: and there was great joy among all the good people of the land thereon.

Solemn celebration of the Passover both by Judah and Israel.—And seeing the passover could not be kept on the regular time this year, because neither the temple, nor the priests, nor the people were sanctified in order hereto, and in this case the law of Moses allowed a second passover to be kept from the 14th day of the second month, king Hezekiah having taken counsel hereon with the chief priests, and his princes, and all the congregation in Jerusalem, decreed, that this second passover should be kept by all the congregation of Israel, instead of the first; and accordingly, he sent messengers to carry notice hereof, not only through all Judah, but also through all the other tribes of Israel, and to invite all that were of Israel to come to it. And accordingly, on the day appointed, there was at Jerusalem a very great concourse of people from all parts met together to solemnize the holy festival, and that as well from those tribes that had separated from the house of David, as from those who had stuck to it; for although many of Ephraim and Manasseh, and the rest of those tribes, laughed at Hezekiah's messengers when they invited them to this solemnity, because of the impious contempt which through long disusage they had contracted of it, yet a great multitude even from those parts came to it, and very religiously joined in the observance of it, whereby it became the greatest passover that had been solemnized at Jerusalem since the days of king Solomon. And, because they had long neglected the observing of this solemn festival, to make some amends for it, they now doubled the time of its continuance: for whereas the law directs

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it to be observed only seven days, they kept it fourteen, with much joy and gladness of heart; and resolving from thenceforth to serve the God of Israel only, as soon as the solemnity was ended, they went out into all the coasts

of Judah and Benjamin, and brake the images in pieces, and cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and the altars, and absolutely destroyed all the monuments of idolatry, which were anywhere to be found, either in Jerusalem, Judæa, or any of the coasts belonging thereto. And those of the other tribes, on their return home, did the same in all the rest of Israel; so that the true worship of God was again universally restored throughout all the land, and they might have received a blessing proportionable hereto, had they with the same zeal persisted in it.

Destruction of the brazen serpent.—And the brazen serpent which Moses had set up in the wilderness, having been by many, in the preceding times of iniquity, made the object of idolatrous worship, Hezekiah caused this also to be destroyed; whereas, otherwise it might have served, as well as the pot of manna and Aaron's rod, to have been a monument of the miraculous mercy of God, shown to his people on their coming out of Egypt, and for this reason it seems to have been so long preserved. But notwithstanding it is thus positively said in the Holy Scripture, that the brazen serpent was destroyed by Hezekiah in the manner as I have related; yet the impudence of the Romanists is such, that in the church of St. Ambrose at Milan they now keep and show to their devotees a brazen serpent, which they pretend to be the very same that Moses did set up in the wilderness; and upon this belief, an idolatrous devotion is there paid to it, as gross as was that of the Jews, for which Hezekiah caused it to be destroyed. But it must not be denied, that, among their learned men, there are those who acknowledge the cheat, and disclaim it.

Israel allies with Egypt, 724.—About the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah, Sabacon, the Ethiopian, having invaded Egypt, and taken Boccharis, the king of that country, prisoner, caused him with great cruelty to be burnt alive, and then seizing his kingdom, reigned there in his stead. This is the same who in Scripture is called So. And he having thus settled himself in Egypt, and after some time grown very potent there, Hoshea, king of Samaria, entered into confederacy with him, hoping by his assistance to shake off the yoke of Assyria; and, in confidence hereof, he withdrew his subjection from Salmaneser, and would pay him no more tribute, nor bring any more presents unto him, as he had formerly used every year to do.

Israel carried into Assyrian captivity by Salmaneser, 721.—Whereon Salmaneser, in the beginning of the fourth year of Hezekiah, marched with an army against him, and, having subdued all the country round, pent him up in Samaria, and there besieged him three years; at the end of which he took the city, and thereon putting Hoshea in chains, he shut him up in prison all his days, and carried the people into captivity, placing them in Halah, and in Habor, and in the other cities of the Medes,

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where Tiglath-Pileser had before placed those whom he had carried into captivity out of the same land. In this captivity, Tobit, being taken out of his city of Thisbe, in the tribe of Nephthali, was, with Anna his wife and Tobias his son, carried into Assyria, where he became purveyor to king Salmaneser. But the rest of his brethren were carried into Media, as is above said, and planted there, as particularly were Gabael in Rages, and Raguel in Ecbatana, which proves Media to have been still under the king of Assyria, and that there was no king in Media in those days distinct from the king of Assyria.

Desolation of Moab.—There is, in the 15th and 16th chapters of Isaiah, a very terrible prophecy against Moab, bearing date in the first year of Hezekiah; wherein it was foretold, that within three years Arne and Kir-Harasheth, the two principal cities of that country, should be destroyed, and all the rest of it brought to contempt, ruin, and desolation; which must have been executed the same year that Samaria was first besieged. It seemeth most likely, that Salmaneser, to secure himself from any disturbance on that side, first invaded Moab; and having destroyed these two cities, brought all the rest of that country under his subjection, and placed garrisons therein sufficient to put a stop to all incursions of the Arabs, which might that way be made upon him, before he would begin that siege; for otherwise he could not have been able to carry it on with success.

Babylonian history: accession of Merodach-Baladan.—In the same year that Samaria was taken, Mardoc-Empadus began his reign at Babylon. He was the son of Belesis, or Baladan, or Nabonassar (for by all these names he was called), and was the same who in Scripture is called

Merodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan. But after the death of his father, several other princes had succeeded in Babylon before the crown came to him. For Nabonassar dying when he had sat on the throne fourteen years, after him reigned Nadius two years; and after him Chinzerus and Porus jointly five years; and then after them Jugæus five years. But of these there being nothing on record besides their names in the Canon of Ptolemy, we have not hitherto taken any notice of them. After Jugæus succeeded Mardoc-Empadus, in the twenty-seventh year after the beginning of his father's kingdom in Babylon, and reigned twelve years.

Hezekiah recovers his father's possessions, and refuses to pay tribute to Assyria, 720.—While Salmaneser was engaged in the siege of Samaria, Hezekiah took the opportunity of recovering what had been lost from his kingdom in the reign of his father. And therefore, making war upon the Philistines, he not only regained all the cities of Judah, which they had seized during the time that Pekah and Rezin distressed the land, but also dispossessed them of almost all their own country, except Gaza and Gath. In B. C. 720, when the siege of Samaria was over, Salmaneser sent to Hezekiah, to demand the tribute which Ahaz had agreed to pay for the kingdom of Judæa, in the time of Tiglath-Pileser his father; but Hezekiah, trusting in the Lord his God, would not hearken unto him, neither did he pay him any tribute, or send any presents unto him; which would immediately have brought Sal maneser upon him with all his power, but that he was diverted by another war.

Phœnician history: war between the Assyrians and Tyrians, 715.—For Elulæus, king of Tyre, seeing the Philistines brought low by the war which Hezekiah had lately made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing Gath again under his obedience, which had some time before revolted from him. Whereon the Gittites, applying themselves to Salmaneser, engaged him in their cause, so that he marched with his whole army against the Tyrians. Whereon Sidon, Ace (afterwards called Ptolemais, and now Acon), and the other maritime towns of Phœnicia, which had till then been subject to the Tyrians, revolted from them, and submitted to Salmaneser. But the Tyrians having in a sea-fight with twelve ships only

beaten the Assyrian and Phœnician fleets both joined together, which consisted of sixty ships, this gave them such a reputation in naval affairs, and made their name so terrible in this sort of war, that Salmaneser would not venture to cope with them any more at sea; but, turning the war into a siege, left an army to block up the city, and returned into Assyria. The forces which he left there much distressed the place by stopping their aqueducts, and cutting off all the conveyances of water to them. To relieve themselves in this exigency they digged wells, from whence they drew up water, and by the help of them held out five years; at the end of which Salmaneser dying, this delivered them for that time. But they being over-puffed up with this success, and growing very insolent hereon, this provoked that prophecy against them in the twenty-third chapter of Isaiah, which foretold the miserable overthrow that should afterwards happen unto them; and was accordingly effected by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, as will hereafter be shown.

Egyptian history: accession of Sevechus or Sethon.—In the ninth year of Hezekiah [i. e. в. c. 719] died Sabacon, or So, king of Egypt, after he had reigned in that country eight years, and Sevechus, his son, whom Herodotus calls Sethon, reigned in his stead.

Assyrian history: death of Salmaneser and accession of Sennacherib, 714.—Salmaneser, king of Assyria, being dead, after he had reigned fourteen years, Sennacherib, his son, succeeded him in the kingdom, and reigned about eight years. He is the same whom the prophet Isaiah (ch. xx. 1) calleth Sargon. As soon as he was settled in the throne, he renewed the demand which his father had made upon Hezekiah for the tribute which Ahaz had agreed to pay in the reign of Tiglath-Pileser, his grandfather; and on his refusal to comply with him herein, denounced war against him, and marched with a great army into Judæa to fall upon him. This was in the fourteenth year of the reign of king Hezekiah.

Hezekiah's sickness.—In the same year, Hezekiah, falling sick of the pestilence, had a message from God by the prophet Isaiah, to set

his house in order, and prepare for death; but on his hearty prayer to God, he obtained another message from him by the same prophet, which promised him life for fifteen years longer, and also deliverance from the Assyrians, who were then coming against him; and to give him thorough assurance hereof by a miraculous sign, God did at his request make the sun go backward ten degrees upon the sun-dial of Ahaz. And accordingly a lump of figs having been by the prophet's direction made into a plaster, and laid to the pestilential boil, he recovered within three days, and went up to the house of God to return thanks unto him for so wonderful a deliverance.

Arrival of ambassadors from Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon, 713.—The next year, B. C. 713, Merodach-Baladan, king of Babylon (the same who in Ptolemy's Canon is called Mardoc-Empadus), hearing of this miraculous recovery, sent ambassadors unto him to congratulate him hereon, which Hezekiah was much pleased with. Their coming on this occasion seemeth principally to have been for two reasons. The first, to inquire about the miracle of the sun's retrogradation (for the Chaldeans, being above all other nations then given to the study of astronomy, were very curious in their inquiries after such matters); and the other, to enter into an alliance with him against Sennacherib, whose growing power the Babylonians had reason to fear, as well as the Jews. And to make the Babylonians put the greater value upon his alliance on this account, seems to be the reason that Hezekiah showed those ambassadors from them all the riches of his house, his treasures, his armory, and all his stores and strength for war. But by this he having expressed the vanity and pride of his mind, God sent him, by the prophet Isaiah, a rebuking message for it, and also a prophecy of what the Babylonians should afterwards do unto his family, in order to the humbling of that pride with which his heart was then elated.

Invasion of Sennacherib warded off by a heavy subsidy.—Towards the end of the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, Sennacherib came up with a great army against the fenced cities of Judah, and took several of them, and laid siege to Lachish, threatening Jerusalem itself next. Whereon Hezekiah, taking advice of his princes and chief counsellors, made all manner of preparations for its defence; repairing the walls, and making new ones where they were wanting, and fortifying them with towers, and all other works and buildings necessary for their defence. And he provided also

darts and shields in great abundance, and all other arms and artillery, which might be any way useful for the defending of the place, and the annoying of the enemy on their coming against it. And he caused all the people to be enrolled and marshalled for the war that were fit and able for it, placing over them captains of experience, to instruct them in all military exercises, and to conduct and lead them forth against the enemy, whenever there should be an occasion for it. And he took care also to stop up all the wells that were without the walls of Jerusalem for a great compass round the city, and diverted all brooks and water-courses from coming that way, thereby to distress the enemy for want of water, should they come and set down before that place. And further, to strengthen himself the more against so potent and formidable an enemy, he entered

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into alliance with the king of Egypt for their mutual defence. But the prophet Isaiah condemned this alliance, as carrying with it a distrust in God, telling the Jews that they should confide in him alone for their deliverance, who would himself come down to fight for Mount Zion, and deliver and preserve Jerusalem from the power of the enemy that was then risen up against it; and that whatsoever trust they should place in Egypt should all come to nothing, and be of no benefit to them, but rather turn to their shame, their reproach, and their confusion; and so in the event it accordingly happened. However, Sennacherib being informed of all these preparations which Hezekiah had made for his defence, and perceiving thereby how difficult a work it would be to take so strong a city, when so well appointed and provided for its defence, he became inclined to hearken to terms of accommodation; and therefore, on Hezekiah's sending to treat with him, it was agreed that Hezekiah paying unto him three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold for the present, and duly rendering his tribute for the future, there should be peace. But when Sennacherib had received the money he had little regard to this agreement, but soon after broke it, and again renewed the war, as will be hereafter shown.

Sennacherib's invasion of Egypt.—However, for the present Sennacherib gave Hezekiah some respite, and marched against Egypt: and the better to open his way into that country he sent Tartan, one of his

generals, before him to take Ashdod, or Azotus, from the taking of which place the prophet Isaiah dates the beginning of the war which Sennacherib had with the Egyptians, wherein, according as that prophet had foretold, he much afflicted that people three years together, destroying their cities, and carrying multitudes of them into captivity. At that time Sevechus, the son of Sabacon, or So, the Ethiopian, was king of Egypt, whom Herodotus calls Sethon, and represents him as a prince of so foolish a conduct, as was most likely to bring such a calamity upon his kingdom, whensoever it should be assaulted by an enemy. For affecting the office of a priest, he neglected that of a king, and causing himself to be consecrated chief pontiff of Vulcan, gave himself wholly up to superstition; and having no regard to the warlike defence of his kingdom, he so far neglected and discouraged the military order which were there maintained for it, that he took from them their tenures, which, in the time of the former kings, his predecessors had allowed them for their support; which gave them such a just cause of offence and indignation against him, that when he had need for their valour on this occasion, they would not fight for him; whereon he was forced to raise an army of such raw and inexperienced men as he could get out of the shopkeepers, tradesmen, labourers, and such like people; which being wholly unable to cope with such an army of veterans as Sennacherib brought against them, he did

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with great ease overrun the country, and work what devastation in it he pleased.

Destruction of No-Amon, or Thebes, as described by Nahum.—And at this time seems to have been brought upon No-Amon, a famous city in Egypt, that destruction which the prophet Nahum speaks of (ch. iii. 10), where he tells us, that her inhabitants were carried into captivity, her young children dashed in pieces in the top of her streets, and her great men divided by lot among the conquerors, and put into chains to be led away as slaves and captives. All which, he tells us, happened while Egypt and Ethiopia were her strength, which plainly points out unto us this time when an Ethiopian prince reigned over Egypt. For Sabacon, or So, the father of Sevechus, was an Ethiopian, who made himself king of Egypt by conquest;

and therefore during his and his son's reign Egypt and Ethiopia were as one country, and they mutually helped each other, an instance whereof will not be wanting in this war. No-Amon, in Egypt, was the same with Thebes, famous for its hundred gates and vast number of inhabitants. The Greeks called it Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter, because of a famous temple there built to Jupiter. And for the same reason was it called No-Amon by the Egyptians, for Amon was the name of Jupiter among that people. It is to be observed, that the destruction of No-Amon mentioned in Nahum must have been some time before that of Nineveh; for the former is historically related by him as past, and the other only prophetically foretold as to come. And therefore Nineveh having been destroyed in the twenty-ninth year of Josiah, as will hereafter be shown, this destruction of No-Amon must have been long before, and in no time more likely than when Sennacherib made this war upon Egypt, and harassed it from one end to the other, for three years together. They who refer this destruction of No-Amon, spoken of by Nahum, to the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, place it after the destruction of Nineveh, and thereby make one part of the text inconsistent with the other.

Destruction of Sennacherib's army, 710.—But Sennacherib did not end this war with the same success as he begun it; for having laid siege to Pelusium, and spent much time in it, he was at length forced to break up from thence, and retreat out of Egypt, because of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia; for he being come into Egypt with a great army to help Sevechus, his kinsman, was on a full march toward Pelusium to relieve the place, which Sennacherib hearing of, durst not abide his coming, but raised the siege, and returning into Judea, encamped again at Lachish, where he renewed the war with Hezekiah, notwithstanding the agreement of peace which he had afore made with him; and, to let him know as much, he sent Tartan, Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, three of his principal captains, with that proud and blasphemous message, which we have at full recited in two places of the Holy Scripture. It was delivered to the king's officers from under the walls of Jerusalem, in the hearing of all the people, and in the Hebrew tongue: for they hoped thereby to draw the people to a revolt; but they, failing of success herein, returned to Sennacherib

without their design. The person appointed to deliver this message was Rabshakeh, who, by his ready speaking of the Hebrew tongue, seems to have been an apostate Jew, or else one of the captivity of Israel. By office he was the king's chief cup-bearer, as his name imports. On their return they found Sennacherib decamped from Lachish, and laying siege at Libnah; where hearing that Tirhakah, on his finding him gone from Pelusium, was marching after him, as in pursuit of one flying from him, he led forth his army against him, and gave him a great overthrow. For it was from God by the prophet Isaiah afore laid as a burden upon Egypt, and as a burden upon Ethiopia, thus to be punished by him, and he was no more than as God's executioner herein. But before he went forth to this last war, he sent again to Hezekiah, adding a most blasphemous letter to his former message, defying therein both him and also the Lord his God, in a most impious manner; which justly provoked the wrath of God against him to that degree, as brought a most dismal destruction upon him, to the cutting off of almost all his army. For when, swelling with his fresh victory over the Ethiopians, he was on his full march towards Jerusalem, with thorough purpose utterly to destroy that place, and all in it, an angel of the Lord went forth, and in one night smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand men, so that when he arose in the morning, he found almost all his army dead corpses; with which being terrified, he fled out of Judæa in great confusion, and made all the haste he could back again to Nineveh, where he dwelt all the remainder of his life in dishonour, shame, and regret. This happened in the eighteenth year of king Hezekiah, and four years after Sennacherib first came into those parts. After this, Hezekiah reigned the rest of his time in great peace and prosperity, being feared and honoured by all the nations around him, by reason of the favour which they saw he had with the Lord his God, in the great and wonderful deliverance which he had vouchsafed unto him: so that none of them, after this, would any more lift up their hand against him.

Manner of the destruction as described in the Babylonian Talmud and by Herodotus.—The Babylonish Talmud hath it, that this destruction upon the army of the Assyrians was executed by lightning, and some of the Targums are quoted for saying the same thing. But it seemeth most likely that it was effected by bringing on them the hot wind which is frequent in

those parts, and often, when it lights among a multitude, destroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in those vast caravans of the Mahometans who go their annual pilgrimages to Mecca. And the words of Isaiah, which threatened Sennacherib with a blast that God would send upon him, seem to denote this thing. Herodotus gives us, from the relation of the Egyptian priests, some kind of a disguised account of this deliverance from the Assyrians, in a fabulous application of it to the city of Pelusium, instead of Jerusalem, and to Sethon the Egyptian king, instead of Hezekiah, by whose piety he saith it was obtained;

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that while the king of Assyria laid siege to Pelusium, a great number of rats were miraculously sent into his army, which in one night did eat all their shield-straps, quivers, and bow-strings, so that on their rising the next morning, finding themselves without arms for the carrying on of the war, they were forced to raise the siege and be gone. And it is particularly to be remarked, that Herodotus calls the king of Assyria, to whom he saith this happened, by the same name of Sennacherib, as the Scriptures do, and the time in both doth also well agree: which plainly shows that it is the same fact that is referred to by Herodotus, although much disguised in the relation; which may easily be accounted for, when we consider that it comes to us through the hands of such as had the greatest aversion both to the nation and the religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in such manner as might give any reputation to either.

Decline of the Assyrian empire: revolt of the Medes, 709.—After this terrible blow, and the loss of so great an army, Sennacherib was so weakened, that he had no way of again recovering himself; which making him to fall into contempt among his subjects, several of his provinces revolted from him, and particularly Media, which was the largest and the most considerable of all his empire. For the Medes, when they heard in how low a condition he was returned to Nineveh, immediately shook off his yoke, and set up for themselves in a sort of democratical government; but soon growing sick of the confusions which this caused among them, they were forced to have recourse to monarchy for the remedy, and the next year after chose Deioces for their king, whom they had formerly made great use

of as a common arbitrator of their differences; and for the great proof which he had given of his justice and abilities on such occasions, they advanced him to this dignity. He began his reign in the nineteenth year of king Hezekiah; and having repaired, beautified, and enlarged the city of Ecbatana, he made it the royal seat of his kingdom, and reigned there with great wisdom, honour, and prosperity, fifty-three years: during which time, it growing to be a great city, he is for this reason reckoned by the Greeks to have been the founder of it. The same year Arkianus began his reign at Babylon, after the decease of Mardoc-Empadus, or Merodach-Baladan, who ended his life with the former year, after having reigned over the Babylonians twelve years.

Death of Sennacherib and accession of Esarhaddon, 706.— Sennacherib, after his return to Nineveh, being inflamed with rage for his great loss and disappointment, as if he would revenge himself upon his subjects for it, grew thenceforth very cruel and tyrannical in the management of his government, especially towards the Jews and Israelites, abundance of whom he caused every day to be slain, and cast into the streets: by which savage humour, having made himself so intolerable that he could be no longer borne by his own family, his two eldest sons, Adramelech and Sharezar, conspired against him, and falling upon him while he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god, they there slew him with the sword; and thereon having made

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their escape into the land of Armenia, Esarhaddon, his third son, reigned in his stead. Some commentators will have it, that he had vowed to sacrifice these his two sons to appease his gods, and make them the more favourable to him for the restoration of his affairs, and that it was to prevent this that they thus sacrificed him. But for this there is no other foundation, but that scarce anything else can be thought of, which can afford any excuse for so wicked and barbarous a parricide. In B. C. 706, Esarhaddon began his reign over Assyria, about the twenty-second year of king Hezekiah, which was the last of the reign of Sevechus, or Sethon, in the kingdom of Egypt; who, dying after he had reigned fourteen years, was succeeded by Tirhakah, the

same who came with the Ethiopian army to his help. He was the third and last of that race that reigned in Egypt.

Babylonian history, 705.—In the twenty-third year of Hezekiah, Arkianus dying without issue, there followed an interregnum of two years in the kingdom of Babylon, before they could agree upon a successor. At length Belibus, being advanced to the throne, sat in it three years. After him succeeded Apronadius, and reigned six years.

Death of Hezekiah, 699.—The same year that Apronadius began his reign at Babylon, Hezekiah ended his at Jerusalem; for he died there, after he had reigned twenty and nine years, and all Judah and Jerusalem did him honour at his death. For they buried him with great solemnity, in the chiefest and highest place of the sepulchres of the sons of David, expressing thereby that they looked on him as the worthiest and best of all that had reigned over them of that family since him that was the first founder of it. The burial-place, called the sepulchres of the kings of the house of David (which hath been before spoken of), was a very sumptuous and stately thing. It lies now without the walls of Jerusalem, but, as it is supposed, was formerly within them, before that city was destroyed by the Romans. It consists of a large court of about one hundred and twenty feet square, with a gallery or cloister on the left hand; which court and gallery, with the pillars that supported it, were cut out of the solid marble rock. At the end of the gallery there is a narrow passage or hole, through which there is an entrance into a large room or hall, of about twenty-four feet square, within which are several lesser rooms, one within another, with stone doors opening into them; all which rooms, with the great room, were all likewise cut out of the solid marble rock. In the sides of those lesser rooms are several niches in which the corpses of the deceased kings were deposited in stone coffins. In the innermost or chiefest of these rooms, was the body of Hezekiah, laid in a niche, perchance cut of purpose at that time

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for it, in the upper end of that room, to do him the greater honour; and all this remains entire, even to this day. It seems to have been the work of king Solomon, for it could not have been made without vast expense: and it is

the only true remainder of old Jerusalem which is now to be seen in that place. Hezekiah during his reign much improved the city of Jerusalem, not only by new fortifying of it, erecting magazines therein, and filling them with all manner of armory which were in use in those days, but also by building a new aqueduct, which was of great convenience to the inhabitants for the supplying of them with water. And for the better promoting of religion, he maintained skilful scribes to collate together and write out copies of the Holy Scripture; and it is particularly mentioned, that the Proverbs of Solomon were thus collected together and wrote out by those men. And in his time the Simeonites, being straitened in their habitations, much enlarged their borders towards the south: for falling on the Amalekites, who dwelt in part of Mount Seir, and in the rich valley adjoining, they smote them and utterly destroyed them, and dwelt in their rooms.

III. REIGNS OF MANASSEH, B. C. 698-644, —

Ammon, 643-641.

Kings of Assyria—Esarhaddon, 706.

Babylon—Saosduchinus, 667,

Chyniladanus, 647.

Media—Deioces, 709,

Phraortes, 656.

Egypt—Tirhakah, 705,

The Dodecarthy, 685,

Psammitichus, 670.

Prophets—Isaiah.

Restoration of idolatry and terrible persecution, 698.—It was the misfortune of this good king Hezekiah to be succeeded by a son who was the wickedest and worst of the whole race. For after him reigned Manasseh, who being a minor only of twelve years old at his coming to the crown, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of such of the nobility for his guardians and chief ministers, who, being ill-affected to his father's reformation, took care to breed him up in the greatest aversion to it that they were able, corrupting his youth with the worst of principles, both as to religion and government so that when he grew up, he proved the most impious towards God, and most tyrannical and wicked towards his subjects, of any that ever reigned, either in Jerusalem or Samaria, over the tribes of Israel. For he not only restored all the idolatry of Ahaz, but went much beyond him in every abomination, whereby the true worship of God might be suppressed, and his most holy name dishonoured in the land. For whereas Ahaz did only shut up the house of God, he converted it into a house of all manner of idolatrous profanations, setting up an image in the sanctuary, and erecting altars for Baalim, and all the host of heaven, in both its courts. And he also practised witchcrafts and enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits, and made his children pass through the fire to Molech, and filled Judah and Jerusalem with his high places, idols, groves, and altars erected to false gods, and brought in all manner of other idolatrous profanations, whereby the true religion might be most corrupted, and all manner of impiety be

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most promoted, in the kingdom. And to all these ways of abomination he made Judah and Jerusalem to conform, raising a terrible persecution against all that would not comply with him herein, whereby he filled the whole land with innocent blood, of which he did shed very much in the carrying on of these and his other wicked purposes. And when God sent his prophets to him to tell him of these iniquities, and to exhort him to depart from them, he treated them with contempt and outrage, and several of them he put to death; and particularly it is said, that Isaiah the prophet on this account suffered martyrdom under him, by being cruelly sawn asunder. This was an old tradition among the Jews, and the holy apostle St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews (ch. xi. 37), having, among the torments undergone by the

prophets and martyrs of foregoing times, reckoned that of being sawn asunder, he is generally thought in that place to have had respect hereto. By which horrid iniquities and abominations God was so justly incensed against the land, that he declared hereon, that he would stretch out over Jerusalem the line of Samaria, and the plummet of the house of Ahab, and wipe Jerusalem clean of all its inhabitants, as a man wipeth a dish and turneth it, when empty, upside down. Which accordingly was executed upon it in the destruction of that city, and the desolation which was brought upon all Judah at the same time. And among all the iniquities that drew down these heavy judgments upon that city and land, the sins of Manasseh are always reckoned as the most provoking cause; by which an estimate may be best made of the greatness of them.

Babylonian history, 694.—In the fifth year of Manasseh died Apronadius, king of Babylon, and was succeeded by Regibilus, who reigned only one year. After him Mesessimordacus had the kingdom, and held it four years.

Egyptian history, 688; establishment of the Dodecarthy, 685.—In the eleventh year of Manasseh died Tirhakah, king of Egypt, after he had reigned there eighteen years, who was the last of the Ethiopian kings that reigned in that country. The Egyptians after his death, not being able to agree about the succession, continued for two years together in a state of anarchy and great confusion, till at length twelve of the principal nobility, conspiring together, seized the kingdom, and dividing it among themselves into twelve parts, governed it by joint confederacy fifteen years.

Assyrian history: annexation of Babylon by Esarhaddon, 680.—The same year that this happened in Egypt by the death of Tirhakah, the like happened in Babylon by the death of Mesessimordacus. For he leaving no son behind him to inherit the kingdom, an interregnum of anarchy and confusion followed there for eight years together; of which Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, taking the advantage, seized Babylon; and adding it to his former empire, thenceforth reigned

over both for thirteen years. He is, in the Canon of Ptolemy, called Assar-Addinus: and in the Scriptures he is spoken of as king of Babylon and Assyria jointly together. In Ezra he is called Asnapper, and hath there the honourable epithets of the great and noble added to his name by the author of that book; which argues him to have been a prince of great excellency and worth in his time, and far exceeding all others that had reigned before him in either of the kingdoms.

Esarhaddon invades Palestine, 677.—In the twenty-second year of Manasseh, Esarhaddon, after he had now entered on the fourth year of his reign in Babylon, and fully settled his authority there, began to set his thoughts on the recovery of what had been lost to the empire of the Assyrians, in Syria and Palestine, on the destruction of his father's army in Judæa, and on that doleful retreat which thereon he was forced to make from thence; and being encouraged to this undertaking by the great augmentation of strength which he had acquired by adding Babylon and Chaldea to his former kingdom of Assyria, he prepared a great army and marched into those parts, and again added them to the Assyrian empire. And then was accomplished the prophecy which was spoken by Isaiah, in the first year of Ahaz, against Samaria, that within threescore and five years Ephraim should be absolutely broken, so as from thenceforth to be no more a people. For this year being exactly sixty-five years from the first of Ahaz, Esarhaddon, after he had settled all affairs in Syria, marched into the land of Israel, and there taking captive all those who were the remains of the former captivity (excepting only some few, who escaped his hands, and continued still in the land), carried them away into Babylon and Assyria.

Colonization of Samaria.—To prevent the land from becoming desolate, Esarhaddon then brought others from Babylon, and from Cutha, and from Avah, and Hamath, and Sephervaim, to dwell in the cities of Samaria in their stead. And so the ten tribes of Israel, which had separated from the house of David, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those who were thus carried away, as well in this as the former captivities (excepting only some few, who, joining themselves to the Jews in the land of their captivity, returned with them), soon going into the usages and idolatry of the nations among whom they were planted (to which they were too much addicted while in

their own land), after a while became wholly absorbed and swallowed up in them; and thence utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoken of. And whereas there is a sect of Samaritans still remaining in Samaria, Sichem, and other towns thereabout, even to this day, who still have the law of Moses in a character peculiar to themselves, and in a dialect very little, if anything at all, different from that of the Jews; yet these are not of the descendants of

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the Israelites, but of those nations which Esarhaddon brought to dwell in that country in their stead, after the others had been carried thence into captivity. And for this reason the Jews call them by no other name than that of Cuthites (the name of one of those nations whom Esarhaddon had planted there), and have that utter hatred and aversion to them, that reckoning them among the worst of heretics, they express on all occasions a greater detestation of them than they do even of the Christians themselves.

Manasseh carried prisoner to Babylon, but repents, and is restored to his throne.—Earshaddon, after he had thus possessed himself of the land of Israel, sent some of his princes with part of his army into Judæa, to reduce that country also under his subjection; who having vanquished Manasseh in battle, and taken him, hid in a thicket of thorns, brought him prisoner to Esarhaddon, who bound him in fetters, and carried him to Babylon; where his chains and his prison having brought him to himself, and a due sense of his great sin, wherewith he had sinned against the Lord his God, he returned unto him with repentance and prayer, and in his affliction greatly humbled himself before him; whereon God being entreated of by him, he mollified the heart of the king of Babylon towards him, so that, on a treaty, he was again restored to his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem. And then knowing the Lord to be God, he abolished all those idolatrous profanations, both out of the temple and out of all other parts of the land, which he had in his wickedness introduced into them, and again restored in all things the reformation of king Hezekiah his father, and walked according thereto all the remainder of his life, worshipping the Lord his God only, and none other. And all Judah conformed to him herein; so that he continued in prosperity after this to the end of his reign, which was

the longest of any of the kings that had sat on the throne of David either before or after him. For he reigned full fifty-five years, and these being all reckoned to his reign without any chasm, it is argued from hence that his captivity at Babylon could not have been long; but that he was within a very short time after again released from it.

Removal of Shebna from the administration, and advancement of Eliakim.—And to this time may be referred the completion of the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the removal of Shebna, the chief minister of state, and the advancement of Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, in his place. Both of them had been ministers of state under king Hezekiah; Shebna having been his scribe or secretary, and Eliakim the master of his household. And their history, as far as may be collected from the words of the prophet, appears to be thus:—Shebna, being a very wicked man, was a fit person to serve the lusts and evil inclinations of Manasseh in the first part of his reign, and therefore was made his first minister of state; and Eliakim, who was of a quite contrary character, was quite laid aside. But on the revolution that happened on the coming of the army of the Assyrians, Shebna was taken prisoner with his master, and carried to Babylon, and there detained in captivity to his death. And therefore Manasseh, on his repentance and return to Jerusalem,

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having resolved on other measures, called for Eliakim, and put the management of all his affairs into his hands; who, being a person of great wisdom, justice, and piety, soon reëstablished them upon the same foot as they had been in the days of Hezekiah, and so preserved them in peace and prosperity all his time, to the great honour of the king, and the good of all his people; and therefore he hath the character given him of being a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to all the house of Judah, and that having the key and government of the house of David upon his shoulders, he was the great support of it all his days. This Eliakim is supposed to have been of the pontifical family, and to have himself, in the time of Manasseh, borne the office of high priest, and to have been the same who is mentioned by the name of Joakim, or Eliakim, in the history of Judith, as high priest at that time. For Joakim and Eliakim are both the same name, being both of

the same signification in the Hebrew tongue; and therefore the said high priest in Judith is, in the Syriac version, and also in Jerome's Latin version of that book, called promiscuously by both these names. But of this more will be said hereafter in its proper place.

Corrupt religion of the Samaritan colonists, 676.—The nations which Esarhaddon had brought to dwell in the cities of Samaria, instead of the Israelites, who had been carried thence, being on their settling in that country much infested with lions; and the king of Babylon being told, that it was because they worshipped not the God of the country, he ordered that one of the priests which had been carried thence should be sent back to teach these new inhabitants how to worship the God of Israel. But they only took him hereon into the number of their former deities, and worshipped him jointly with the gods of the nations from whence they came. And in this corruption of joining the worship of their false gods with that of the true, they continued till the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim by Sanballat. But on that occasion abundance of Jews falling off to them, they reduced them from this idolatry to the worship of the true God only, as shall be hereafter related; and they have continued in the same worship ever since, to this day.

Egyptian history: overthrow of the Dodecarthy and reëstablishment of the single monarchy under Psammitichus, 671.—In the eight and twentieth year of the reign of Manasseh, the twelve confederated sovereigns of Egypt, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling out among themselves, expelled Psammitichus, one of their number, out of his share, which he had hitherto had with them in the government of the kingdom, and drove him into banishment; whereon flying into the fens near the sea, he lay hid there, till having gotten together out of the Arabian freebooters, and the pirates of Caria and Ionia, such a number of soldiers, as with the Egyptians of his party made a considerable army, he marched with it against the other eleven; and having overthrown them in battle, slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the land; and thereon seizing the whole kingdom to himself, reigned over it in great prosperity fifty and four years.

War between Egypt and Assyria, 670.—As soon as Psammitichus was well settled in the kingdom, he entered into a war with Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, about the boundaries of their two empires, which lasted many years. For after the Assyrians had conquered Syria, Palestine only separating their respective territories, it became a constant bone of contention between them, as it was between the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ afterwards, both parties striving which of the two should have the mastery of this province; and according as they prevailed, sometimes the one and sometimes the other possessed themselves of it. From the time of Hezekiah, it appears to have been in the hands of the Egyptians till the captivity of Manasseh. But when Esarhaddon had conquered Judæa, and carried the king prisoner to Babylon (as hath been above mentioned), it is plain, that from thenceforth the king of Assyria became master of all, even to the very entry of Egypt; and the Egyptians, being at that time divided under several princes, and in civil wars among themselves, were in no capacity to put a stop to this progress. But when Psammitichus had gained the whole monarchy to himself, and again settled the affairs of that kingdom upon its former foundation (which happened about seven years after the captivity of Manasseh), he thought it time to look to the frontiers of his kingdom, and secure them as well as he could against the power of this growing neighbour, and therefore marched with an army into Palestine for this purpose.

Psammitichus invades Palestine: siege of Ashdod.—In the entry of Palestine, Psammitichus found Ashdod, one of the first towns of that country, so strong a barrier against him, that it cost him a blockade of nine and twenty years before he could make himself master of it. This place had formerly been one of the five capital cities of the country of the Philistines. Subsequently the Egyptians got possession of it, and, by well fortifying of it, made it so strong a barrier of their empire on that side, that Sennacherib could not enter Egypt till he had by Tartan, one of his generals, made himself master of it; and when he had gotten it into his possession, finding the importance of the place, he added so much to its strength, that notwithstanding his unfortunate retreat out of Egypt, and the terrible loss of his army in Judæa immediately after, the Assyrians still kept it even to this time; and it was not without that long and tedious siege, which I have

mentioned, that the Egyptians under Psammitichus at last became again masters of it. And when they had gotten it, they found it in such a manner wasted and reduced by so long a war, that it did them but little service afterwards: it being then no more than the carcass of that city which it had formerly been. And therefore the prophet Jeremiah, speaking of it, calls it "the remnant of Ashdod," intimating thereby, that it was then only the poor remains of what it had been in times foregoing.

Manasseh rules both Israel and Judah as a vassal of Assyria.—But notwithstanding this long siege, the whole war did not rest there. While part of the army lay at the blockade, the rest carried on the war against the other parts of Palestine; and so it continued many years, which obliged Manasseh to fortify Jerusalem anew, and to put strong

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garrisons into all his frontier towns against them. For since his release from the captivity of the Assyrians, and the restoration of his kingdom again to him, he was obliged to become their homager, and engage on their side in this war against the Egyptians, although they had been his former allies. And the better to enable him to support himself herein, and also the more firmly to fix him in his fidelity to them, they seem at this time to have put under his command all the other parts of the land of Canaan, that is, all that had formerly been possessed by the kings of Samaria, as well as what belonged to him as king of Judah. For it is certain that Josiah his grandson had all this (as will hereafter be shown), that is, not only the two tribes which made up the kingdom of Judah, but also all that had formerly been possessed by the other ten under the kings of Israel. And the most probable account that can be given of his coming by all this is, that it was all given to Manasseh on this occasion, to hold in homage of the kings of Assyria, and that after his death it was continued to his son and grandson on the same conditions; in the performance of which that good and just prince, king Josiah, afterwards lost his life, as will be shown in its proper place.

Assyrian history: death of Esarhaddon and accession of Saosduchinus, the Nabuchodonosor of Judith, 668-656.—In the thirty-first year of Manasseh died Esarhaddon, after he had reigned, with great

felicity, thirty-nine years over the Assyrians, and thirteen over the Babylonians; and Saosduchinus, his son, reigned in his stead. He is the same who in the book of Judith is called Nabuchodonosor. In the beginning of the twelfth year of his reign (B. C. 656), which was the forty-third of Manasseh, he fought a great battle in the plains of Ragau with Deioces, king of Media (who in the book of Judith is call Arphaxad), and having overthrown him and put him to flight, pursued after him to the adjacent mountains, where he made his retreat, and there having overtaken him, he cut him off and all his army; and thereon following his blow, and making the best of the advantage he had gotten, he made himself master of many of the cities of Media, and among them took Ecbatana itself, the royal seat of the Median empire; and after having miserably defaced it, returned in great triumph to Nineveh, and there took his pleasure in banqueting and feasting, both he and his army, for an hundred and twenty days.

Death of Holofernes, 655.—After this time of feasting was over, he called his officers, nobles, and chief counsellors together, to take an account of what tributary countries and provinces had not gone with him to the war, for he had summoned them all to attend him herein. And, finding that none of the western countries had paid any regard to his commands in this matter, he made a decree, that Holofernes, the chief captain of his army, should go forth to execute the wrath of his lord upon them for it. And accordingly the next year after he marched westward with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and there wasted and destroyed a great many of those nations; till at length coming into Judæa, and laying siege to Bethulia, he was there destroyed, and all his army cut in pieces, in the manner as is in the book of Judith at full related.

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Identification of Arphaxad with Deioces. —That Arphaxad in the said book of Judith was Deioces, and Nabuchodonosor Saosduchinus, appears from hence, that Arphaxad is said to be that king of Media who was the founder of Ecbatana, which all other writers agree to have been Deioces. And the beginning of the twelfth year of Saosduchinus exactly agreeth with the last year of Deioces, when this battle of Ragau is said to have been fought. And there are several particulars in that history which make it

utterly inconsistent with any other times. For it was while Nineveh was the metropolis of the Assyrian empire; it was while the Persians, Syrians, Phoenicians, Cilicians, and Egyptians, were subject to them; it was while the Median empire was in being, and not long after the building of Ecbatana; none of which could be after the captivity of Judah, where some would place this history. For before that time Nineveh had been long destroyed, and both the Assyrian and Median empires had been wholly extinguished; and the Persians, instead of being subject to the Assyrians, had made themselves lords over them, and over all the other nations of the east, from the Hellespont to the river Indus. For so far they had extended and established their empire, before the Jews were returned from the Babylonish captivity, and settled again in their own country. And therefore we must go much higher than the times after that captivity to find a proper scene for the matters in that book related; and it can be nowhere laid more agreeably both with Scripture and profane history, than in the time where I have placed it.

History of the book of Judith. —This book of Judith was originally written in the Chaldee language, by some Jew of Babylon (which is not now extant); and from thence, at the desire of Paula and Eustochium, was by St. Jerome translated into the Latin tongue; which is the translation that is now extant in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible, of which he himself saith in the preface before it, that he did not translate it word for word, but only rendered it according to the sense of the author; and that, cutting off all the corruptions of various readings, which he found in different copies, he did put only that into the translation which he judged to be the true and entire sense of the original. But besides this translation of St. Jerome there are two others, one in Greek, and the other in Syriac. That which is in Greek is attributed to Theodotion, who flourished in the time of Commodus, who was made Roman emperor in the year of Christ 180. But it must be much ancienter; for Clemens Romanus, in his Epistle to the Corinthians (which was wrote near one hundred and twenty years before), brings a quotation out of it. The Syriac translation was made from the Greek, and so was also the English, which we at present have among the apocryphal writings in our Bible. And it is to be observed, that all these three versions last mentioned have several particulars which are not in Jerome's; and some of these seem

to be those various readings, which he professeth to have cut off as corruptions of the text; and particularly that which is added in the thirteenth verse of the first chapter appears to be of this sort. For there the battle of Ragau is placed in the seventeenth year of Nabuchodonosor, which is directly contradictory to what is in the former part of the same chapter. For

there it is positively said, that it was in the twelfth year of his reign; and agreeable hereto Jerome's version placeth the expedition of Holofernes (that was the next year after) in the thirteenth year of Nabuchodonosor, which is the truth of the matter; whereas the other, following the blunder of the former contradiction, makes another, by placing it in the eighteenth year of his reign, and so renders that part of the history wholly inconsistent with itself. And therefore certainly in this particular Jerome's version is to be preferred, which gives good reason to think that it ought to be so in all the rest, wherever there is any difference between them.

Received by the Romanists as of divine writ, and by Grotius as a parabolical fiction. —But still, whether the book be a true or a feigned history is what learned men are not agreed in. The Romanists will have it all to be true, for they have received it into the canon of divine writ. But, on the other hand, it is the opinion of Grotius that it is wholly a parabolical fiction, written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he came into Judæa, to raise a persecution against the Jewish church; and that the design of it was to confirm the Jews under that persecution in their hopes that God would send them a deliverance. "That therein by Judith is meant Judæa; by Bethulia, the temple, or house of God; and by the sword which went out from thence, the prayers of the saints; that Nabuchodonosor doth there denote the devil; and the kingdom of Assyria, the devil's kingdom—pride; that by Holofernes is there meant the instrument or agent of the devil in that persecution, Antiochus Epiphanes, who made himself master of Judæa, that fair widow, so called because destitute of relief; that Eliakim signifies God, who would arise in her defence, and at length cut off that instrument of the devil who would have corrupted her." This particular explication of the parable (as he will have it to be) is, I confess, the peculiar fancy of this great man; but otherwise there are abundance of other learned writers

among the Protestants, who agree with him in the general, that this book is rather a parabolical than a real history, made for the instructing and comforting of the people of the Jews under that figure, and not to give them a narrative of anything really done. And their reason for it is, that they think it utterly inconsistent with all times where it hath been endeavoured to be placed, either before or after the captivity of the Jews. My putting it in the time of Manasseh takes off all the objections which are brought to prove its inconsistency with the times after the captivity, which, I confess, are unanswerable.

Objections to the history being referred to the present date. —But where it here stands the objections from the other part still remain; and they are these following: —1st, That Joakim, or Eliakim (for they are acknowledged to be both the same name), is said in the history of Judith to have been then high priest; but there is none of that name to be found, either in the Scriptures or in Josephus, that was high priest before the captivity. 2ndly, Achior, the Ammonite, in his speech to Holofernes (ch. v. 18), there speaks of the temple as having

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been lately cast to the ground, which was not done till the last year of the reign of Zedekiah; and therefore this cannot be consistent with any time before it. And the third verse of the fourth chapter plainly puts it after the captivity; for there the text is, that the people of the Jews were newly returned from their captivity, when Holofernes invaded Judæa. 3rdly, The chief management of the public affairs of the state are in that book placed wholly in the high priest, without any mention made of the king throughout the whole of it, or implying in the least that there was then any such government in the land; which renders it wholly inconsistent with any other times than those in which there was no king in Judah. 4thly, That in the conclusion of the book, Judith is said to have lived an hundred and five years, and that none made the children of Israel any more afraid in all her days, nor a long time after her death. But supposing her to have been forty-five years old when she went out to Holofernes (and in an older age she cannot well be supposed to have beauty enough to charm such a man), to make her an hundred and five years old, there must be sixty years more

added to her life, which will carry down her death to the fourth year of Zedekiah, when the state of the Jews had for several years been exceedingly disturbed by the Babylonians, and was within a little while after totally subverted by them; which makes both her life and her death absolutely inconsistent with the times in which they are above placed.

Examination of the objections: 1st, The High-priesthood of Joakim. — To the first of these objections it may be answered, 1st, That though there be no such person as Joakim, or Eliakim, named in Scripture to have been high priest before the captivity, yet this is no argument but that there might have been such an one; for the Scripture nowhere professeth to give us an exact catalogue of all such as had been high priests till the captivity. That which looks most like it is what we have in the sixth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles. But that is only a direct lineal descent of the pontifical family from Aaron to Josadak the son of Seraiah, who was high priest at the captivity, and not a catalogue of such as had borne the pontifical office. For several are in that pedigree who never were high priests, and several are left out that were. The high priests of the family of Eli are instances of the latter; for they are left out of that pedigree, though they were high priests: and those of the true race, who were excluded by them, are instances of the former; for they are in it, though they never were high priests. And it is very likely, that, from the time of Solomon to the captivity, many more such instances might have happened to hinder that pedigree from being an exact catalogue of the high priests: for on the minority, or some other unqualifying defect of the right heir, the next collateral must have been admitted to the office, whose name could not come into the pedigree; and on the failing of an elder branch (as might have happened), the heir of the next collateral branch must have come into the office; and then the ancestors of the collateral successor must be in the pedigree, though they had never been in the office; and those of the elder branch, though they had been in the office, could not be in the pedigree, because it had failed. For it is only the pedigree of Josadak, the son of Seraiah, who was high priest at the captivity, which is in a direct line from Aaron, given us in the

sixth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles: and it being the usage of the Jews in their pedigrees to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendant, by leaving out those who are between, of which abundance of instances may be given in Scripture, it is possible this also might have happened in this case. And thus much is certain, that four high priests named in Scripture are not in that pedigree, i. e. Jehoiada, and Zechariah his son, who were high priests in the reign of Joash; Azariah, who was high priest in the reign of Uzziah; and Urijah, who was high priest in the reign of Ahaz, kings of Judah. There are indeed two Azariahs named in that pedigree, besides the Azariah who was the father of Seraiah; but neither of these two could be the Azariah that was high priest in the time of Uzziah: for Amariah, the son of the last of the said two Azariahs in that pedigree, was high priest in the time of Jehosaphat, five generations before. As to the pedigrees of the high priests in Ezra and Nehemiah, they are but imperfect parts of that which we have in the sixth chapter of the First Book of Chronicles. As for the catalogue of Josephus, it is so corrupted, that scarce five of the names in it agree with anything that we have in Scripture. And therefore, putting all this together, Joakim or Eliakim might have been high priest in the time of Manasseh, though there be no mention of him as such, by either of his names, either in the Holy Scriptures or in the history of Josephus. But, 2ndly, That this Joakim or Eliakim (for both, as hath been before observed, is the same name) is not named in Scripture is not certainly true; for there are some who will have Eliakim, the son of Hilkiah, that is afore spoken of, to have been the person, and understand what is said in Isa. xxii. 21, of the robe and the girdle, which he was to put on, as meant of the pontifical robe and girdle, and therefore infer from hence that he was high priest, and St. Jerome and St. Cyril, among the ancients, both were of this opinion. And it must be said, that what is there prophesied of him by Isaiah, that God would commit the government of the state to his hands, in the room of Shebna, who was chief minister before him; and that he should be a father to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and to the house of Judah; and that the key of the house of David should be laid upon his shoulder, to open and to shut without control, as he should think fit; doth very well agree with that part which Joakim is said to have acted in the book of Judith. But that he was the same person is what I durst not from that, which is brought to

prove it, lay much stress upon; neither is there any need of it for the satisfying of this objection, what I have else said being sufficient for it.

2ndly, **The allusions to the destruction of the temple and return from captivity.** —As to the objection from ch. iv. 3, of Judith, and from the speech of Achior (ch. v. 18), the words on which they are founded are not in Jerome's version; and therefore it is most likely they were put into the Greek version (from whence the English is taken) from some of those corrupted copies of the original which Jerome complains of: for in his version (which he made from the best corrected copies of the original Chaldee), ver. 3. of chap. iv. is wholly left out, as are also those words of ch. v. 18, which speak of the temple's having been cast to the ground. And although there be words still remaining in Jerome's version, as well as in our English, which speak of the captivity and

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dispersion of the Jews, and their late restoration again to their own land; yet they are none other than what may be better understood of the Assyrian captivity, in the time of Manasseh, than of the Babylonish, which happened afterwards.

3rdly, **The absence of all mention of a king.** —As to the third objection, it is possible Manasseh might be then engaged in the defence of some other part of his kingdom, and therefore had intrusted Joakim with the management of all affairs at Jerusalem during his absence. And if he were the Eliakim mentioned in the twenty-second chapter of Isaiah, and as chief minister of state was then invested with all that amplitude of trust and power as is there described, that might be reason enough for him only to be made mention of in this transaction, without naming of his master at all therein.

4thly, **Inconsistencies which cannot be explained.** —But, lastly, to give a satisfactory answer to the fourth objection, I must confess, is not in my power. Could we put this history so far back as the minority of Manasseh, this would not only afford us an answer to this objection, but would also give us a much clearer one to the last preceding. For then there would be reason enough not to mention the minor king, but only the chief minister

and guardian of the kingdom, in the transacting of the whole affair: and the death of Judith would, on this supposition, be at such a distance from the destruction of the Jewish state, as not to make this objection unanswerable. But the wickedness of the pupil will not allow him to have been bred under so good a man for his governor as Eliakim is described to be. And what is said in the eighteenth and nineteenth verses of the fifth chapter of Judith, concerning the captivity and restoration of the Jews, and is retained also in Jerome's version, must necessarily refer the matters therein related to those times which followed the captivity of Manasseh, and the restoration of him and his people again to their own land. And the chronology of this history will not permit the beginning of it to fall anywhere else, but in the twelfth year of Saosduchinus, and the last of Deioces; and these two characters of the time exactly concurring, according to Herodotus and Ptolemy, do unavoidably determine us to fix it here. However, our not being able to clear this difficulty is not a sufficient reason for us to reject the whole history. There is scarce any history written, but what to the next age after may appear, as to time, place, and other circumstances, with those seeming inconsistencies, as cannot then be easily reconciled, when the memory of men begin to fail concerning them. And how much more, then, may we be apt to blunder when we take our view at the distance of above two thousand years, and have no other light to discern the so far distant object by, than such glimmerings from broken scraps of history, as leave us next door to groping in the dark for whatsoever knowledge we get by them? That which seemeth most probable in this case is, that the writer of this book, the more to magnify his heroine, attributed too long a continuance to that peace, which was by her obtained for the land: for, according to this account, it must have lasted at least eighty years,

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which being what they never had enjoyed from the time they were a nation, or what scarce any other nation ever had, I would rather choose to allow a fiction in this particular, than for the sake of it condemn the whole book as such, which seemeth to carry with it the air of a true history in all other particulars.

Questionable whether Judith be a true history or a romance. — However, I must acknowledge, that what is above said in the defence of this book, for its being a true history, doth not so far clear the matter, especially in respect of the fourth objection, but that if any one will still contend that it is only a religious romance, and not a true history; that, according to the intention of the author, the scene of it was put under the reign of Xerxes, when Joakim, the son of Joshua, was high priest, and the civil government of Judæa, as well as the ecclesiastical, was in the hands of that officer; and that the inconsistency of so many particulars in that book with the state and transactions of those times, was only from the ignorance of the author in the history of the said times, and his unskilfulness in placing the scene of his story in them; I say, if any one will insist on all this, notwithstanding what is above said, I shall not enter into any controversy with him about it; only thus much I must insist on, that if it be a true history (which I am inclined most to think, though I will not be positive in it), it can fall nowhere else but in the time where I have laid it.

In the fifty-first year of Manasseh, viz. B. C. 648, died Saosduchinus, king of Babylon and Assyria, and Chyniladanus reigned in his stead.

Death of Manasseh, 644.—Manasseh, king of Judah, after he had reigned fifty-five years, and lived sixty-seven, died at Jerusalem; and notwithstanding his signal repentance, since his former wickedness had been so great, they would not allow him the honour of being buried in the sepulchres of the sons of David, but laid him in a grave made for him in his own garden.

Ammon: his short and idolatrous reign, 643-641.—After Manasseh reigned Ammon his son, who, imitating the first part of his father's reign, rather than the latter, gave himself up to all manner of wickedness and impiety; whereon the servants of his house conspired against him, and slew him, after he had reigned two years. But the people of the land severely revenged the murder, putting them all to death that had any hand in it. However, they would not give him in his burial the honour of a place among the sepulchres of the sons of David, but buried him in the garden by his father; which shows, that though they condemned the wickedness of his reign, they would not allow of the violence that was offered to his person;

though it may well be supposed, that nothing less than the highest tyranny and oppression could have provoked his own domestics to it.

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IV. REIGN OF JOSIAH, B. C. 640-610. —

Kings of Assyria—Chyniladanus, 647.

Destruction of Nineveh by the Medes and Babylonians, and final end of the Assyrian empire, 612.

Babylon—Nabopollassar rebels against the king of Assyria, and makes himself king of Babylon, 626.

Media—Phraortes, 656,

Cyaxares, 635.

Egypt—Psammitichus, 670,

Pharaoh Necho, 617.

Prophets—Zephaniah and Jeremiah.

Josiah's first reformation of religion, 640-633.—After the death of Ammon, Josiah his son succeeded him in the kingdom, being then but eight years old. But having the happiness to fall under the conduct of better guardians in his minority than did Manasseh his grandfather, he proved, when grown up, a prince of very extraordinary worth; equalling in piety, virtue, and goodness, if not exceeding herein, the best of his predecessors. Josiah in the eighth year of his reign [viz. B. C. 633], being now sixteen years old, took on him the administration of the kingdom; and beginning with the reformation of religion, endeavoured to purge it of all those corruptions which had been introduced in the time of Ammon and Manasseh, his father and grandfather; and did set his heart to seek the Lord his God with all his might, as did David his father.

Median history: accession of Phraortes and war between Media and Assyria, 635.—After the death of Deioces [in B. C. 655], Phraortes his son succeeded in the kingdom of Media, and reigned over it twenty-two years. In the sixth year of Josiah, Phraortes, king of Media, having brought under him all the Upper Asia (which is all that lay north of Mount Taurus, from Media to the river Halys), and made the Persians also to become subject unto him, elated his thoughts on these successes, to the revenging of himself upon the Assyrians for his father's death, and accordingly marched with a great army against them, and having made himself master of the country, laid siege to Nineveh itself, the capital of the empire. But he had there the misfortune to meet with the same ill fate that his father had in the former war; for being overthrown in the attempt, he and all his army perished in it.

Accession of Cyaxares: Scythian invasion of Upper Asia.—Cyaxares, the son of Phraortes, having succeeded his father in the kingdom of Media, as soon as he had well settled himself in the government, drew together a great army to be revenged on the Assyrians for the late loss, and having overthrown them in a great battle, led the Medes the second time to the siege of Nineveh; but before he could make any progress therein, he was called off to defend his own territories against a new enemy. For the Scythians, from the parts about the Palus Mæotis [i. e. Southern Russia and the Crimea], passing round the Caucasus, had made a great inroad upon them; whereby he was forced to

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leave Nineveh to march against them. But he had not the same success in this war which he had against the Assyrians: for the Scythians, having vanquished him in battle, dispossessed him of all the Upper Asia, and reigned there twenty-eight years: during which time, they enlarged their conquests into Syria, and as far as the borders of Egypt. But there Psammitichus, king of Egypt, having met them, prevailed with entreaties and large gifts, that they proceeded no farther, and thereby saved his country from this dangerous invasion. In this expedition they seized on Bethshean, a city in the territories of the tribe of Manasseh on this side Jordan, and kept it as long as they continued in Asia; and therefore from

them it was afterwards called Scythopolis, or the city of the Scythians. But how far the ravages of these barbarians might affect Judea is nowhere said, although there can be no doubt but that those parts, as well as the rest of Palestine, both in their march to the borders of Egypt and also in their return from thence, must have suffered much by them. It is related of them, that in their passage through the land of the Philistines, on their return from Egypt, some of the stragglers robbed the temple of Venus [Astarte] at Askalon, and that for the punishment hereof they and their posterity were afflicted with emrods for a long while after: which lets us know that the Philistines had till then still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on the account of the ark of God. For, from that time, it seems, they looked on this disease as the proper punishment from the hand of God for all such like sacrilegious impieties, and for this reason assigned it to the Scythians in their histories, on their charging of them there with this crime.

Josiah's second reformation of religion throughout Judah and Israel, 629.—Josiah in the twelfth year of his reign, being now twenty years old, and having further improved himself in the knowledge of God and his laws, proceeded according hereto further to perfect that reformation which he had begun. And therefore, making a strict inquiry, by a general progress through the land, after all the relics of idolatry which might be anywhere remaining therein, he broke down all the altars of Baalim, with the idols erected on high before them, and all the high places, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces all the carved images and the molten images, and digged up the graves of the idolatrous priests, and burned their bones upon all places of idolatrous worship, thereby to pollute and defile them for ever; and when he had thus cleansed all Judah and Jerusalem, he went into the cities of Ephraim and Manasseh, and all the rest of the land that had formerly been possessed by the ten tribes of Israel (for all this was then subject to him), and there did the same thing.

Jeremiah called to the prophetic office, 628.—In the thirteenth year of Josiah Jeremiah was called to the prophetic office, which he afterwards executed for above forty years, in warning Judah and Jerusalem of the wrath of God impending on them for their iniquities, and in calling them to repentance for the averting of it: till at length, on their continuing wholly

obdurate in their evil ways, it was poured out in full measure upon both in a most calamitous destruction.

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Assyrian history: revolt of Nabopollasar and establishment of Babylon as a separate kingdom, 626. —In the fifteenth year of Josiah, Chyniladanus, king of Babylon and Assyria, having, by his effeminacy and unprofitableness in the state, made himself contemptible to his people, Nabopollasar, who was general of his army, took this advantage to set up for himself, and being a Babylonian by birth, made use of his interest there to seize that part of the Assyrian empire, and reigned king of Babylon twenty-one years.

Josiah's third reformation: discovery of the book of the law by Hilkiah, 623. —Josiah, in the eighteenth year of his reign, took especial care for the repairing of the house of God, and therefore sent several of the chief officers of his court to take an account of the money collected for it, and to lay his command upon Hilkiah the high priest, that he should see it be forthwith laid out in the doing of the work, so that all might be put in thorough repair. The high priest, in pursuance of this order, took a general view of the house, to see what was necessary to be done; and while he was thus examining every place, he found the authentic copy of the law of Moses. This ought to have been laid up on the side of the ark of the covenant in the most holy place; but it was taken out thence and hid elsewhere in the time of Manasseh, as it is conjectured, that it might not be destroyed by him in the time of his iniquity. This book Hilkiah sent to the king by Shaphan the scribe, who, on his delivering of it to the king, did by his command read some part of it to him. The place which, on the opening of the book, he happened on, was (say the Jewish doctors) that part of the twenty-eighth chapter of Deuteronomy, wherein are denounced the curses of God against the people of Israel, and against the king in particular (verse 26), in case they should not keep the law which he had commanded them. On the hearing of this, Josiah rent his clothes through grief, and was seized with great fear and consternation, on the account both of himself and his people, as knowing how much they and their fathers had transgressed this law, and dreading the curses denounced against them for it. To ease his

mind under this trouble and anxiety of his thoughts, he sent Hilkiah the high priest, with several of his officers, to Huldah the prophetess, to inquire of the Lord. The answer which they brought back was a sentence of destruction upon Judah and Jerusalem; but that as to Josiah, because of his repentance, the execution of it should be delayed till after his days. However the good king, to appease the wrath of God as much as lay in his power, called together a solemn assembly of all the elders and people of Judah and Jerusalem; and going up with them to the temple, caused the law of God to be there read to them, and after that both king and people publicly entered into a solemn covenant to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all their heart and all their soul; and to perform all the words of the covenant that were written in that book. And after this he made another progress through the land, to purge it of all other abominations of idolatry or other wickedness, which might be still remaining in it, which he thoroughly rooted out in all parts of his kingdom in

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such manner, as is in the twenty-third chapter of the Second Book of Kings at large related. And particularly he destroyed the altar and high place which Jeroboam had built at Bethel, first polluting them by burning on them the bones of men taken out of their sepulchres near adjoining, and then breaking down the altar and burning the high place and the grove, and stamping them all to powder; whereby he fulfilled what had been prophesied of him by name many ages before in the time of Jeroboam. And he did the same in all the rest of the cities of Samaria, destroying every remainder of idolatry which he could anywhere find in any of them. And when the next passover approached, he caused that feast to be kept with so great a solemnity and concourse of people from all parts of the land, that it not only exceeded the passover of Hezekiah, which is afore mentioned, but all other passovers from the days of Samuel the prophet to that time.

Previous destruction of copies. —By the behaviour both of the high priest as well as of the king at the finding of the book of the law, it plainly appears that neither of them had seen any copy of it before; which shows into how corrupt a state the church of the Jews was then sunk, till this good

king reformed it: for although Hezekiah kept scribes on purpose to collect together and write out copies of the Holy Scriptures, yet through the iniquity of the times that after followed in the reigns of Manasseh and Ammon, they had either been so destroyed, or else so neglected and lost, that there were then none of them left in the land, unless in some few private hands, where they were kept up and concealed till this copy was found in the temple; and therefore, after this time (by the care, we may be assured, of this religious prince), were written out those copies of the law and other Holy Scriptures then in being, which were preserved after the captivity, and out of which Ezra made his edition of them, in such manner as will be hereafter related.

Egyptian history: reign of Pharaoh Necho, and circumnavigation of Africa, 617.—In the twenty-four year of Josiah died Psammitichus, king of Egypt, after he had reigned fifty-four years, and was succeeded by Necus his son, the same who in Scripture is called Pharaoh Necho, and often mentioned there under that name. He made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by drawing a canal from the one to the other; but after he had consumed an hundred and twenty thousand men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking; for, having gotten some of the expertest of the Phœnician sailors into his service, he sent them out by the Red Sea through the Straits of Babelmandel, to discover the coasts of Africa; who, having sailed round it, came home the third year through the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of the loadstone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before Vasquez de Gama, a Portuguese, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope, A. D. 1497, found out the same way from hence to the Indies, by which these Phœnicians

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came from thence. Since that, it hath been made the common passage thither from all these western parts of the world.

Alliance of Media and Babylonia against Assyria, 612.—In the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Josiah, which was the twenty-third of

Cyaxares in the kingdom of Media, Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, having made an affinity with Astyages, the eldest son of Cyaxares, by the marriage of Nebuchadnezzar, his son, with Amyitis, the daughter of Astyages, entered into a confederacy with him against the Assyrians; and thereon joining their forces together, they besieged Nineveh.

Final destruction of Nineveh: modern remains.—The two kings, Nabopollasar and Cyaxares, having taken Nineveh and slain Saracus the king (who was either the successor of Chyniladanus, or he himself under another name), to gratify the Medes, they utterly destroyed that great and ancient city; and from that time Babylon became the sole metropolis of the Assyrian empire. From the time that Esarhaddon obtained the kingdom of Babylon both cities equally had this honour, the kings sometimes residing at Nineveh, and sometimes at Babylon; but after this Nineveh lost it for ever. For, although there was another city afterwards erected out of the ruins of old Nineveh, which for a long time bore the same name, yet it never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is at this day called Mosul, and is only famous for being the seat of the patriarch of the Nestorians, of which sect are most of the Christians in those parts. It is situated on the west side of the river Tigris, where was anciently only a suburb of the old Nineveh: for the city itself stood on the east side of the river, where are to be seen some of its ruins of great extent even to this day. According to Diodorus Siculus, the circuit of Nineveh was four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. And hence it is that it is said in Jonah to be a city of three days' journey, that is, in compass; for twenty miles is as much as a man can well go in one day. Strabo saith of it, that it was much bigger than Babylon; and in the same place he tells us, that the circuit of Babylon was three hundred and eighty-five furlongs, that is, forty-eight of our miles. The phrase *much bigger*, may well extend to the other twelve miles to make it up sixty.

[**Recent disinterment of ancient Nineveh by M. Botta and Dr. Layard.**—Until a very recent period, nothing more was known of the site of ancient Nineveh than what Prideaux has here related; and a few shapeless mounds opposite Mosul on the Upper Tigris were all that tradition could point out as remaining of the buried city. But within the last few years the excavations conducted by M. Botta and Dr. Layard have brought to light

the sculptured remains of immense palaces, not only at the traditional site of Nineveh, namely Koyunjik opposite to Mosul, and at Khorsabad, about ten miles to the N.N.E.; but also in a mound eighteen miles lower down the river, which still bears the name of Nimrud. These three mounds, with a fourth mound named Karamless, stand at four corners of a perfect parallelogram sixty miles in circuit; and are all considered by Dr. Layard to represent the site of ancient

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[Nineveh. It is not at once intelligible how this large tract should be coincident with the former site of the Assyrian metropolis; but it coincides with Jonah's statement that Nineveh was an *exceeding great city of three days' journey*; and we are to dismiss ideas founded on compactly built European towns, with houses closely packed together in narrow streets, and to understand that Nineveh was, as many great Eastern cities are at this day, a collection of scattered houses, interspersed with green pastures, extensive gardens, and fruitful vineyards. In Jonah it is stated that the city contained not only numerous people, but also *much cattle*. The king's palace had its park stocked with game and animals of the chase; and this, together with the pasture-grounds, the kitchen and pleasure gardens, and the vineyards, would all be included within the sixty miles of circuit. An ancient Eastern city, when once surrounded by a strong and high wall, was deemed to be secure of being taken by an enemy, unless by a siege long enough to produce famine among the inhabitants; and, to guard against this, it was endeavoured to include within the city the means of rearing cattle, and of raising such vegetable produce as required to be grown every season, and could not, like corn, be stowed away in granaries to keep for many years. This adequately explains the vast extent ascribed to Nineveh, Babylon, and other ancient cities, and renders it by no means incredible that the former might be of the extent marked out by the existing mounds. It should be added, that within the area indicated, there are many other large mounds, including the principal ruins of Nineveh, and that the face of the country is strewed with the remains of pottery, brick, and other fragments.—ED.]

Reconciliation of the several accounts of the destruction of the city. —In this destruction of Nineveh was fulfilled the prophecies of Jonah,

Nahum, and Zephaniah, against it. And we are told in the book of Tobit, that Tobias his son lived to hear of it, and that it was accomplished by Nabuchodonosor and Assuerus, which exactly agrees with the account which, out of Alexander Polyhistor, I have just above given of it. For that the Assuerus here mentioned was Astyages, appears from Daniel; for Darius the Mede, who was Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, is there called the son of Ahasuerus; and *Nabuchodonosor* was a name among the Babylonians commonly given to their kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was among the Egyptians. And that Nabopollasar in particular was so called, not only appears from the rabbinical writings of the Jews, but also from Josephus himself, a writer, by reason of his antiquity, of much better authority in this matter. For, in his *Antiquities*, where he is speaking of this same king, he calls him in a quotation, which is there brought out of Berosus, by the name of Nabuchodonosor; and afterwards, in his book against Apion, repeating the same quotation, he there calls him Nabolassar, the same by contraction with Nabopollasar, which plainly proves him to have been called by both these names. I know there are those who take upon them, from this passage in the book against Apion, to mend that in

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the Antiquities, and put Nabopollasar in both places; but I see no reason for it but their own fancy. Others may, with as good authority, from the passage in the Antiquities, mend that in the book against Apion, and put Nabuchodonosor in both places. It is certain, the books of Tobit and Judith can never be reconciled with any other ancient writings, either sacred or profane, which relate to those times, unless we allow Nabuchodonosor to have been a name common to the kings of Babylon.

Date of the destruction of Nineveh.—The Archbishop of Armagh hath put this destruction of Nineveh fourteen years earlier, that is, in the last year of Chyniladanus in the Canon of Ptolemy, for no other reason, I suppose, but that he reckoned that the end of his life and the end of his reign in that Canon happened both at the same time, and both together in the destruction of that city: whereas, the computation of that Canon being by the years of the kings that reigned in Babylon, Chyniladanus's reign there must end where Nabopollasar's begun, whether he then died or no, as it is most

probable he did not, but that he continued to hold the kingdom of Assyria after he had lost that of Babylon, and that it was not till some time after that loss that Nineveh was destroyed. For Eusebius placeth the destruction of Nineveh in the twenty-third year of the reign of Cyaxares; and to put it back fourteen years, to the last of Chyniladanus in the Canon, will make it fall in the ninth year of Cyaxares; which is too early either for his son Astyages to have a daughter marriageable, or for Nebuchadnezzar to be of age sufficient to take her to wife: for, after this rate, Nebuchadnezzar must be allowed to have been at the least eighty-five years old at the time of his death, and Astyages much older, which is an age very unlikely for such to live, who usually waste their lives, both by luxury and fatigue, much faster than other men.

History of the Book of Tobit.—At the destruction of this city of Nineveh ended the book of Tobit. It was first written in Chaldee by some Babylonian Jew, and seems, in its original draught, to have been the memoirs of the family to which it relates; first begun by Tobit, then continued by Tobias, and lastly finished by some other of the family, and afterwards digested by the Chaldee author into that form in which we now have it. Jerome translated it out of the Chaldee into Latin, and his translation is that which we have in the vulgar Latin edition of the Bible. But there is a Greek version much ancienter than this: for we find it made use of by Polycarp, Clemens Alexandrinus, and other Fathers who were before Jerome; and from this hath been made the Syriac version, and also that which we have in English among the apocryphal writers in our Bible: but the Chaldee original is not now extant. The Hebrew copies which go about of this book, as well as of that of Judith, seem both to be of a modern composure. It being easier to settle the chronology of this book than that of the book of Judith, it hath met with much less opposition from learned men, and is generally looked on, both by Jews and Christians, as a genuine and true history;

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though as to some matters in it (as particularly that of the angel's accompanying of Tobias in a long journey under the shape of Azarias, the story of Raguel's daughter, the frighting away of the devil by the smoke of

the heart and liver of a fish, and the curing of Tobit's blindness by the gall of the same fish), it is much less reconcilable to a rational credibility: for these things look more like the fictions of Homer than the writings of a sacred historian, and give an objection against this book which doth not lie against the other. However, it may excellently well serve to represent unto us the duties of charity and patience, in the example of Tobit's ready helping his brethren in distress to the utmost of his power, and his bearing with a pious submission the calamities of his captivity, poverty, and blindness, as long as inflicted upon him. The Latin and Greek versions of this book, which I have mentioned, do much differ, each having some particulars in it which are wanting in the other. But here the Latin version must give place to the Greek. For Jerome made it before he himself understood Chaldee, by the help of a learned Jew, from whose mouth he tells us he wrote down in Latin what the other rendered into Hebrew from the original, and in this manner finished the whole work in one day's time: and a work so done must undoubtedly have abundance of mistakes as well as inaccuracies in it. But his translation of Judith was made afterwards, when, by his further studies in the Oriental languages, he had rendered himself as much master of the Chaldee as he was before of the Hebrew; and he did it with great care, comparing diligently many various copies, and making use only of such as he found to be the best; and therefore his version of that book may well deserve an authority beyond the Greek, which cannot be claimed for the other. If the copy which Jerome translated his Tobit from were a true copy, and he were not mistaken in the version, there is one passage in it which absolutely overthrows the whole authority of the book; for (ch. xiv. 7) there is mention made of the temple of Jerusalem as then burnt and destroyed, which makes the whole of it utterly inconsistent with the times in which it is placed; the Greek version, as also the English, which is taken from it, I acknowledge, speak only prophetically of it, as of that which was to be done, and not historically, as of that which was already done, as Jerome's doth. However, this Latin edition is that which the church of Rome hath canonized. If the historical ground-plot of the book be true, which is the most that can be said of it, yet certainly it is interlarded with many fictions of the invention of him that wrote it.

War between Egypt and the new confederacy of Medes and Babylonians.—The Babylonians and the Medes having thus destroyed Nineveh, as is above related, they became so formidable hereon, as raised the jealousy of all their neighbours; and therefore, to put a stop to their growing greatness, Necho, king of Egypt, in the thirty-first year of king Josiah, marched with a great army towards Euphrates to make war upon them. The words of Josephus are, "That it was to make war upon the Medes and Babylonians, who had dissolved the Assyrian empire;" which plainly shows, that this war was commenced immediately upon that dissolution, and consequently, that the

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destruction of Nineveh, whereby this dissolution was brought to pass, was just before this war, in the year where, according to Eusebius, I have placed it.

Pharaoh Necho marches through Palestine towards the Euphrates: Josiah slain at Megiddo, 610.—On Necho's taking his way through Judæa, Josiah resolved to impede his march; and, therefore, getting together his forces, he posted himself in the valley of Megiddo, there to stop his passage: whereon Necho sent ambassadors unto him, to let him know that he had no design upon him; that the war he was engaged in was against others; and, therefore, advised him not to meddle with him, lest it should turn to his hurt. But Josiah not hearkening thereto, on Necho's marching up to the place, where he was posted to stop his passage, it there came to a battle between them; wherein Josiah was not only overthrown, but also unfortunately received a wound, of which, on his return to Jerusalem, he there died, after he had reigned thirty-one years.

Defence of Josiah's intervention: his allegiance to Assyria.—It is the notion of many, that Josiah engaged rashly and unadvisedly in this war, upon an over-confidence in the merit of his own righteousness; as if God, for this reason, must necessarily have given him success in every war which he should engage himself in. But this would be a presumption very unworthy of so religious a person. There was another reason that engaged him in this undertaking, which hath been above hinted at. From the time of

Manasseh's restoration, the kings of Judah were homagers to the kings of Babylon, and bound by oath to adhere to them against all their enemies, especially against the Egyptians, and to defend that border of their empire against them; and for this purpose, they seem to have had conferred on them the rest of the land of Canaan, that which had formerly been possessed by the other ten tribes, till conquered from them by the Assyrians. It is certain Josiah had the whole land of Israel in the same extent in which it had been held by David and Solomon, before it was divided into two kingdoms. For his reformation went through all of it; and it was executed by him, not only in Bethel (where one of Jeroboam's calves stood), but also in every other part thereof, and with the same sovereign authority as in Judæa itself; and therefore he must have been king of the whole. And it is to be remarked, that the battle was fought not within the territories of Judæa, but at Megiddo, a town of the tribe of Manasseh, lying in the middle of the kingdom of Israel, where Josiah would have had nothing to do, had he not been king of that kingdom also, as well as of the other of Judah; and he could have had it no otherwise but by grant from the king of Babylon, a province of whose empire it was made by the conquest of it, first begun by Tiglath-Pileser, and afterwards finished by Salmaneser and Esarhaddon. And if this grant was not upon the express conditions which I have mentioned, yet whatsoever other terms there were of this concession, most certainly fidelity to the sovereign paramount, and a steady adherence to his interest against all his enemies, was always required in such cases, and an oath of God exacted for the performance hereof. And it is not to be doubted, but that Josiah had taken such an oath to Nabopollasar, the then reigning king of Babylon, as Jehoiakim and Zedekiah afterwards did to Nebuchadnezzar,

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his son and successor in that empire; and therefore should Josiah, when under such an obligation, have permitted an enemy of the king of Babylon to pass through his country to make war upon him, without any opposition, it would plainly have amounted to a breach of his oath, and a violation of that fidelity which he had in the name of his God sworn unto him, which so good and just a man as Josiah was could not but absolutely detest. For

although the Romanists make nothing of breaking faith with heretics, yet the breaking of faith with an heathen was condemned by God himself in Jehoiakim and Zedekiah; and most certainly it would have been condemned in Josiah also, had he become guilty of it; which being what a person so well instructed in religion as Josiah was could not but be thoroughly convinced of, the sense which he had of his duty, in this particular, seems solely to have been that which engaged him in this war, in which he perished. And with him perished all the glory, honour, and prosperity of the Jewish nation; for after that, nothing else ensued but a dismal scene of God's judgments upon the land, till at length all Judah and Jerusalem were swallowed up by them in a woeful destruction.

Mourning for Josiah: geographical position of Megiddo.—The death of so excellent a prince was deservedly lamented by all his people, and by none more than by Jeremiah the prophet, who had a thorough sense of the greatness of the loss, and also a full foresight of the great calamities that were afterwards to follow upon the whole people of the Jews; and therefore, while his heart was full with the view of both, he wrote a song of lamentation upon this doleful occasion, as he afterwards did another upon the destruction of Jerusalem. This last is that which we still have; the other is not now extant. Megiddo, where the battle was fought, was a city in the tribe of Manasseh, on this side Jordan, which is by Herodotus called Magdolum; nigh it was the town of Hadad-Rimmon, afterwards called Maximianopolis: and therefore, the lamentation for the death of Josiah is, in Scripture, called "the Lamentation of Hadad-Rimmon, in the valley of Megiddo;" which was so great for this excellent prince, and so long continued, that the lamentation of Hadad-Rimmon afterwards became a proverbial phrase for the expressing of any extraordinary sorrow. This great and general mourning of all the people of Israel for the death of this prince, and the prophet Jeremiah's joining so pathetically with them therein, showeth in how great a reputation he was with them; which he would not have deserved, had he engaged in this war contrary to the words of that prophet, spoken to him from the mouth of the Lord, as the apocryphal writer of the First Book of Esdras, and others from him, say: for then he would have died in rebellion against God, and disobedience to his command; and then neither God's prophet nor God's people could in this

case, without sinning against God, have expressed so great an esteem for him as this mourning implied; and therefore this mourning alone is a sufficient proof of the contrary. Besides, it is to be observed, that no part of canonical Scripture gives us the least intimation of it; nor

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can we from thence have any reason or ground to believe that there was any such word from the Lord by the prophet Jeremiah or any other prophet, to recall Josiah from this war. All that is said of it is from the apocryphal book I have mentioned; of which it may be truly said, that where it is not a transcript from Ezra, or some other canonical Scripture, it is no more than a bundle of fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves (for they have not taken this book into their canonical Scripture, though they have those of Tobit and of Bel and the Dragon); and therefore it is deserving of no man's regard in this particular.

Necho's message not from the true God, but from the Egyptian oracles.—It is said, indeed (2 Chron. xxxv. 21), that Necho sent messengers to Josiah, to tell him that he was sent of God on this expedition; that God was with him in it; and that to meddle with him would be to meddle with God; and that therefore he ought to forbear, that God destroy him not; and (ver. 22) that Josiah hearkened not to the word of Necho from the mouth of God. And from all this put together some would infer, that Josiah was disobedient to the word of God, in going to that war. But this is utterly inconsistent with the character which is given us in Scripture of that religious and excellent prince; and therefore what is here said must not be understood of the true God, the Lord Jehovah, who was the God of Israel, but of the Egyptian gods, whose oracles Josiah had no reason to have any regard to. For Necho, being an heathen prince, knew not the Lord Jehovah, nor ever consulted his prophets or his oracles: the Egyptian gods were those only which he worshipped, and whose oracles he consulted; and therefore when he saith he was sent of God on this expedition, and that God was with him, he meant none other than his false Egyptian gods, whom he served. For wherever the word God occurs in this text, it is not expressed in the Hebrew original by the word Jehovah, which is the proper name of the true God, but by the word Elohim, which, being in the plural number, is equally

applicable to the false gods of the heathens as well as to the true God, who was the God of Israel; and in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, it is equally used for the expressing of the one as well as the other. For wherever there is occasion therein to speak of those false gods, it is by the word Elohim that they are there mentioned. And whereas it is said (ver. 22), that "Josiah hearkened not to the words of Necho from the mouth of God" (and from hence it is chiefly inferred that the message which Necho sent to Josiah was truly from God), it is to be observed, that the phrase which we render *from the mouth of God* is in the Hebrew original *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. *from the mouth of Elohim*, which may be interpreted of the false gods as well as of the true God (as hath been already said), and much rather, in this place, of the former than of the latter. For wherever else through the whole Hebrew text of the Holy Scriptures there is mention made of any word coming from the mouth of God, he

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is there mentioned by the name Jehovah, which determines it to the true God; and this is the only place in the whole Hebrew Bible where, in the use of this phrase, it is expressed otherwise, that is, by the name Elohim, and not by the name Jehovah; which change in the phrase, in this place, is a sufficient proof to me that there must be here a change in the signification also, and that the word, which is here said to come from the mouth of Elohim, is not the same with the word which is everywhere else, in the use of this phrase in Scripture, said to come from the mouth of Jehovah, but that Elohim must in this place signify the false gods of the Egyptians; and that from their false oracles only Necho had this word which he sent to Josiah. For what had he to do with any word from the true God, who knew him not, nor ever worshipped him? Or how could any such revelation come to him, who knew not any of his prophets, or ever consulted them? And therefore, most certainly, the word which is here said to come *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. from the mouth of Elohim, must be understood only of Necho's Elohim, that is, of those false Egyptian gods whose oracles he consulted before he undertook this expedition, as it was then usual with heathen princes, on such occasions, to consult the false deluding oracles of the gods they worshipped. And had it been here *Mippi Jehovah*, i. e. from the mouth of

Jehovah, instead of *Mippi Elohim*, considering who sent the message, it would not have much mended the matter; for Josiah would have had no reason to believe it from such a messenger. When Sennacherib came up against Judah, he sent Hezekiah word, that the Lord (Jehovah in the Hebrew) said unto him, "Go up against this land, and destroy it." But it was not reckoned a fault in Hezekiah that he believed him not, neither could it be reckoned a fault in Josiah in doing the same. For it is certain that Sennacherib, in so pretending, lied to king Hezekiah; and why might not Josiah then have as good reason to conclude that Necho, in the like pretence, might have lied also unto him? for God used not to send his word to his servants by such messengers. But Necho's pretence was not so large as Sennacherib's: for Sennacherib pretended to be sent by Jehovah, the certain name of the true God, but Necho pretended to be sent only by Elohim, which may be interpreted of his false Egyptian gods as well as of the true God. And it seems clear he could mean none other than the former by that word in this text; and therefore Josiah could not be liable to any blame, in not hearkening to any words which came from them.

V. REIGNS OF JEHOAHAZ OR SHALLUM, B. C. 610: —

Jehoiakim or Jeconiah, 609—599.

Kings of Babylon—Nabopollasar, 626,

Nebuchadnezzar, 606.

Media—Cyaxares, 635.

Egypt, Pharaoh Necho, 617,

Psammis, 600.

Prophets—Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah.

Jehoahaz carried prisoner to Egypt by Necho, 610.—After the death of Josiah, the people of the land took Jehoahaz his son, who was also called Shallum, and made him king in his stead. He was much

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unlike his father, for he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and therefore he was soon tumbled down from his throne into a prison, where he ended his days, with misery and disgrace, in a strange land. For Pharaoh Necho having had the good success, in his expedition, to beat the Babylonians at the Euphrates; and having thereon taken Carchemish, a great city in those parts, and secured it to himself with a good garrison, after three months returned again towards Egypt, and hearing in his way that Jehoahaz had taken upon him to be king of Judah without his consent, he sent for him to Riblah in Syria, and on his arrival caused him to be put in chains, and sent him prisoner into Egypt, where he died; and then proceeding on in his way, came to Jerusalem, where he made Jehoiakim, another of the sons of Josiah, king, instead of his brother, and put the land to an annual tribute of an hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold; and after that returned with great triumph into his own kingdom.

Herodotus's account of Necho's expedition: identification of Cadytis with Jerusalem.—Herodotus, making mention of this expedition of Necho's, and also of the battle which he fought at Megiddo (or Magdolum, as he calleth it), saith, that after the victory there obtained by him, he took the great city Cadytis, which city he afterwards describes to be a mountainous city in Palestine, of the bigness of Sardis in Lydia, the chief city of all Lesser Asia in those times. By which description this city Cadytis could be none other than Jerusalem; for that is situated in the mountains of Palestine, and there was then no other city in those parts which could be equalled to Sardis but that only and it is certain, from Scripture, that after this battle Necho did take Jerusalem; for he was there when he made Jehoiakim king. There is, I confess, no mention of this name, either in the Scriptures or in Josephus: but that it was however called so, in the time of Herodotus, by the Syrians and Arabians, doth appear from this, that it is called by them, and all the Eastern nations, by no other name but one of the same original, and the same signification, even to this day; for Jerusalem is

a name now altogether as strange among them as Cadytis is to us. They all call it by the name of *Al-kuds*, which signifies the same that Cadytis doth, that is, *The Holy*: for, from the time that Solomon built the temple at Jerusalem, and it was thereby made to all Israel the common place of their religious worship, this epithet of *The Holy* was commonly given unto it. And therefore we find it thenceforth called, in the sacred writings of the Old Testament, *Air Hakkodesh*, i. e. the City of Holiness, or the Holy City, and so also in several places in the New Testament. And this same title they gave it in their coins; for the inscription of their shekels (many of which are still extant) was *Jerusalem Kedushah*, i. e. *Jerusalem the Holy*; and this coin going

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current among the neighbouring nations, especially after the Babylonish captivity had made a dispersion of that people over all the East, it carried this name with it among them; and they from hence called this city by both names, *Jerusalem Kedushah*, and at length, for shortness' sake, *Kedushah* only, and the Syrians (who in their dialect usually turned the Hebrew *sh* into *th*) *Kedutha*. And the Syriac, in the time of Herodotus, being the only language that was then spoken in Palestine (the Hebrew having been no more used there, or anywhere else, as a vulgar language, after the Babylonish captivity), he found it, when he travelled through that country, to be called there in the Syriac dialect *Kedutha*; from whence, by giving it a Greek termination, he made it in the Greek language, Κάδυτις, or *Cadytis*, in his history, which he wrote about the time that Nehemiah ended his twelve years' government at Jerusalem. And for the same reason that it was called *Kedushah*, or *Kedutha*, in Syria and Palestine, the Arabs in their language called it *Bait Almokdes*, i. e. the Holy Buildings, or the Holy City, and often with another adjective of the same root, and the same signification, *Bait Alkuds*, and at length simply *Alkuds*, i. e. the Holy, by which name only it is now called by the Turks, Arabs, and all other nations of the Mahometan religion in those parts. And that it may not look strange to prove an ancient name by the modern name which is now given that place, it is necessary I acquaint the reader that the Arabs being the ancientest nation in the world (who have never been by any conquest

dispossessed, or driven out of their country, but have there always remained in a continued descent from the first planters of it even to this day), and being also as little given to make changes in their manners and usages as they are as to their country, they have still retained those same names of places which were at first given them, and on their getting the empire of the East, restored them again to many of them, after they had been for several ages extinct by the intermediate changes that had happened in them. And thus the ancient metropolis of Egypt, which from Mezraim, the son of Ham, the first planter of that country after the flood, was called Mesri, and afterwards for many ages had the name of Memphis, was, on the Arabs making themselves masters of Egypt, again called Mesri, and hath retained that name ever since, though, by the building of Cairo on the other side of the Nile over against it (for Mesri stands on the west side of that river), that ancient and once noble city is now brought in a manner to desolation. And for the same reason the city of Tyrus, which was anciently called Zor, or Zur (from whence the whole country of Syria had its name), hath, since it fell into the hands of the Arabs on the erecting of their empire in the East, been again called Sor, and is at this day known by no other name in those parts. And by the same means the city of Palmyra hath again recovered the old name of Tadmor, by which it was called in the time of Solomon, and is now known in the East by no other name: and abundance of other like instances might

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be given in the East to this purpose, and the like may be found nearer home. For it is well known that the Welsh, in their language, do still call all the cities in England by the old British names by which they were called one thousand three hundred years ago, before the Saxons dispossessed them of this country; and should they recover it again, and here get the dominion over it as formerly, no doubt they would again restore to all places here the same British names by which they still call them.

[Prideaux's hypothesis disproved: Cadytis identified with Gaza.—Till within a recent period this identification of Cadytis with Jerusalem has generally been adopted. Herodotus, however, further describes Cadytis as a city on the coast; for he says, that from Phoenicia to Cadytis, and from

Cadytis to Jenysus (in the south), the ports belong to the Arabs. He also mentions that the Egyptian king Necho took Cadytis after the battle of Megiddo, and therefore could not have alluded to Jerusalem, as the latter city would have been quite out of his line of march. Mr. Ewing therefore shows that Jerusalem could not have been meant, and he justly observes, that to speak of the maritime towns between Jerusalem and Jenysus would be as absurd as to speak of those between Oxford and London. He points out Kedesh in Galilee as the Cadytis of Herodotus, because Kedesh is a maritime town, and would lie in Necho's line of march from Megiddo towards the Euphrates; and he also derives the name Cadytis from Kadatha, a Chaldee corruption of Kedesh. Mr. Ewing is evidently mistaken in his identification, for Phoenicia stretched southward some distance beyond Kedesh, and mention has already been made of the sea-ports between Phoenicia and Cadytis. Colonel Rawlinson has cleared up the difficulty. The forty-seventh chapter of Jeremiah prophetically describes the desolation by Pharaoh of the land of the Philistines; and, further, expressly alludes to the capture and destruction of Gaza by the same king. The name of the Philistine city of Gaza, as discovered by Dr. Layard, and interpreted by Colonel Rawlinson, is Khazita, and as the description given by Herodotus is in every way applicable to Gaza, we may presume that this was the name that the Greeks changed into Cadytis. **ED.**]

Jehoiakim established on the throne by Necho: Jeremiah denounces the iniquity of the royal house, 609.—Jehoiakim, on his taking on him the kingdom, followed the example of his brother in doing that which was evil; for he went on in his steps to relax all the good order and discipline of his father, as the other had done, and the people (who never went heartily into that good king's reformation), gladly laying hold thereof, did let themselves loose to the full bent of their own depraved inclinations, and ran into all manner of iniquity; whereon the prophet Jeremiah, being sent of God, first went into the king's house, and there proclaimed God's judgments against him and his family, if he

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went on in his iniquities, and did not amend and repent of them. And after that he went up into the temple, and there spoke to all the people that came

up thither to worship after the same manner, declaring unto them that if they would turn from their evil ways, God would turn from his wrath, and repent of the evil which he purposed to bring upon them; but that if they would not hearken unto him, to walk in the law of God, and keep his commandments, then the wrath of God should be poured out upon them, and both that city and the temple should be brought to utter desolation: which angering the priests that then attended in the temple, they laid hold of him, and brought him before the king's council to have him put to death. But Ahikam, one of the chief lords of the council, so befriended Jeremiah that he brought him off, and got him discharged by the general suffrage, not only of the princes, but also of all the elders of the people that were then present. This Ahikam was the father of Gedaliah, that was afterwards made governor of the land under the Chaldeans, and the son of Shaphan the scribe (who was chief minister of state under king Josiah), and brother to Gemariah, Elasah, and Jaazaniah, who were great men in those days, and members also of the council with him; and therefore, in conjunction with them, he had a great interest there, which he made use of on this occasion to deliver the prophet from that mischief which was intended against him.

Uriah's exile and death.—But Uriah, another prophet of the Lord, who had this same year prophesied after the same manner, could not so come off. For Jehoiakim was so incensed against him for it, that he sought to put him to death; whereon Uriah fled into Egypt. But this did not secure him from his revenge; for he sent into Egypt after him, and having procured him to be there seized, brought him up from thence, and slew him at Jerusalem; which became a further enhancing of his iniquity, and also of God's wrath against him for it.

Prophecies of Habakkuk and Zephaniah.—About the same time also prophesied the prophets Habakkuk and Zephaniah, who being called to the prophetic office in the reign of Josiah, continued (as seems most likely) to this time; for they prophesied the same things that Jeremiah did, and upon the same occasion, that is, destruction and desolation upon Judah and Jerusalem, because of the many heinous sins they were then guilty of. Zephaniah doth not name the Chaldeans, who were to be the executioners of this wrath of God upon them, but Habakkuk doth. As to Habakkuk, neither the time in which he lived, nor the parents from whom he was

descended, are anywhere named in Scripture; but he prophesying the coming of the Chaldeans in the same manner as Jeremiah did, this gives reason to conjecture that he lived in the same time. Of Zephaniah it is directly said, that he prophesied in the time of Josiah; and in his pedigree (which is also given us) his father's grandfather is called Hezekiah, which some taking to be king Hezekiah, do therefore reckon this prophet to have been of royal descent.

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53 B. C. 607, 606.] KINGS OF JUDAH—JEHOIAKIM.

Babylonian history: Nebuchadnezzar joint king with Nabopollasar, 607.—In the third year of Jehoiakim, Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, finding that on Necho's taking of Carchemish all Syria and Palestine had revolted to him, and that he being old and infirm was unable to march thither himself to reduce them, he took Nebuchadnezzar his son into partnership with him in the empire, and sent him with an army into those parts; and from hence the Jewish computation of the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of Jehoiakim. For it was about the end of that year that this was done; and therefore, according to the Jews, the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar; but, according to the Babylonians, his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which happened two years afterwards; and both computations being found in Scripture, it is necessary to say so much here for the reconciling of them.

Nebuchadnezzar defeats Necho and invades Palestine, 606.—In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar having beaten the army of Necho, king of Egypt, at the Euphrates, and retaken Carchemish, marched towards Syria and Palestine, to recover those provinces again to the Babylonish empire; on whose approach the Rechabites, who, according to the institution of Jonadab, the son of Rechab their father, had always abstained from wine, and hitherto only lived in tents, finding no security from this invasion in the open country, retired for their safety to Jerusalem, where was transacted between them and Jeremiah what we find related in the thirty-fifth chapter of his prophecies.

First public reading of Jeremiah's prophecies by Baruch.—This very same year Jeremiah prophesied of the coming of Nebuchadnezzar against Judah and Jerusalem, that the whole land should be delivered into his hands, and that a captivity of seventy years' continuance should after that ensue upon the people of the Jews: and he also delivered several other prophecies of the many calamities and woeful desolations that were then ready to be brought upon them, intending thereby, if possible, to bring them to repentance, that so the wrath of God might be diverted from them. But all this working nothing upon their hardened and obdurate hearts, God commanded him to collect together, and write in a roll, all the words of prophecy which had been spoken by him against Israel, and against Judah, and against the nations, from the thirteenth year of Josiah (when he was first called to the prophetic office) to that time; whereon Jeremiah called to him Baruch, the son of Neriah, a chief disciple of his, who, being a ready scribe, wrote from his mouth all as God had commanded, and then went with the roll, which he had thus written, up into the temple, and there read it in the hearing of all the people, on the great fast of the expiation, when all Judah and Jerusalem were assembled together at that solemnity. For Jeremiah, being then shut up in prison for his former prophesying, could not go up thither himself, and therefore, by God's command, Baruch was sent to do it in his stead; and at his first reading of the roll, whether it were

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that Jehoiakim and his princes were then absent to take care of the borders of the kingdom, which Nebuchadnezzar was then just ready to invade; or that, amidst the distractions which usually happen on such impending dangers, men's minds were otherwise engaged, no resentments were at that time expressed either against the prophet or his disciple on this occasion. But Baruch, being very much affrighted and dismayed at the threats of the roll, which he had thus wrote and publicly read, the word of prophecy, which we have in the forty-fifth chapter of Jeremiah, was sent from God on purpose to comfort him, and a promise is therein given him, that amidst all the calamities, destructions, and desolations which, according to the words of the roll, should be certainly brought upon Judah and Jerusalem, he should be sure to find a deliverance; for that none of them should reach

him, but God would give him his life for a prey in all places wheresoever he should go.

Jehoiakim transfers his fealty from Necho to Nebuchadnezzar.—The great fast of the expiation, wherein Baruch read the roll, as is above related, was annually kept by the Jews on the tenth day of the month Tizri, which answers to our September. Immediately after that, Nebuchadnezzar invaded Judaea; and having laid siege to Jerusalem, made himself master of it in the ninth month, called Cisleu (which answers to our November), on the eighteenth day of that month (for on that day is still kept by the Jews an annual fast in commemoration of it even to this day); and having then taken Jehoiakim prisoner, he put him in chains, to carry him to Babylon. But he having humbled himself to king Nebuchadnezzar, and submitted to become his tributary, and thereon sworn fealty to him, he was again restored to his kingdom; and Nebuchadnezzar marched from Jerusalem for the further prosecuting of his victories against the Egyptians.

Band of captives, including Daniel and the three pious Jews, carried to Babylon.—But before he removed from Jerusalem, he had caused great numbers of the people to be sent captives to Babylon, and particularly gave orders to Ashpenaz, the master of his eunuchs, that he should make choice out of the children of the royal family, and of the nobility of the land, of such as he found to be of the fairest countenance and the quickest parts, to be carried to Babylon, and there made eunuchs in his palace; whereby was fulfilled the word of the Lord spoken by Isaiah the prophet to Hezekiah, king of Judah, above a hundred years before. At the same time also he carried away a great part of the vessels of the house of the Lord, to put them in the house of Bel, his god, at Babylon. And therefore the people being thus carried into captivity, the sons of the royal family and of the nobility of the land made eunuchs and slaves in the palace of the king of Babylon, the vessels of the temple carried thither, and the king made a tributary, and the whole land now brought into vassalage under the Babylonians, from hence must be reckoned the beginning of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity, foretold by the prophet Jeremiah: and the fourth year of Jehoiakim must be the first year in that computation. Among the number of the children that were carried away

in this captivity by the master of the eunuchs, were Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. Daniel they called Belteshazzar, and the other three, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego. Some indeed do place their captivity some years later, but that is absolutely inconsistent with what is elsewhere said in Scripture. For these children, after their carrying away to Babylon, were to be three years under the tuition of the master of the eunuchs, to be instructed by him in the language and the learning of the Chaldeans, before they were to be admitted to the presence of the king, to stand and serve before him.

Daniel's position in the Babylonian court.—In the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign at Babylon, from his father's death (which was but the fourth year after his first taking of Jerusalem), Daniel had not only admission and freedom of access to the presence of the king, but we find him there interpreting of his dream, and immediately thereon advanced to be chief of the governors of the wise men, and ruler over all the province of Babylon; for which trust less than four years' instruction in the language, laws, usages, and learning of the country can scarce be thought sufficient to qualify him, nor could he any sooner be old enough for it, for he was but a youth when he was first carried away from Jerusalem. And therefore all this put together doth necessarily determine the time of Daniel's and the other children's carrying away to Babylon to the year where I have placed it; and if we will make Scripture consistent with Scripture, it could not possibly have been any later. Daniel, speaking of the captivity, begins the history of it from the third year of Jehoiakim, which placeth it back still a year farther than I have done: and this is an objection on the other hand; but the answer hereto is easy. Daniel begins his computation from the time that Nebuchadnezzar was sent from Babylon by his father on this expedition, which was in the latter end of the third year of Jehoiakim: after that two months at least must have been spent in his march to the borders of Syria. There, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim (we suppose in the beginning of that year), he fought the Egyptians; and having overthrown them in battle, besieged Carchemish, and took it; after this he reduced all the provinces and cities of Syria and Phoenicia, in which having employed the greatest part of the year (and a great deal of work it was to do within that time), in the

beginning of October he came and laid siege to Jerusalem, and about a month after took the city: and from hence we date the beginning of Daniel's servitude, and also the beginning of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity, and therefore do reckon that year to have been the first of both.

Expulsion of the Scythians from Upper Asia.—The Scythians, who had now for twenty-eight years held all the Upper Asia (that is, the two Armenias, Cappadocia, Pontus, Colchis, and Iberia), were this year again driven out of it. The Medes, whom they had dispossessed of these provinces, had long endeavoured to recover them by open force; but finding themselves unable to succeed this way, they at length accomplished it by treachery. For under the covert of a peace (which they had made on purpose to carry on the fraud), they invited the greatest part of them to a feast, where, having made them drunk,

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they slew them all: after which, having easily subdued the rest, they recovered from them all that they had lost, and again extended their empire to the river Halys, which had been the ancient borders of it towards the west.

Second reading of Jeremiah's prophecies by Baruch: Jehoiakim burns the roll, 605.—After the Chaldeans were gone from Jerusalem, Jehoiakim, instead of being amended by those heavy chastisements which by their hand God had inflicted on him and his kingdom, rather grew worse under them in all those ways of wickedness and impiety which he had afore practised; and Judah and Jerusalem kept pace with him herein, to the further provoking of God's wrath, and the hastening of their own destruction. However, no means were omitted to reclaim them: and Jeremiah the prophet, who was particularly sent to them for this purpose, was constantly calling upon them, and exhorting them to turn unto the Lord their God, that so his wrath might be turned from them, and they saved from the destruction which was coming upon them, of which he ceased not continually to warn them. And they having in the ninth month, called Cisleu, proclaimed a public fast to be held on the 18th day of the same, because of the calamity which they had suffered thereon, in the taking of

Jerusalem by the Chaldeans the year foregoing (which hath ever since been annually observed by them in commemoration hereof, as hath been afore said), the prophet, laying hold of this opportunity, when all Judah and Jerusalem were met together to keep this solemnity, sent Baruch again up into the temple with the roll of his prophecies, there to read it the second time in the hearing of all of them, making thereby another trial, if by the terrors of these prophecies it were possible to fright them into their duty. And it being God's command by the mouth of his prophet, Baruch accordingly went up into the temple on the said fast-day, and entering into the chamber of Gemariah the scribe (which was the room where the king's council used to sit in the temple, near the east gate of the same), did there, from a window aloft, read, in the hearing of all the people then gathered together in the court below, all the words of the said roll: which Michaiah the son of Gemariah, who was then present, hearing, went immediately to the king's house, and there informed the lords of the council of it; whereon they sent for Baruch, and caused him to sit down and read the roll over to them at the hearing whereof, and the threats therein contained, they being much affrighted, inquired of Baruch the manner of his writing of it; and being informed that it was all dictated to him from the mouth of the prophet, they ordered him to leave the roll and depart, advising that he and Jeremiah should immediately go and hide themselves where no one might find them; and then went in to the king, and informed him of all that had passed; whereon he sent for the roll and caused it to be read to him; but after he had heard three or four leaves of it, as he was sitting by the fire in the winter parlour, he took it and cut it with a penknife, and cast it into the fire that was there before him, till it was all consumed, notwithstanding some of the lords of the council entreated him to the contrary; and immediately thereon issued out an order to have Baruch and Jeremiah seized; but having hid themselves, as advised by the council, they could not be found.

Annual fast for the burning of the roll.—The Jews keep an annual fast even to this day for the burning of this roll; the day marked for it in their calendar is the 29th day of Cisleu, eleven days after that which they keep

for that fast on which it was read in the temple. But the reading of the roll on the fast of the 18th of Cisleu, and the burning of it, according to the account given hereof by Jeremiah, seem immediately to have followed each other. After the burning of this roll, another, by God's especial command, was forthwith written in the same manner from the mouth of the prophet, by the hand of Baruch, wherein was contained all that was in the former roll; and there were added many other like words, and particularly that prophecy in respect of Jehoiakim and his house, which is, for this impious fact, in the thirtieth and thirty-first verses of the thirty-sixth chapter of Jeremiah denounced against them. In making the roll to be read twice in the temple by Baruch, I confess I differ from most that have commented upon this place of Scripture. But as the reading of the roll by Baruch is, in the thirty-sixth chapter of Jeremiah, twice related, so it is plain to me that it was twice done for in the first relation it is said to be done in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and in the second, it is said to be done in the fifth; which plainly denotes two different times. And in the first relation Jeremiah is said to be shut up in prison when the roll was read; but in the second relation it plainly appears he was out of prison, for he was then at full liberty to go out of the way and hide himself. For these reasons I take it for certain that the roll was twice read: and I have Archbishop Usher with me in the same opinion, whose judgment must always be of the greatest weight in such matters.

Nebuchadnezzar's successes against Egypt.—Nebuchadnezzar, after his departure from Jerusalem, employed all this year in carrying on his war against the Egyptians, in which he had that success, that before the ensuing winter he had driven them out of all Syria and Palestine, and brought into subjection to him, from the river Euphrates to the river of Egypt, all that formerly belonged to the king of Egypt, i. e. all Syria and Palestine. For, as the river Euphrates was the boundary of Syria towards the north-east, so the river of Egypt was the boundary of Palestine towards the south-west. This river of Egypt, which is so often mentioned in Scripture as the boundary of the land of Canaan, or Palestine, towards Egypt, was not the Nile, as many suppose, but a small river, which, running through the desert that lies between these two countries, was anciently reckoned the common boundary of both. And thus far the land reached, which was promised to the seed of

Abraham (Gen. xv. 18), and was afterwards by lot divided among them, Josh. xv. 4.

[A distinction must be drawn between the river of Egypt and the brook of Egypt, for the two are not so well distinguished in the authorized version as in the original. The JEOR, or river, is undoubtedly the Nile; but the NACHAL, or brook, mentioned in Numb. xxxiv. 5; Josh. xv. 4, 47; 1 Kings viii. 65; 2 Kings xxiv. 7; Isa. xxvii. 12, which is also called simply "the brook" (Ezek xlvii. 19; xlviii. 28), and described as on the confines of Palestine and Egypt, is unquestionably the Wady-el-Arish, near the village of that name, which was anciently called Rhinococura. **ED.**]

Death of Nabopollasar: Nebuchadnezzar becomes sole sovereign of the Babylonian empire, 604.—Towards the end of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, died Nabopollasar, king of Babylon, and father of Nebuchadnezzar,

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after he had reigned one-and-twenty years, which Nebuchadnezzar being informed of, he immediately, with a few only of his followers, hastened through the desert the nearest way to Babylon, leaving the gross of his army, with the prisoners and prey, to be brought after him by his generals. On his arrival at the palace, he received the government from the hands of those who had carefully reserved it for him, and thereon succeeded his father in the whole empire, which contained Chaldea, Assyria, Arabia, Syria, and Palestine, and reigned over it, according to Ptolemy, forty-three years, the first of which begins from the January following, which is the Babylonish account, from which the Jewish account differs two years, as reckoning his reign from the time he was admitted to be partner with his father. From hence we have a double computation of the years of his reign, the Jewish and the Babylonish; Daniel follows the latter, but all other parts of Scripture that make mention of him the other.

Nebuchadnezzar's dream interpreted by Daniel, 603.—In the seventh year of Jehoiakim, which was the second year of Nebuchadnezzar according to the Babylonish account, and the fourth according to the Jewish, Daniel revealed unto Nebuchadnezzar his dream, and also unfolded

to him the interpretation of it, in the manner as we have it at large related in the second chapter of Daniel; whereon he was advanced to great honour, being made chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon, and also chief ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and one of the chief lords of the council, who always continued in the king's court, he being then about the age of twenty-two. And in his prosperity he was not forgetful of his three companions, who had been brought to Babylon with him, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego; but having spoken to the king in their behalf, procured that they were preferred to places of honourable trust under him in the province of Babylon. These afterwards made themselves very signally known to the king, and also to the whole empire of Babylon, by their constancy to their religion, in refusing to worship the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar had set up, and by the wonderful deliverance which God wrought for them thereon: which deservedly recommending them to the king's highest regard, they were thereon much higher advanced. The whole history whereof is at full related in the third chapter of Daniel.

Jehoiakim rebels against Nebuchadnezzar, and renews his alliance with Egypt: his death, 599.—The same year Jehoiakim, after he had served the king of Babylon three years, rebelled against him, and refusing to pay him any more tribute, renewed his confederacy with Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, in opposition to him. Whereon Nebuchadnezzar, not being then at leisure, by reason of other engagements, to come himself and chastise him, sent orders to all his lieutenants and governors of provinces in those parts to make war upon him; which brought upon Jehoiakim inroads and invasions from every quarter, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Syrians, the Arabians, and all the other nations round him, who had subjected themselves to the Babylonish yoke, infesting him with incursions, and harassing him with

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depredations on every side. And thus they continued to do for three years together, till at length, in the eleventh year of his reign, all parties joining together against him, they shut him up in Jerusalem, where, in the prosecution of the siege, having taken him prisoner in some sally (it may be supposed) which he made upon them, they slew him with the sword, and

then cast out his dead body into the highway, without one of the gates of Jerusalem, allowing it no other burial, as the prophet Jeremiah had foretold, than that of an ass, that is, to be cast forth into a place of the greatest contempt, there to rot and be consumed to dust in the open air.

The year before died his confederate, on whom he chiefly depended, Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, after he had reigned sixteen years, and Psammis his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

VI. REIGNS OF JEHOIACHIN, B. C. 598: ZEDEKIAH, 598-588.

Kings of Babylon—Nebuchadnezzar, 606.

Media—Cyaxares, 635, Astyages, 594.

Egypt—Psammis, 600, Pharaoh Hophra or Apries, 594.

Prophets—Jeremiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel.

Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar: Jehoiachin and numerous captives carried to Babylon, 598.—Jehoiakim being dead, Jehoiachin his son (who is also called Jeconiah and Coniah) reigned in his stead, who doing evil in the sight of the Lord, in the same manner as his father had done, this provoked a very bitter declaration of God's wrath against him, by the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah, and it was as bitterly executed upon him. For after Jehoiakim's death, the servants of Nebuchadnezzar (that is, his lieutenants and governors of the provinces, that were under his subjection in those parts) still continued to block up Jerusalem; and, after three months, Nebuchadnezzar himself came thither in person with his royal army, and caused the place to be begirt with a close siege on every side; whereon Jehoiachin, finding himself unable to defend it, went out to Nebuchadnezzar with his mother, and his princes and servants, and delivered himself into his hands. But hereby he obtained no other favour than to save his life; for being immediately put in chains, he was carried to Babylon, and there continued shut up in prison till the death of Nebuchadnezzar, which was full seven and thirty years. Nebuchadnezzar, having hereon made himself master of Jerusalem, took thence all the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house, and cut in pieces the vessels of gold, which Solomon king of Israel had made in

the temple of the Lord, and carried them to Babylon; and he also carried thither with him a vast number of captives, Jehoiachin the king, his mother and his wives, and his officers and princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even to the number of ten thousand men out of Jerusalem only, besides the smiths and the carpenters, and other artificers; and out of the rest of the land, of the mighty men seven thousand, and of the craftsmen and smiths one thousand, besides three thousand twenty and three, which had been carried away the year before out of the open country, before the siege of Jerusalem was begun.

With the mighty men of valour he recruited his army, and the artificers he employed in the carrying on of his building at Babylon, of which we shall speak hereafter. In this captivity was carried away to Babylon Ezekiel the prophet, the son of Buzi, of the house of Aaron; and therefore the era whereby he reckons throughout all his prophecies is from this captivity.

Zedekiah made king by Nebuchadnezzar.—After this great carrying away of the Jews into captivity, the poorer sort of the people being still left in the land, Nebuchadnezzar made Mattaniah, the son of Josiah and uncle of Jehoiachin, king over them, taking of him a solemn oath to be true and faithful unto him; and to engage him the more to be so, he changed his name from Mattaniah to Zedekiah, which signifieth the justice of the Lord, intending by this name to put him continually in mind of the vengeance which he was to expect from the justice of the Lord his God, if he violated that fidelity which he had in his name sworn unto him. Zedekiah, being thus made king, reigned eleven years in Jerusalem; but his ways being evil in the sight of the Lord, as were those of his nephew and brothers that reigned before him, he did thereby so far fill up the measure of the iniquities of his forefathers, that they at length drew down upon Judah and Jerusalem that terrible destruction in which his reign ended. And thus was concluded the second war which Nebuchadnezzar had with the Jews. Three years he managed it by his lieutenants and governors of the neighbouring provinces of his empire. In the fourth year he came himself in person, and put an end to it in the captivity of Jehoiachin, and the taking of Jerusalem. What hindered him from coming sooner is not said; only it appears, that in the

tenth year of Jehoiakim he was engaged in an arbitration between the Medes and Lydians.

Nebuchadnezzar's mediation between the Medes and Lydians.—The occasion of this mediation was as follows. After the Medes had recovered all the Upper Asia out of the hands of the Scythians, and again extended their borders to the river Halys, which was the common boundary between them and the Lydians, it was not long before there happened a war between these two nations, which was managed for five years together with various success. In the sixth year they engaged each other with the utmost of their strength, intending to make that battle decisive of the quarrel that was between them. But in the midst of it, while the fortune of the day seemed to hang in an equal balance between them, there happened an eclipse, which overspread both armies with darkness; whereon, being frightened with what had happened, they both desisted from fighting any longer, and agreed to refer the controversy to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes. The Lydians chose Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and the Medes Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who agreed a peace between them, on the terms that Astyages, son to Cyaxares, king of Media, should take to wife Ariena, the daughter of Halyattis, king of the Lydians; of which marriage, within a year after, was born Cyaxares, who is called Darius the Median in the book of Daniel. This eclipse was foretold by Thales the Milesian; and it happened on the 20th of September, according to the Julian account, in the hundred and forty-seventh year of Nabonassar,

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and in the ninth of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah, which was the year before Christ 601. The same year that Cyaxares was born to Astyages, he gave his daughter Mandana, whom he had by a former wife, in marriage to Cambyses, king of Persia; of whom the next year after (which was the last year of Jehoiakim) was born Cyrus, the famous founder of the Persian monarchy, and the restorer of the Jews to their country, their temple, and their former state.

Jeremiah's prophetic visions of the captivity and restoration of the Jews.—Jehoiakim being thus carried into captivity, and Zedekiah settled in

the throne, Jeremiah had in a vision, under the type of two baskets of figs, foreshown unto him the restoration which God would again give to them who were carried into captivity, and the misery and desolation which should befall them, with their king, that were still in the land; that the captivity of the former should become a means of preservation unto them, while the liberty which the others were left in should serve only to lead them to their utter ruin, as accordingly it befell them in the destruction of Jerusalem, and the utter devastation of the land, which happened a few years afterwards. The same year God also foreshowed to Jeremiah the confusion which he would bring upon Elam (a kingdom lying upon the river Ulai, eastward beyond the Tigris), and the restoration which he would afterwards give them again; all which was accordingly fulfilled. For it was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, and afterwards restored by Cyrus.

False prophets in Babylon.—Zedekiah had not been long settled in the throne, before he was solicited by the ambassadors of the kings of the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Edomites, the Zidonians, and the Tyrians, to join with them in a confederacy against the king of Babylon. But Jeremiah, by the command of God, made him yokes and bonds, and sent them by the said ambassadors to their respective masters, with this message from God, That he had given all their countries unto Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, and that they should serve him, and his son, and his son's son, after him; and that therefore their wisest course would be to submit to his yoke; which if they did, they should be permitted to live in their own lands; but if they would not, they should be destroyed by the sword, by the famine, and by the pestilence; and he also spake to king Zedekiah after the same manner; which for that time, it seems, had its effect. For Zedekiah did not then enter into the league that was proposed to him, but for some years after continued quiet in his obedience to the king of Babylon. At the same time also he wrote to the Jews that were then in captivity at Babylon, to give them the same advice, that is, to be quiet and peaceable under the government of the king of Babylon, and not to hearken to those false prophets who should encourage them to the contrary; for that their captivity was to last seventy years; and that after they were expired, God would certainly visit them, and bring them back again to their own land. But there were then in Babylon two false prophets, Ahab the son of Kolaiah, and

Zedekiah the son of Maaseiah, who encouraged the people in their captivity to look for a speedy deliverance, and also

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fell into many other great impieties; whereon Jeremiah wrote to the people of the captivity, to let them know the judgments which God would bring upon those two false prophets for their wickedness; that they should be delivered into the hands of the king of Babylon, to be put to death before their eyes, and be roasted in the fire; from whence there should arise a curse among the Jews of the captivity, that when they would curse any, they should say, "The Lord make thee like Zedekiah, and like Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire." And so it accordingly happened. For Nebuchadnezzar, finding that they encouraged the people to a rebellion, and also that they were guilty of adultery with their neighbours' wives, caused them both to be seized, and burnt to death. Another of these false prophets was Shemaiah the Nehelamite, who having heard the letter of Jeremiah to the captives of Babylon, wrote again to the people of Jerusalem, and especially to Zephaniah, the son of Maaseiah, the second priest, to incite them against the prophet, as if he were a madman and a false prophet, because of his writing to those of the captivity, that it should be of long continuance: whereon Jeremiah, by the command of God, wrote again to the captives of Babylon, to let them know that God would also punish Shemaiah and his seed for the same reason.

Prophecies of Ezekiel, 595.—In the fifth year of Zedekiah, which was also the fifth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, and the thirtieth from the great reformation in the eighteenth year of king Josiah, Ezekiel was called of God to the prophetic office among the captives of Babylon. For there, as he was among them on the banks of the river Chebar, the word of the Lord came unto him in a vision, and he saw the glory of the Lord, as in the first chapter of his prophecies is described; whereon he was commissioned to be a prophet to the house of Israel. The same year Zedekiah, in the fourth month, which answers to our July, went to Babylon, as did also Seraiah, the son of Neriah, and chief chamberlain to the king, to pay his homage to Nebuchadnezzar, and to settle some matters with him relating to his kingdom. On which occasion Jeremiah wrote in a roll all the prophecies

which he had against Babylon, and gave it to Seraiah, with a charge, that when he should come to Babylon, he should there read it upon the banks of the Euphrates; and that after he had there read it, he should bind a stone to it and cast it into the midst of the river, to denote that as that should sink, so should Babylon sink, and never rise any more; which was accordingly fulfilled.

Egypt: death of Psammis and accession of Pharaoh Hophra, 594.—In the sixth year of Zedekiah, Ezekiel was, in a vision, carried to Jerusalem, and there shown all the several sorts of idolatry which were then practised by the Jews in that place, and had also foreshown unto him the general destruction which God would for those impieties bring upon all that people, and also the particular judgments which he would execute upon the king, and those that were with him, for their falseness and rebellion against the king of Babylon; all which are at large related in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of his prophecies.

The same year died Psammis, king of Egypt, and was succeeded by Apries his son, who in Scripture is called Pharaoh Hophra. He reigned

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twenty-five years, and was a martial prince, and had great success in his wars; for he took Sidon by storm, and having beaten both the Tyrians and Cyprians in a sea-fight, he returned with great prey into Egypt, which so far puffed him up, that (as the prophet Ezekiel tells us) he said in the pride of his heart, "that his kingdom was his own, and that he had made it for himself;" and therefore God by the same prophet denounced his judgments against him, and at last they were executed upon him to his utter ruin.

Zedekiah's final rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar, 591.—In the seventh year of Zedekiah, God again, by the prophet Ezekiel, foretold the destruction of Jerusalem, and also the particular judgments which he would execute upon Zedekiah, for his breaking of that solemn oath which he had made to Nebuchadnezzar in the name of the Lord his God. For after he had for several years continued in his obedience to the king of Babylon, he at length, in the seventh year of his reign, being weary of that subjection, and also puffed up by the ambassadors of the several nations that had solicited

him to a confederacy against the Babylonians, and especially depending upon the king of Egypt, from whom he expected great assistance, he broke his oath and his league with Nebuchadnezzar, and rebelled against him. Whereon that king, the same year, sent an army against him; which having overran the land, and taken many of his cities, did at length, in the ninth year of his reign, on the tenth day of the tenth month (which answers to our December), lay siege to the city of Jerusalem itself. And this being the third war which Nebuchadnezzar had with the Jews, it was at last concluded in the total destruction of their city, and also of their temple and their state.

Siege of Jerusalem: Jeremiah's prophecy of the death of Zedekiah, 590.—The same day that the siege of Jerusalem began at Babylon, it was revealed to Ezekiel there, and he then also foreshowed to the captives in that place the destruction which should then befall their brethren at Jerusalem. As soon as the siege was begun, Zedekiah sent to Jeremiah the prophet to inquire of the Lord concerning the event of this war; whereon Jeremiah returned him this answer from God: That the city should be taken, and be burnt with fire; and that he himself should be taken prisoner, and be carried to Babylon, and there die. But the king, instead of being amended by this, and turning to the Lord, to seek for his help and deliverance, was the more hardened in his iniquity, and instead of hearkening to the prophet, he caused him to be put in prison.

The same year the prophet Jeremiah, by the command of God, bought a field of Hanameel, his uncle's son, which was at Anathoth, a city of the priests, in the tribe of Benjamin; and the writings of the said purchase he caused to be put into an earthen vessel, and to be buried in the earth, as a token that though the land should be for a time desolate, yet the people should again return, and there should again be houses and fields and vineyards bought and sold in that land, as in former times.

The next year after, which was the tenth of Zedekiah, and the eighth of the captivity of Jehoiachin, the army of Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, having come out of that country to the relief of Zedekiah, the

Chaldeans, who were then besieging Jerusalem, rose from the siege to go and fight them. Whereon the king and the people of Jerusalem, thinking they should be no more troubled with them, did let themselves loose to all their former iniquities, and particularly to that of their servants. For it was a law of God, that every seventh year (which was the year of release) every Hebrew was to let his servant of the same nation go free: which having been for a long time neglected, the king and the people, in the beginning of this siege, to curry favour with God, and to obtain his help for their deliverance, did, by a solemn covenant, agree to observe this law, and accordingly let their servants go free. But now that the Chaldeans were gone, they repented of their covenant, and again reduced their servants to their former servitude: whereon Jeremiah was sent to them from God, to let them know, that because they had thus played fast and loose with him, he would also play fast and loose with them; and that though the Chaldeans were now gone from Jerusalem, they should certainly return again, and take the city, and burn it with fire. And as to the Egyptians, on whom they so much depended, he told them they should also return back again into their own land, without giving them any help at all.

Jeremiah's imprisonment.—During the time that the Chaldeans were gone from Jerusalem to fight the Egyptians, Jeremiah, thinking to lay hold of this opportunity, was going out of the city to Anathoth, to see after the field which he had lately bought there; but being stopped at the gate by the guards, he was seized as a deserter, and again put into prison, where he was very hardly used.

But the Egyptians, on the approach of the Chaldeans, instead of fighting them, as was expected, according to their usual custom of being a staff of a broken reed to the house of Israel, retreated into their own country, and left Zedekiah and his people to perish in that destruction which they had brought upon them; whereon the Chaldeans returned again to the siege of Jerusalem, and there continued till they had taken the city.

Prophecy of the restoration of Egypt.—While the Chaldeans were thus absent from Jerusalem, the prophet Ezekiel, who was then in captivity in Babylon, had it revealed to him by God, that because the Egyptians had been a staff of a broken reed to the house of Israel, and had also been very

much puffed up in the pride of their own power and greatness, therefore God would bring a sword upon them, which should make their land desolate from one end to the other, and that it should so continue for forty years. After which, he said, he would again restore them; but that they should never more be a kingdom of any great figure, but be the basest of all kingdoms, and never more have a prince of their own to reign over them. Which hath been wonderfully fulfilled. For after they were conquered by the Babylonians, they were next subdued by the Persians, and after them by the Macedonians, and after them by the Romans, and after them by the Saracens, and then by the Mamalukes, and lastly by the Turks, under whose government they have now continued for several ages.

Jerusalem taken and destroyed: Zedekiah blinded, 588.—In the eleventh year of Zedekiah, which was the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar,

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the city of Jerusalem, after a siege of a year and a half, was, on the ninth day of the fourth month, which answers to our June, taken by the Chaldeans. For the famine having for some time very much distressed the place, and there being no more bread left for the people to eat, they were no longer able to make any more resistance; and therefore the Chaldeans having made a breach in the walls, did on that day, about midnight, enter the city. Which Zedekiah perceiving, he, with his wives and his children, and the rest of his family, and also his princes and his men of war, fled out of the city, and having passed the guards of the Chaldeans, made his escape towards the plains of Jericho. But he was not gone far before he was pursued after and taken, and brought to Nebuchadnezzar, who was then at Riblah in Syria; where he having first caused his sons to be slain before his face, and then the eyes of Zedekiah himself to be put out, he sent him in chains to Babylon, where he died in prison. And thus was fulfilled what was before prophesied of him by Jeremiah and Ezekiel, that he should be carried to Babylon, and there see the king of Babylon, and speak with him face to face; and yet that he should not see the city of Babylon, though he should die there. For his eyes being put out at Riblah, he saw not the city of Babylon, though he was carried thither, and there ended his life.

Temple of Solomon destroyed.—After the city was thus taken, Nebuchadnezzar sent Nebuzaradan, the captain of his guards, to Jerusalem, to see the whole place utterly destroyed; who, on his arrival thither, which was on the tenth day of the fifth month (answering to our July), did first set the temple on fire, and then the king's palace, and all the rest of the houses of the city; and after that he caused the walls to be beaten down, and the whole city to be laid level with the ground. Which was a work of that greatness and difficulty, that it must have taken up a considerable time for the doing of it. The temple had now stood, from the time that it was first finished by Solomon, four hundred and sixteen years, according to the best computation. But it is to be observed, that the Jews keep the annual fast for the destruction of their temple on the ninth day of the said month; for they say, that although it was on the tenth day that it was set on fire, it continued burning all the next day also.

Poor of the land permitted to remain in Judea.—Nebuzaradan, having thus destroyed the city and the temple of Jerusalem, made all the people he found there captives. Of these he took Seraiah the high priest, and Zephaniah the second priest, and about seventy others of the principal persons he found in the place, and carried them to Riblah to Nebuchadnezzar, who caused them all there to be put to death. Of the rest of the people, he left the poorer sort to till the ground and dress their vineyards, and made Gedaliah the son of Ahikam governor over them; and all the other he carried away to Babylon. But concerning Jeremiah, Nebuchadnezzar gave particular charge to Nebuzaradan, that he should offer him no hurt, but look well to him, and do for him in all things according as he should desire. And therefore as soon as he came to Jerusalem, with commission to destroy the place, he and the princes that were with him sent and took him out of prison, where he had laid bound from the time that Zedekiah had put him there, and restored him to his liberty; and having carried him with him as far as Ramah, on his return to Nebuchadnezzar, he then gave him his option, whether he would go with him to Babylon, where he should be well

looked after and maintained at the king's charge, or else remain in the land; and he having chosen the latter, Nebuzaradan gave him victuals and a reward, and sent him back to Gedaliah the son of Ahikam, with an especial charge to take care of him. After Nebuchadnezzar was returned to Babylon, all those who before for fear of the Chaldeans had taken refuge among the neighbouring nations, or had hid themselves in the fields and the deserts, after their escape, on the dispersion of Zedekiah's army in the plains of Jericho, hearing that Gedaliah was made governor of the land, resorted to him; and he having promised them protection, and sworn unto them that they should be safe under his government, they settled themselves again in the land, and gathered in the fruits of it. The chief among these were Johanan and Jonathan the sons of Kereah, Seraiah the son of Tanhumeth, Azariah the son of Hoshaiah, Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, and others.

Conspiracy of Ishmael: murder of Gedaliah. But Ishmael came to him only out of a treacherous design; for being of the seed royal, he reckoned to make himself king of the land now the Chaldeans were gone; and for the accomplishing of it had formed a conspiracy to kill Gedaliah, and seize the government; and Baalis the king of the Ammonites was confederated with him herein. But Johanan the son of Kereah having got notice of it, he and all the chief men of the rest of the people went to Gedaliah and informed him of it, proposing to kill Ishmael, and thereby deliver him from the mischief that was intended against him. But Gedaliah, being of a very benign disposition, and not easy to entertain jealousies of any one, would not believe this of Ishmael, but still carried on a friendly correspondence with him; of which Ishmael taking the advantage, came to him in the seventh month, which answers to our September, when the people were most of them scattered abroad from him to gather in the fruits of the land; and while they were eating and drinking together at an entertainment, which Gedaliah had in a very friendly manner made for him and his men, they rose upon him and slew him, and at the same time slew also a great number of the Jews and Chaldeans whom they found with him in Mizpah, and took the rest captive. And the next day, hearing of eighty men who were going on a religious account with offerings and incense to the house of God, they craftily drew them into Mizpah, and there slew them all, excepting ten of them, who offered their stores for the redemption of their lives. And then

taking with them all the captives, among whom were the daughters of king Zedekiah, they departed thence to go over to the Ammonites. But Johanan the son of Kereah, and the rest of the captains, hearing of this wicked fact, immediately armed as many of the people as they could get together, and pursued after Ishmael; and having overtaken him at Gibeon, retook all the captives; but he and eight of his men escaped to the Ammonites. This murder of Gedaliah happened two months after the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, in the said seventh month, and on the 30th day of the month. For that day the Jews have kept as a fast in

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commemoration of this calamity ever since; and Zechariah also makes mention of it as observed in his time, calling it by the name of the fast of the seventh month; and they had reason to keep a fast for it, for it was the completion of their ruin.

Flight of Johanan, Jeremiah, Baruch, and the remainder of the people into Egypt. After this great misfortune, Johanan the son of Kereah and the people that were left, fearing the king of Babylon, because of the murder of Gedaliah, whom he had made governor of the land, departed from Mizpah, to flee into the land of Egypt, and came to Bethlehem in their way thither where they stopping a while, consulted the prophet Jeremiah (whom they had carried with them) about their intended journey, and desired him to inquire of God in their behalf; who, after ten days, having received an answer from God, called them together, and told them, that if they would tarry in the land all should go well with them, and God would show mercy unto them, and incline the heart of the king of Babylon to be favourable unto them. But if they would not hearken unto the word of the Lord, but would, notwithstanding his word now delivered to the contrary, set their faces to go into the land of Egypt, that then the sword and famine should follow close after them thither, and they should be all there destroyed. But all this was of no effect with them for their hearts being violently bent to go into Egypt, they would not hearken to the word of the Lord spoken to them by the mouth of his prophet, but told Jeremiah, that the answer which he gave them was not from God, but was suggested to him by Baruch the son of Neriah for their hurt. And therefore Johanan the

son of Kereah, and the rest of the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of Judah that were returned from all nations whither they had been driven, again to dwell in the land, and all the persons whom Nebuzaradan had left with Gedaliah, even men, women, and children, and the king's daughters, and also Jeremiah the prophet, and Baruch the son of Neriah, and went into Egypt, and settled in that country, till the plagues and judgments which God had threatened them with, for their disobedience to his word, there overtook them, to their utter destruction. And thus ended this unfortunate year, in which the temple and city of Jerusalem were destroyed, and the whole land of Judah brought in a manner to utter desolation for the sins thereof.

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73 B. C. 587. KINGS OF BABYLON-NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

BOOK II.

THE SEVENTY YEARS' CAPTIVITY, COMPRISING THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE CHALDEE-BABYLONIAN EMPIRE AND RISE OF THE MEDO-PERSIAN, B. C. 606 TO 536.

I. REIGN OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR, B. C. 606-562. —

Kings of Media—Astyages, 594:

Egypt—Pharaoh Hophra or Apries, 594,

Amasis, 569.

Prophets—Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, and Obadiah.

Ezekiel's further prophecies against Judah and Egypt, 587.—IN the twelfth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, one escaping from Jerusalem came to Ezekiel in the land of the Chaldeans, and told him of the destruction of the city; whereon he prophesied desolation to the rest of the land of Judah, and utter destruction to the remainder of the Jews who were left therein. The same year Ezekiel prophesied against Egypt, and Pharaoh Hophra, the king thereof, that God would bring against him Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who should lay the land desolate; and that he and all his armies should be brought to destruction, and perish, like as other nations whom God had cut off for their iniquities; which is the subject of the thirty-second chapter of his prophecies.

Settlement of the Jews in Egypt.—The Jews which went into Egypt, having settled in Migdol, and Tahpanhes, and Noph, and in the country of Pathros (i. e. at Magdolum by the Red Sea, at Daphne near Pelusium, at Memphis, and in the country of Thebais), gave themselves there wholly up

to idolatry, worshipping the queen of heaven, and other false deities of the land, and burning incense unto them, without having any more regard to the Lord their God. Whereon the prophet Jeremiah cried aloud against this impiety, unto those among whom he lived, that is, those who had settled in the land of Pathros, or Thebais. (For this being the farthest from Judæa of all the places where they had obtained settlements in that country, they had carried him thither, the better to take from him all opportunity of again returning from them.) But all his exhortations were of no other effect than to draw from them a declaration, that they would worship the Lord no more, but would go on in their idolatry: for they told him, that it had been best with them when they practised it in Judah and Jerusalem; that it was since their leaving of it off that all their calamities had happened unto them; and that, therefore, they would no more hearken unto anything that he should deliver unto them in the name of the Lord. Whereon the word of the Lord came unto the prophet, denouncing utter destruction unto them by the sword and by the famine; that thereby all of them, that is, all the men of Judah then dwelling in Egypt, should be consumed, excepting only some few who should make their escape into the land of Judah. And for a sign hereof, it was foretold unto them by the same prophet, that Pharaoh Hophra, king

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of Egypt, in whom they trusted, should be given into the hands of his enemies who sought his life, in the same manner as Zedekiah was given into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar that sought his life; that so, when this should be brought to pass in their eyes, they might be assured thereby, that all these words which the Lord had spoken against them should certainly be fulfilled upon them; as accordingly they were about eighteen years afterwards.

Last mention of Jeremiah. After this there is no more mention of Jeremiah. It is most likely that he died in Egypt soon after, he being then much advanced in years (for he had now prophesied forty-one years from the thirteenth of Josiah), and also much broken (as we may well suppose) by the calamities which happened to himself and his country. Tertullian, Epiphanius, Dorotheus, Jerome, and Zonaras tell us, that he was stoned to

death by the Jews, for preaching against their idolatry. And of this some interpret St. Paul's *elithasthēsan* (i. e. they were stoned), Heb. xi. 37. But others say, that he was put to death by Pharaoh Hophra, because of his prophecy against him. But these seem to be traditions, founded rather on conjecture than on any certain account of the matter.

Nebuchadnezzar sets up the golden image in the plain of Dura.—Nebuchadnezzar, being returned to Babylon after the end of the Jewish war, and the full settling of his affairs in Syria and Palestine, did, out of the spoils which he had taken in that expedition, make that golden image to the honour of Bel his god, which he did set up and dedicate to him in the plain of Dura; the history of which is at large related in the third chapter of Daniel. But how Daniel escaped the fiery furnace, which his three friends on that occasion were condemned unto, is made a matter of inquiry by some. That he did not fall down and worship the idol is most certain; it absolutely disagreeing with the character of that holy religious man, to make himself guilty of so high an offence against God as such a compliance would have amounted unto: either therefore he was absent, or else, if present, was not accused. The latter seems most probable: for Nebuchadnezzar having summoned all his princes, counsellors, governors, captains, and all other his officers and ministers, to be present and assisting at the solemnity of this dedication, it is not likely that Daniel, who was one of the chiefest of them, should be allowed to be absent. That he was present, therefore, seems most probable: but his enemies thought it fittest not to begin with him, because of the great authority he had with the king; but rather to fall first on his three friends, and thereby pave the way for their more successful reaching of him after it. But what was in the interim miraculously done in their case quashed all further accusation about this matter; and for that reason it was that Daniel is not at all spoken of in it.

Besieges Tyre, 586.—Nebuchadnezzar, in the twenty-first year of his reign, according to the Jewish account, which was the nineteenth according to the Babylonish account, and the second from the destruction

of Jerusalem, came again into Syria, and laid siege to Tyre, Ithobal being then king of that city; which found him hard work for thirteen years together, it being so long before he could make himself master of the place. For it was a strong and wealthy city, which had never as yet submitted to any foreign empire; and was of great fame in those days for its traffic and merchandise, whereby several of its inhabitants had made themselves as great as princes in riches and splendour. It was built by the Zidonians, two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Solomon at Jerusalem: for Zidon being then conquered and taken by the Philistines of Askalon, many of the inhabitants, escaping thence in their ships, built Tyre; and therefore it was called by the prophet Isaiah the daughter of Zidon: but it soon outgrew its mother in largeness, riches, and power, and was thereby enabled to withstand for so many years the power of this mighty king, to whom all the East had then submitted.

Nebuzaradan invades Judah, to avenge the death of Gedaliah, 584. —While Nebuchadnezzar lay at this siege, Nebuzaradan, the captain of his guards, being sent out by him with part of his army, invaded the land of Israel, to take revenge, as it may be supposed, for the death of Gedaliah, there being no other reason why he should fall on the poor remains of those miserable people, whom he himself had left and settled there. In which expedition Nebuzaradan, seizing upon all of the race of Israel that he could meet with in the land, made them all captives, and sent them to Babylon. But they all amounted to no more than seven hundred and forty-five persons, the rest having all fled into Egypt, as hath been before related.

Desolation of the land completed, and prophecy fulfilled. By this last captivity was fully completed the desolation of the land, no more of its former inhabitants being now left therein. And hereby were also completed the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets relating hereto; and particularly that of Ezekiel, wherein God's forbearance of the house of Israel is limited to three hundred and ninety days, and his forbearance of the house of Judah to forty days. For taking the days for years, according to the prophetic style of Scripture, from the apostasy of Jeroboam to the time of this last captivity there will be just three hundred and ninety years; and so long God bore the idolatry of the house of Israel. And from the eighteenth year of Josiah, when the house of Judah entered

into covenant with God to walk wholly in his ways, to the same time, will be just forty years; and so long God bore their walking contrary to that covenant. But now the stated time of his forbearance in respect of both being fully completed, he completed also the desolation of both in this last captivity, in which both had an equal share, part of them who were now carried away being of the house of Judah, and part of the house of Israel. There are others who end both the computations at the destruction of Jerusalem: and to make their hypothesis good, they begin the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of Judah from the mission of the prophet Jeremiah to preach

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repentance unto them, that is, from the thirteenth of Josiah, when he was first called to this office; from which time to the last year of Zedekiah, when Jerusalem was destroyed, were exactly forty years. And as to the three hundred and ninety years' forbearance of the house of Israel, according as they compute the time from Jeroboam's apostasy, they make this period to fall exactly right also; that is, to contain just three hundred and ninety years from that time to the destruction of Jerusalem. But this period relating purely to the house of Israel, as contradistinct from the house of Judah in this prophecy, it cannot be well interpreted to end in the destruction of Jerusalem, in which the house of Israel had no concern; for Jerusalem was not within the kingdom of Israel, but within the kingdom of Judah, of which it was the metropolis; and therefore the latter only, and not the former, had their punishment in it. But this last equally affected both; and therefore here may well be ended the reckoning which belonged to both. As to the computing of the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of Judah from the mission of Jeremiah to preach repentance unto them, it must be acknowledged, that from thence to the destruction of Jerusalem the number of years falls exactly right; and therefore, since the one hundred and twenty years of God's forbearance of the old world is reckoned from the like mission of Noah to preach repentance unto them, I should be inclined to come into this opinion, and reckon the forty years of this forbearance of Judah by the forty years of Jeremiah's like preaching of repentance unto them: but it cannot be conceived why Ezekiel should reckon the time of his

mission by an era from the eighteenth year of Josiah (for the thirtieth year, on which he saith he was called to the prophetic office, is certainly to be reckoned from thence), unless it be with respect to the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of Judah in his own prophecies.

Execution of God's judgments against the Ammonites, Philistines, Moabites, Edomites, and Zidonians. After this, Nebuzaradan marched against the Ammonites; and having destroyed Rabbah, their royal city, and by fire and sword made great desolation in that country, he carried their king, and their princes, and most of the chief of the land, into captivity; and this was done by way of just revenge for the part which they had in the murder of Gedaliah, the king of Babylon's governor in the land of Israel. And during this siege of Tyre, the other neighbouring nations, that is, the Philistines, the Moabites, the Edomites, and the Zidonians, seem also to have been harassed and broken by the excursions of the Babylonians, and to have had all those judgments executed upon them, which we find in the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel to have been denounced against them.

Egyptian history: revolt of the army against Pharaoh Hophra and establishment of Amasis on the throne, 574. In the fourteenth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which was the twenty-fifth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, were revealed unto the prophet Ezekiel all those visions and prophecies concerning the future state of the church of God, which we have from the fortieth chapter of his prophecies

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to the end of that book. This same year, the judgments which God had denounced by the mouth of his prophets against Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries, king of Egypt, began to operate against him. For the Cyrenians, a colony of the Greeks that had settled in Africa, having taken from the Libyans (a neighbouring nation lying between them and the Egyptians, and bordering upon both) a great part of their land, and divided it among themselves, the Libyans made a surrender both of themselves and their country into the hands of Apries, to obtain his protection. Hereon Apries sent a great army into Libya to wage war against the Cyrenians; which, having the misfortune to be beaten and overthrown in battle, were almost all cut off and destroyed,

so that very few of them escaped the carnage, and returned again into Egypt: whereon the Egyptians, entertaining an opinion that this army was sent by Apries into Libya of purpose to be destroyed, that he might, when rid of them, with the more ease and security govern the rest, became so incensed against him, that a great many of them, embodying together, revolted from him. Apries, hearing of this, sent Amasis, an officer of his court, to appease them, and reduce them again to their duty. But while he was speaking to them, they put on his head the ensigns of royalty, and declared him their king; which he accepting of, stayed among them, and increased the revolt. At which Apries being much incensed, sent Paterbemis, another officer of his court, and one of the first rank among his followers, to arrest Amasis and bring him unto him; which he not being able to effect, in the midst of so great an army of conspirators as he found about him, was on his return very cruelly and unworthily treated by Apries for out of anger for his not effecting that for which he sent him, though he had no power to accomplish it, he outrageously commanded his ears and his nose to be immediately cut off. Which wrong and indignity offered to a person of his character and worth, so incensed the rest of the Egyptians, that they almost all joined with the conspirators in a general revolt from him. Whereon Apries being forced to flee, made his escape into the Upper Egypt, towards the borders of Ethiopia; where he maintained himself for some years, while Amasis held all the rest.

Tyre taken by Nebuchadnezzar after a thirteen years' siege, 573.— But while this was doing in Egypt, at length, in the twenty-sixth year of the captivity of Johoiachin, which was the fifteenth after the destruction of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar made himself master of Tyre, after a siege of thirteen years' continuance, and utterly destroyed the place, that is, the city which was on the continent; the ruins of which were afterwards called Pale-Tyrus, or Old Tyre. But, before it came to this extremity, the inhabitants had removed most of their effects into an island about half a mile distant from the shore, and there built them a new city. And therefore, when Nebuchadnezzar entered that which he had so long besieged, he found little there wherewith to reward his soldiers in the spoil of the place, which they had so long laboured to take; and therefore wreaking his anger upon the

buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left in them, he razed the whole town to the ground, and slew all he found therein. After this it never

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more recovered its former glory; but the city on the island became the Tyre that was afterwards so famous by that name: the other on the continent never rising any higher than to become a village by the name of Old Tyre, as was before said. That it was this Tyre only that Nebuchadnezzar besieged, and not the other on the island, appears from the description of the siege which we have in Ezekiel. For thereby we find, that Nebuchadnezzar made a fort against the place, and cast up a mount against it, and erected engines of battery to break down its walls, which could not be said of the Tyre on the island; for that was all surrounded by the sea. And that he also took and utterly destroyed that city, appears likewise from the writings of the same prophet. But that the city on the island then escaped this fate is manifest from the Phoenician histories; for in them, after the death of Ithobal (who was slain in the conclusion of this war), we are told that Baal succeeded in the kingdom, and reigned ten years; and that after him succeeded several temporary magistrates, one after another, who, by the name of judges, had the government of the place. It is most probable, that after Nebuchadnezzar had taken and destroyed the old town, those who had retired into the island came to terms, and submitted to him; and that thereon Baal was deputed to be their king under him, and reigned ten years: that, at the end of the said ten years (which happened in the very year that Nebuchadnezzar was again restored after his distraction), Baal being then dead or deposed, the government, to make it the more dependent on the Babylonians, was changed into that of temporary magistrates; who, instead of the name of kings, had only that of suffetes, or judges, given unto them; which was a name well known among the Carthaginians, who were descended of the Tyrians, for so their chief magistrates were called. It had its derivation from the Hebrew word shophetim, i. e. judges, which was the very name whereby the chief governors of Israel were called for several generations before they had kings. And under this sort of government the Tyrians seem to have continued for several years after, till they were

restored to their former state by Darius Hystaspis seventy years after; as will, in its proper place, be hereafter related.

Reconciliation of the chronology of the Phœnician annals with that of the Holy Scriptures. And here I cannot but observe, how exactly the chronology of the Phœnician annals agreeth with that of the Holy Scriptures. Ezekiel placeth the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar in the twenty-sixth year of the captivity of Johoiachin. For, in the first month, and in the first day of the month, of the twenty-seventh year, he speaketh (ch. xxix. 17, 18, &c.) of that city as newly taken by Nebuchadnezzar; and therefore the taking of it must have been in the year before, that is, in the twenty-sixth of the said captivity. This fell in the thirty-second year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Babylonish account; from which year, according to

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Ptolemy's Canon, the first year of Cyrus at Babylon will be the thirty-sixth, and so, according to the Phœnician annals, will it be exactly the same. For, according to them, after the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, Baal had the government of it ten years, Ecnibal two months, Chelbes ten months, Abbar three months, Mitgonus and Gerastratus six years, Balator one year, Merball four years, and Hirom twenty years; in whose fourteenth year, say the same annals, Cyrus began his empire. And putting all these together, the fourteenth of Hirom will be exactly the thirty-sixth year from the thirty-second of Nebuchadnezzar, which was the twenty-sixth of the captivity of Jehoiachin, the year, according to Ezekiel, in which Tyre was taken. And therefore it doth hereby appear, that the said Phœnician annals place the taking of Tyre in the very same year that Ezekiel doth: for the twenty-sixth year from the captivity of Jehoiachin, computed downward, in which Ezekiel placeth it, and the thirty-sixth year from the fourteenth of Hirom computed upward, in which the Phœnician annals place it, will be exactly the same year.

Nebuchadnezzar invades Egypt, and confirms Amasis on the throne. —Nebuchadnezzar and his army having served so long before Tyre, "till every head was bald, and every shoulder peeled," through the length and

hardship of the war, and gotten little on the taking of the place to reward him and his army for their service, in executing the wrath of God upon the place, by reason that the Tyrians had saved the best of their effects in the island, God did, by the prophet Ezekiel, promise them the spoils of Egypt. And accordingly, this very same year, immediately after this siege was over, Nebuchadnezzar, taking the advantage of the intestine divisions which were then in that country, by reason of the revolt of Amasis, marched with his army thither, and overrunning the whole land, from Migdol, or Magdolum (which is at the first entering into Egypt), even to Syene (which is at the farthest end of it towards the borders of Ethiopia), he made a miserable ravage and devastation therein, slaying multitudes of the inhabitants, and reducing a great part of the country to such a desolation, as it did not recover from in forty years after. After this, Nebuchadnezzar having loaded himself and his army with the rich spoils of this country, and brought it all in subjection to him, he came to terms with Amasis; and having confirmed him in the kingdom as his deputy, returned to Babylon. During this ravage of the land of Egypt by the Babylonians, most of the Jews, who had fled thither after the murder of Gedaliah, fell into their hands. Many of them they slew; others they carried captive with them to Babylon. The few that escaped saved themselves by fleeing out of Egypt, and afterwards settled again in their own land at the end of the captivity.

Death of Pharaoh Hophra, or Apries, 570.—After Nebuchadnezzar was gone out of Egypt, Apries, creeping out of his hiding-places, got

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towards the sea-coasts, most likely into the parts of Libya; and there hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, marched against Amasis, and gave him battle near the city of Memphis; in which being vanquished, and taken prisoner, he was carried to the city of Sais, and there strangled in his own palace. And hereby were completed all the prophecies of the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which they had foretold both concerning him and his people; especially that of Jeremiah, relating to his death, whereby it was foreshown, "That God would give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that sought his life, as he gave Zedekiah, king of Judah, into the hand of

Nebuchadrezzar, his enemy, that sought his life." Which was exactly fulfilled on his being taken prisoner, and executed by Amasis in the manner as I have said. It is remarked of him by Herodotus, that he was of that pride and high conceit of himself, as to vaunt, that it was not in the power of God himself to dispossess him of his kingdom, so surely he thought himself established in it; and agreeably hereto is it that the prophet Ezekiel charged him with saying, "The river is mine, and I have made it." For the first twenty years of his reign he had enjoyed as prosperous a fortune as most of his predecessors, having had many successes against the Cypriots, the Zidonians, the Philistines, and other nations; but after he took on himself, Caligula-like, to be thought as a god, he fell from his former state, and made that miserable exit which I have related. After his death Amasis, without any further opposition, became possessed of the whole kingdom of Egypt, and held it from the death of Apries forty-four years. This happened in the nineteenth year after the destruction of Jerusalem. In the same nineteenth year, Nebuchadnezzar, being returned from this Egyptian expedition to Babylon, had there the dream of the wonderful great tree, and the cutting down thereof; of which, and the interpretation of it, there is a full account in the fourth chapter of Daniel.

Nebuchadnezzar proceeds with the building of Babylon.—Nebuchadnezzar, being now at rest from all his wars, and in full peace at home, applied himself to the finishing of his buildings at Babylon. Semiramis is said by some, and Belus by others, to have first founded this city. But by whomsoever it was first founded, it was Nebuchadnezzar that made it one of the wonders of the world. The most famous works therein, were, 1st, the walls of the city; 2ndly, the temple of Belus; 3rdly, his palace, and the hanging-gardens in it; 4thly, the banks of the river; and, 5thly, the artificial lake, and artificial canals made for the draining of that river. In the magnificence and expense of which works he much exceeded whatsoever had been done by any king before him. And, excepting the walls of China, nothing like it hath been since attempted, whereby any one else can be equalled to him herein.

Description of the walls and towers. — First, the walls were every way prodigious: for they were in thickness eighty-seven feet, in height three hundred and fifty feet, and in compass four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. This is Herodotus's account of them, who was himself at Babylon, and is the ancientest author that hath wrote of this matter. And although there are others that differ from him herein, yet the most that agree in any measures of those walls give us the same, or very near the same, that he doth. Those who lay the height of them at fifty cubits speak of them only as they were after the time of Darius Hystaspis: for the Babylonians having revolted from him, and in confidence of their strong walls stood out against him in a long siege, after he had taken the place, to prevent their rebellion for the future, he took away their gates, and beat down their walls to the height last mentioned; and beyond this they were never after raised. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of an exact square, each side of which was one hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles in length, and all built of large bricks, cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime, arising out of the earth in that country, which binds in building much stronger and firmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the brick or stones themselves which it cements together. These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides, after the manner of a scarp or counterscarp, and the earth which was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore, from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the ditch. In every side of this great square were twenty-five gates, that is, a hundred in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promised to Cyrus the conquest of Babylon, he tells him, "that he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass" (Isa. xlv. 2). Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side; and every one of these towers was ten feet higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers: for some parts of them lying against morasses always full of water, where they could not be approached by an enemy, they had there no need of any towers at all for their defence; and therefore in them there were none built; for the whole number of them amounted to no more than two hundred and fifty; whereas,

had the same uniform order been observed in their disposition all round, there must have been many more.

The streets, squares, bridges, population, &c. — From the twenty-five gates in each side of this great square went twenty-five streets in straight lines to the gates, which were directly over against them in the other side opposite to it. So that the whole number of the streets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty-five went one way, and twenty-five the other, directly crossing each other at right angles.

And, besides these, there were also four half streets, which were built but of one side, as having the wall on the other. These went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and were each of them two hundred feet broad, the rest were about a hundred and fifty. By these streets thus crossing each other, the whole city was cut out into six hundred and seventy-six squares, each of which was four furlongs and a half on every side, that is, two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares, on every side, towards the streets, stood the houses, all built three or four stories high, and beautified with all manner of adornments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses. A branch of the river Euphrates did run quite cross the city, entering in on the north side, and going out on the south; over which, in the middle of the city, was a bridge of a furlong in length, and thirty feet in breadth, built with wonderful art, to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. At the two ends of the bridge were two palaces, the old palace on the east side, and the new palace on the west side of the river; the former of these took up four of the squares above mentioned, and the other nine of them; and the temple of Belus, which stood next the old palace, took up another of these squares. The whole city stood on a large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep soil. That part of it which was on the east side of the river was the old city; the other on the west side was added by Nebuchadnezzar. Both together were included within that vast square I have mentioned. The pattern

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hereof seemeth to have been taken from Nineveh, that having been exactly four hundred and eighty furlongs round, as this was. For Nebuchadnezzar, having, in conjunction with his father, destroyed that old royal seat of the Assyrian empire, resolved to make this, which he intended should succeed it in that dignity, altogether as large; only, whereas Nineveh was in the form of a parallelogram, he made Babylon in that of an exact square: which figure rendered it somewhat the larger of the two. To fill this great and large city with inhabitants, was the reason that Nebuchadnezzar, out of Judæa and other conquered countries, carried so great a number of captives thither. And could he have made it as populous as it was great, there was no country in all the East could, better than that in which it stood, have maintained so great a number of people, as must then have been in it: for the fertility of this province was so great, that it yielded to the Persian kings, during their reign over Asia, half as much as did all that large empire besides, the common return of their tillage being between two and three hundredfold every crop. But it never happened to have been fully inhabited, it not having had time enough to grow up thereto; for, within twenty-five years after the death of Nebuchadnezzar, the royal seat of the empire was removed from thence to Shushan by Cyrus; which did put an end to the growing glory of Babylon; for after that it never more flourished.

Condition of the city in the time of Alexander the Great.—When Alexander came to Babylon, Curtius tells us, no more than ninety furlongs of it was then built; which can no otherwise be understood, than of so much in length; and if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length (which is the utmost that can be allowed), it will follow, that no more than eight thousand one hundred square furlongs were then built upon; but the whole space within the walls contained fourteen thousand four hundred square furlongs; and therefore there must have been six thousand three hundred square furlongs that were unbuilt, which Curtius tells us were ploughed and sown. And, besides this, the houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space on each side between house and house. And the same historian tells us, this was done because this way of building seemed to them the safest. His words are: "Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per nonaginta stadia habitatur; nec omnia continua sunt, credo quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi;" i. e. "Neither was the whole city built upon, for

the space of ninety furlongs it was inhabited; but the houses were not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many places distant from each other." Which words ("they thought it safest") are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing of their houses from fire, as some interpret them, but chiefly for the better preserving of health. For hereby, in cities situated in such hot countries, those suffocations and other inconveniences are avoided, which must necessarily attend such as there dwell in houses closely built together. For which reason Delhi, the capital of India, and several other cities in those warmer parts of the

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world, are thus built; the usage of those places being, that such a stated space of ground be left void between every house and house that is built in them. And old Rome was built after the same manner. So that, putting all this together, it will appear that Babylon was so large a city rather in scheme than in reality. For, according to this account, it must be by much the larger part that was never built; and therefore, in this respect, it must give place to Nineveh, which was as many furlongs in circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we are told of. And the number of its infants at the same time, which could not discern between their right hand and their left, which the Scriptures tell us were a hundred and twenty thousand in the time of Jonah, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited. It was intended, indeed, that Babylon should have exceeded it in everything. But Nebuchadnezzar did not live long enough, nor the Babylonish empire last long enough, to finish the scheme that was first drawn of it.

The temple of Belus, or tower of Babel. — The next great work of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon was the temple of Belus. But that which was most remarkable in it was none of his work, but was built many ages before. It was a wonderful tower that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation, it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is, half a mile in the whole compass, and consisted of eight towers, one built above over the other. Some, following a mistake of the Latin version of Herodotus, wherein the lowest of these towers is said to be a furlong thick and a furlong high, will have each of these towers to have been a furlong high,

which amounts to a mile in the whole. But the Greek of Herodotus, which is the authentic text of that author, saith no such thing, but only that it was a furlong long and a furlong broad, without mentioning anything of its height at all. And Strabo, in his description of it, calling it a pyramid, because of its decreasing or benching-in at every tower, saith of the whole, that it was a furlong high, and a furlong on every side. To reckon every tower a furlong, and the whole a mile high, would shock any man's belief, were the authority of both these authors for it, much more when there is none at all. Taking it only as it is described by Strabo, it was prodigious enough; for, according to his dimensions only, without adding anything further, it was one of the wonderfullest works in the world, and much exceeding the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt, which hath been thought to excel all other works in the world besides. For although it fell short of that pyramid at the basis (where that was a square of seven hundred feet on every side, and this but of six hundred), yet it far exceeded it in the height; the perpendicular measure of the said pyramid being no more than four hundred and eighty-one feet, whereas that of the other was full six hundred; and therefore it was higher than that pyramid by one hundred and nineteen feet, which is one quarter of the whole. And therefore, it was not without reason that Bochartus asserts it to have been the very same tower which was there built at the confusion of tongues. For it was prodigious enough to answer the Scriptures' description of it; and it is particularly attested by several authors to have been all built of bricks and bitumen,

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as the Scriptures tell us the tower of Babel was. Herodotus saith, that the going up to it was by stairs on the outside round it; from whence it seems most likely that the whole ascent was by the benching-in, drawn in a sloping line from the bottom to the top eight times round it; and that this made the appearance of eight towers, one above another, in the same manner as we have the tower of Babel commonly described in pictures; saving only, that whereas that is usually pictured round, this was square. For such a benching-in, drawn in a slope eight times round in manner as aforesaid, would make the whole seen on every side as consisting of eight towers, and the upper tower to be so much less than that next below it, as

the breadth of the benching-in amounted to. These eight towers, being as so many stories one above another, were each of them seventy-five feet high, and in them were many great rooms with arched roofs supported by pillars. All which were made parts of the temple, after the tower became consecrated to that idolatrous use. The uppermost story of all was that which was most sacred, and where their chiefest devotions were performed. Over the whole, on the top of the tower, was an observatory, by the benefit of which it was that the Babylonians advanced their skill in astronomy beyond all other nations, and came to so early a perfection in it, as is related. For when Alexander took Babylon, Calisthenes the philosopher, who accompanied him thither, found they had astronomical observations for one thousand nine hundred and three years backward from that time: which carrieth up the account as high as the one hundred and fifteenth year after the flood, which was within fifteen years after the tower of Babel was built. For the confusion of tongues, which followed immediately after the building of that tower, happened in the year wherein Peleg was born, which was one hundred and one years after the flood, and fourteen years after that these observations began. This account Calisthenes sent from Babylon into Greece to his master Aristotle, as Simplicius, from the authority of Porphyry, delivers it unto us in his second book De Cœlo.

Enlargement and additions by Nebuchadnezzar. —Till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the temple of Belus contained no more than this tower only, and the rooms in it served all the occasions of that idolatrous worship. But he enlarged it, by vast buildings erected round it, in a square of two furlongs on every side, and a mile in circumference, which was one thousand eight hundred feet more than the square of the temple of Jerusalem: for that was but three thousand feet round; whereas this was, according to this account, four thousand eight hundred. And on the outside of all these buildings there was a wall enclosing the whole, which may be supposed to have been of equal extent with the square in which it stood, that is, two miles and a half in compass, in which were several gates leading into the temple, all of solid brass; and the brazen sea, the brazen pillars, and the other brazen vessels, which were carried to Babylon from the temple of Jerusalem, seem to

have been employed to the making of them. For it is said, that Nebuchadnezzar did put all the sacred vessels, which he carried from Jerusalem, into the house of his god at Babylon, that is, into this house or temple of Bel; for that was the name of the great god of the Babylonians. He is supposed to have been the same with Nimrod, and to have been called Bel from his dominion, and Nimrod from his rebellion: for Bel, or Baal, which is the same name, signifieth lord, and Nimrod, a rebel, in the Jewish and Chaldean languages; the former was his Babylonish name, by reason of his empire in that place, and the latter his Scripture name, by reason of his rebellion, in revolting from God to follow his own wicked designs.

Subsequent history of the temple. —This temple stood till the time of Xerxes: but he, on his return from his Grecian expedition, demolished the whole of it, and laid it all in rubbish, having first plundered it of all its immense riches, among which were several images or statues of massy gold, and one of them is said by Diodorus Siculus to have been forty feet high, which might perchance have been that which Nebuchadnezzar consecrated in the plains of Dura. Nebuchadnezzar's golden image is said, indeed, in Scripture, to have been sixty cubits, i. e. ninety feet high, but that must be understood of the image and pedestal both together: for that image being said to have been but six cubits broad or thick, it is impossible that the image could have been sixty cubits high; for that makes its height to be ten times its breadth or thickness, which exceeds all the proportions of a man, no man's height being above six times his thickness, measuring the slenderest man living at his waist. But where the breadth of this image was measured is not said: perchance it was from shoulder to shoulder; and then the proportion of six cubits' breadth will bring down the height exactly to the measure which Diodorus hath mentioned: for the usual height of a man being four and a half of his breadth between the shoulders, if the image were six cubits broad between the shoulders, it must, according to this proportion, have been twenty-seven cubits high, which is forty feet and a half. Besides, Diodorus tells us, that this image of forty feet high contained one thousand Babylonish talents of gold, which, according to Pollux (who, in his Onomasticon, reckons a Babylonish talent to contain seven thousand Attic drachmas, i. e. eight hundred and seventy-five ounces), amounts to

three millions and a half of our money. But if we advance the height of the statue to ninety feet without the pedestal, it will increase the value to a sum incredible; and therefore it is necessary to take the pedestal also into the height mentioned by Daniel. Other images and sacred utensils were also in that temple, all of solid gold. Those that are particularly mentioned by Diodorus contain five thousand and thirty talents, which, with the one thousand talents in the image above mentioned, amount to above twenty-one millions of our money. And besides this, we may well suppose the value of as much more in treasure and utensils not mentioned, which was a vast sum. But it was the collection of near two thousand years; for so long that temple had stood. All this

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Xerxes took away when he destroyed it. And perchance to recruit himself with the plunder, after the vast expense which he had been at in his Grecian expedition, was that which chiefly excited him to the destruction of it, what other reason soever might be pretended for it. Alexander, on his return to Babylon from his Indian expedition, purposed again to have rebuilt it; and, in order hereto, he did set ten thousand men on work to rid the place of its rubbish: but after they had laboured herein two months Alexander died, before they had perfected much of the undertaking; and this did put an end to all further proceedings in that design. Had he lived, and made that city the seat of his empire, as it was supposed he would, the glory of Babylon would no doubt have been advanced by him to the utmost height that ever Nebuchadnezzar intended to have brought it to, and it would again have been the queen of the East.

The palaces and hanging-gardens. —Next this temple, on the same east side of the river, stood the old palace of the kings of Babylon, being four miles in compass. Exactly over against it, on the other side of the river, stood the new palace: and this was that which Nebuchadnezzar built. It was four times as big as the former, as being eight miles in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, and strongly fortified, according to the way of those times. But what was most wonderful in it were the hanging-gardens, which were of so celebrated a name among the Greeks. They contained a square of four plethra (that is, of four hundred

feet) on every side, and were carried up aloft into the air, in the manner of several large terraces, one above another, till the highest equalled the height of the walls of the city. The ascent was from terrace to terrace, by stairs ten feet wide. The whole pile was sustained by vast arches built upon arches, one above another, and strengthened by a wall, surrounding it on every side, of twenty-two feet in thickness. The floors of every one of these terraces were laid in the same manner, which was thus:—On the top of the arches were first laid large flat stones, sixteen feet long and four broad, and over them was a layer of reed mixed with a great quantity of bitumen, over which were two rows of bricks, closely cemented together by plaster, and then over all were laid thick sheets of lead; and, lastly, upon the lead was laid the mould of the garden; and all this floorage was contrived to keep the moisture of the mould from running away down through the arches. The mould or earth laid hereon was of that depth, as to have room enough for the greatest trees to take rooting in it; and such were planted all over it in every terrace, as were also all other trees, plants, and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleasure. In the upper terrace there was an aqueduct or engine, whereby water was drawn up out of the river, which from thence watered the whole garden. Amyitis, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar, having been bred in Media (for she was the daughter of Astyages, the king of that country, as hath been before related), had been much taken with the mountainous and woody parts of that country,

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and therefore desired to have something like it at Babylon; and to gratify her herein was the reason of erecting this monstrous work of vanity.

Canals and lake for regulating the overflow of the Euphrates.—The other works attributed to him by Berosus and Abydenus were the banks of the river, and the artificial canals, and artificial lake, which were made for draining of it in the times of the overflows: for on the coming on of the summer, the sun melting the snow on the mountains of Armenia, from thence there is always a great overflow of water during the months of June, July, and August, which, running into the Euphrates, makes it overflow all its banks during that season, in the same manner as doth the river Nile in Egypt; whereby the city and country of Babylon suffering great damage, for

the preventing hereof, he did, a great way up the stream, cut out of it, on the east side, two artificial canals, thereby to drain off these overflowings into the Tigris, before they should reach Babylon. The farthest of these was the current which did run into the Tigris near Seleucia, and the other that which, taking its course between the last mentioned and Babylon, discharged itself into the same river over against Apamia; which being very large and navigable for great vessels, was from thence called "Naharmalcha," that is, in the Chaldean language, "the Royal River." This is said to have been made by Gobaris, or Gobrias, who, being the governor of the province, had the overseeing of the work committed to his care, and seemeth to have been the same who afterwards, on a great wrong done him, revolted from the Babylonians to Cyrus, as will be hereafter related. And for the further securing of the country, Nebuchadnezzar built also prodigious banks of brick and bitumen on each side of the river, to keep it within its channel, which were carried along from the head of the said canals down to the city, and some way below it. But the most wonderful part of the work was within the city itself; for there, on each side of the river, he built from the bottom of it a great wall for its bank, of brick and bitumen, which was of the same thickness with the walls of the city; and over against every street that crossed the said river, he made on each side a brazen gate in the said wall, and stairs leading down from it to the river, from whence the citizens used to pass by boat from one side to the other, which was the only passage they had over the river, till the bridge was built, which I have above mentioned. The gates were open by day, but always shut by night. And this prodigious work was carried on, on both sides of the river, to the length of one hundred and sixty furlongs, which is twenty miles of our measure; and therefore must have been begun two

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miles and a half above the city, and continued down two miles and a half below it; for through the city was no more than fifteen miles. While these banks were building, the river was turned another way: for which purpose, to the west of Babylon, was made a prodigious artificial lake, which was, according to the lowest computation, forty miles square, and one hundred and sixty in compass; and in depth thirty-five feet, saith Herodotus;

seventy-five, saith Megasthenes. The former seems to measure from the surface of the sides, and the other from the top of the banks that were cast up upon them. And into this lake was the whole river turned by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it, till all the said work was finished, and then it was returned again into its own former channel. But that the said river, in the time of its increase, might not, through the gates above mentioned, overflow the city, this lake, with the canal leading thereto, was still preserved, and proved the best and the most effectual means to prevent it; for whenever the river rose to such an height as to endanger this overflowing, it always discharged itself, by this canal, into the lake, through a passage in the bank of the river, at the head of the said canal, made there of a pitch fit for this purpose, whereby it was prevented from ever rising any higher below that place. And the water received into the lake, at the time of these overflowings, was there kept all the year, as in a common reservatory, for the benefit of the country, to be let out by sluices, at all convenient times, for the watering of the lands below it. So it equally served the convenience of Babylon, and also the convenience of that part of the province, in improving their lands, and making them the more fertile and beneficial to them; though at last it became the cause of great mischief to both. For it afforded to Cyrus the means of taking the city, and in the effecting thereof, became the cause of drowning a great part of that country, which was never after again recovered; of both which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place. Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus, attribute all these works to Nebuchadnezzar; but Herodotus tells us, that the bridge, the river banks, and the lake, were the work of Nitocris, his daughter-in-law. Perchance Nitocris finished what Nebuchadnezzar had left unperfected at his death, and this procured her, with that historian, the honour of the whole. All the flat whereon Babylon stood being, by reason of so many rivers and canals running through it, made in many places marshy, especially near the said rivers and canals, this caused it to abound much in willows; and therefore it is called, in Scripture, the valley of willows (for so the words, Isa. xv. 7, which we translate the brook of willows, ought to be rendered): and for the same reason, the Jews (Psal. cxxxvii. 1, 2) are said, when they were by the rivers of Babylon, in the land of their captivity, to have hung their harps upon the willows, that is, because of the abundance of them which grew by those rivers.

Nebuchadnezzar's seven years of madness, 569.—At the end of twelve months after Nebuchadnezzar's last dream, while he was walking in his palace at Babylon, most likely in his hanging-gardens, and in the uppermost terrace of them, from whence he might have a full prospect of the whole city, he, proudly boasting of his great works done therein, said, "Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" But, while the words were yet in his mouth, there came a voice to him from heaven to rebuke his pride, which told him, that his kingdom was departed from him, and that he should be driven from the society of men, and thenceforth for seven years have his dwelling with the wild beasts of the field, there to live like them in a brutal manner. And immediately hereon, his senses being taken from him, he fell into a distracted condition; and continuing so for seven years, he lived abroad in the fields, eating grass like the oxen, and taking his lodgings on the ground, in the open air, as they did, till his hair was grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws. [B. C. 563.]—But, at the end of seven years, his understanding returning unto him, he was restored again to his kingdom, and his former majesty and honour reëstablished on him. And hereon, being made fully sensible of the almighty power of the God of heaven and earth, and that it is he only that doeth all things according to his will, both in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, and by his everlasting dominion disposeth of all things at his good pleasure, he did, by a public decree, make acknowledgment hereof through all the Babylonish empire, praising his almighty power, and magnifying his mercy, in his late restoration shown upon him.

Death of Nebuchadnezzar, 562. —After this he lived only one year, and died, having reigned, according to the Babylonish account, from the death of his father, forty-three years, and according to the Jewish account, from his first coming with an army into Syria, forty-five years. His death happened about the end of the year, a little before the conclusion of the thirty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin. He was one of the greatest princes that had reigned in the East for many ages before him. Megasthenes

prefers him for his valour to Hercules. But his greatness, riches, and power, did in nothing more appear than in his prodigious works at Babylon above described, which for many ages after were spoken of as the wonders of the world. He is said at his death to have prophesied of the coming of the Persians, and their bringing of the Babylonians in subjection to them. But in this he spake no more than what he had been informed of by Daniel the prophet, and in the interpretation of his dreams been assured by him should speedily come to pass, as accordingly it did within twenty-three years after.

II. REIGNS OF EVILMERODACH, B. C. 561; —

Neriglissar, 559;

Laborosoarchod, 556.

Kings of Media—Astyages, 594,

Cyaxares II, or Darius the Mede, and Cyrus, 559.

Egypt—Amasis, 569.

Prophets—Daniel and Ezekiel.

Release of Jehoiachin, 561.—On the death of Nebuchadnezzar, Evilmerodach his son succeeded him in the Babylonish empire; and as soon as he was settled in the throne, he released Jehoiachin, king of Judah, out of prison, after he had lain there near thirty-seven years, and promoted him to great honour in his palace, admitting him to eat bread continually at his table, and placing him there before all the other kings and great men of his empire that came to him to Babylon; and also made him a daily allowance to support him, with an equipage in all things else suitable hereto. Jerome tells us, from an ancient tradition of the Jews, that Evilmerodach, having had the government of the Babylonish empire during his father's distraction, administered it so ill, that as soon as the old king came again to himself, he

put him in prison for it; and that the place of his imprisonment happening to be the same where Jehoiachin had long lain, he there entered into a particular acquaintance and friendship with him; and that this was the cause of the great kindness which he afterwards showed him. And since the old historical traditions of the Jews are often quoted in the New Testament, if this were such, it is not wholly to be disregarded; and that especially since the maladministrations, which Evilmerodach was guilty of after his father's death, give reason enough to believe that he could not govern without them before. For he proved a very profligate and vicious prince, and for that reason was called Evilmerodach, that is, foolish Merodach; for his proper name was only Merodach. But whatsoever was the inducing reason, this favour he showed to the captive prince as soon as his father was dead.

Connexion of the Babylonish with the Jewish chronology.—The last year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign was thus the last of the thirty-seven years of Jehoiachin's captivity; and this shows us when it began, and serves to the connecting of the chronology of the Babylonish and Jewish history in all other particulars. For which reason it may be useful to have a particular state of this matter, which I take to have been as followeth. In the seventh year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Babylonish account, in the beginning of the Jewish year, that is, in the month of April, according to our year, Jehoiachin was carried captive to Babylon. And therefore the first year of his captivity beginning in the month of April, in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar, the thirty-seven year of it must begin in the same month of April, in the forty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar; towards the end whereof that great king dying, with the beginning of the next year began

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the first year of the reign of Evilmerodach; and the March following, that is, on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth or last month of the Jewish year, Jehoiachin was, by the great favour of the new king, released from his captivity, in the manner as is above expressed, about a month before he had fully completed thirty-seven years in it.

In the same year, which was the first of Evilmerodach at Babylon, Crœsus succeeded Alyattes, his father, in the kingdom of Lydia, and reigned

there fourteen years. This was the twenty-eighth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the forty-sixth of the seventy years' captivity of Judah.

Death of Evilmerodach and accession of Neriglissar, 559.—When Evilmerodach had reigned two years at Babylon, his lusts and his other wickedness made him so intolerable, that at length even his own relations conspired against him and put him to death, and Neriglissar, his sister's husband, who was the head of the conspiracy against him, reigned in his stead.

Death of Jehoiachin: Salathiel succeeds to the nominal sovereignty of the Jews.—Since it is said that Jehoiachin was fed by Evilmerodach until the day of his death, it is inferred from hence that he did not outlive him, but that he either died a little before him, or else, as a favourite, was slain with him. The last seemeth most probable, as best agreeing with the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning him; for it is therein denounced against him, that he should not prosper in his days, which could not be so well verified of him, if he died in full possession of all that prosperity which Evilmerodach advanced him unto. On the death of Jehoiachin, Salathiel his son became the nominal prince of the Jews after him. For after the loss of the authority they still kept up the title; and for a great many ages after, in the parts about Babylon, there was always one of the house of David, which, by the name of the head of the captivity, was acknowledged and honoured as a prince among that people, and had some sort of jurisdiction, as far as it was consistent with the government they were under, always invested in him, and sometimes a ratification was obtained of it from the princes that reigned in that country. And it is said, this pageantry is still kept up among them; and chiefly, it seems, that they may be furnished from hence with an answer to give the Christians, when they urge the prophecy of Jacob against them. For whensoever, from that prophecy, it is pressed upon them that the Messiah must be come, because the sceptre is now departed from Judah, and there is no more a lawgiver among them from between his feet, we are commonly told of this head of the captivity; their usual answer being, that the sceptre is still preserved among them in the head of the captivity; and that they have also in their *Nasi*, or prince of the Sanhedrim (another pageantry officer of theirs), a lawgiver from between the feet of Judah

(that is, of his seed), still remaining in Israel. But if these officers are now ceased from among them, as some of them will acknowledge, then this answer must cease also; and the prophecy returns in its full force upon them; and why do they then any longer resist the power of it?

Medo-Persian history: death of Astyages, and accession of Cyaxares II. to the civil government, and Cyrus to the military.—The same year that Evilmerodach was slain, died Astyages, king of Media, and after him succeeded Cyaxares the second, his son, in the civil government of the kingdom, and Cyrus, his grandson by his daughter Mandana, in the military. Cyrus at this time was forty years old, and Cyaxares forty-one. And from this year those who reckon to Cyrus a reign of thirty years begin that computation. For Neriglissar, on his coming to the crown, making great preparations for a war against the Medes, Cyaxares called Cyrus out of Persia to his assistance, and on his arrival with an army of thirty thousand Persians, Cyaxares made him general of the Medes also, and sent him with the joint forces of both nations to make war against the Babylonians. And from this time he was reckoned by all foreigners as king over both these nations; although, in reality, the regal power was solely in Cyaxares, and Cyrus was no more than general of the confederate army under him. But after his death, he succeeded him in the kingdom of the Medes, as he did his father a little before in that of Persia, which with the countries he had conquered made up the Persian empire, of which he was the founder and first monarch. He was a very extraordinary person in the age in which he lived, for wisdom, valour, and virtue, and of a name famous in holy writ, not only for being the restorer of the state of Israel, but especially in being there appointed for it by name many years before he was born, which is an honour therein given to none, save only to him and Josiah king of Judah.

Accounts of Herodotus and Xenophon compared.—Cyrus was born (as hath been already taken notice of) in the same year in which Jehoiachin died. It is on all hands agreed that his mother was Mandana, the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes, and his father Cambyses, a Persian; but whether this Cambyses was king of that country, or only a private person, is not agreed. Herodotus, and those who follow him, allow him to have been

no more than a private nobleman of the family of Achæmenes, one of the ancientest in that country. But Xenophon's account makes him king of the Persians, but subject to the Medes. And not only in this particular, but also in most things else concerning this great prince, the relations of these

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two historians are very much different. But Herodotus's account of him, containing narratives which are much more strange and surprising, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader, most have chosen rather to follow him than Xenophon, that have written after their times of this matter. Which humour was much forwarded by Plato, in his giving a character of Xenophon's History of Cyrus (in which he was also followed by Tully), as if therein, under the name of Cyrus, he rather drew a description of what a worthy and just prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that prince really was. It must be acknowledged that Xenophon, being a great commander as well as a great philosopher, did graft many of his maxims of war and policy into that history, and to make it a vehicle for this perchance was his whole design in writing that book. But it doth not follow from hence, but that still the whole foundation and ground-plot of the work may all be true history. That he intended it for such is plain; and that it was so, its agreeableness with the holy writ doth abundantly verify. And the true reason why he chose the life of Cyrus before all others, for the purpose above mentioned, seemeth to be no other, but that he found the true history of that excellent and gallant prince to be, above all others, the fittest for those maxims of right policy and true princely virtue to correspond with, which he grafted upon it. And therefore, bating the military and political reflections, the descants, discourses, and speeches, interspersed in that work, which must be acknowledged to have been all of Xenophon's addition, the remaining bare matters of fact I take to have been related by that author as the true history of Cyrus. And thus far I think him to have been an historian of much better credit in this matter than Herodotus. For Herodotus, having travelled through Egypt, Syria, and several other countries, in order to the writing of his history, did as travellers used to do, that is, put down all relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them. But

Xenophon was a man of another character, who wrote all things with great judgment and due consideration; and having lived in the court of Cyrus the younger, a descendant of the Cyrus whom we now speak of, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote of this great prince than Herodotus was; and confining himself to this argument only, no doubt he examined all matters relating to it more thoroughly, and gave a more accurate and exact account of them, than could be expected from the other, who wrote of all things at large, as they came in his way. And for these reasons, in all things relating to this prince, I have chosen to follow Xenophon, rather than any of those who differ from him.

History of Cyrus according to Xenophon.—For the first twelve years of his life Cyrus lived in Persia with his father, and was there educated after the Persian manner, in hardship and toil, and all such exercises as would best tend to fit him for the fatigues of war, in which he exceeded all his contemporaries. But here it must be taken notice of, that the name of Persia did then extend only to one province of that large country which hath been since so called: for then the whole nation of the Persians could number no more than one hundred and twenty thousand

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men. But afterwards, when by the wisdom and valour of Cyrus they had obtained the empire of the East, the name of Persia became enlarged with their fortunes; and it thenceforth took in all that vast tract which is extended, east and west, from the river Indus to the Tigris, and north and south, from the Caspian Sea to the ocean; and so much that name comprehends even to this day. After Cyrus was twelve years old, he was sent for into Media by Astyages, his grandfather, with whom he continued five years: and there, by the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and his constant endeavour to do good offices with his grandfather for all he could, he did so win the hearts of the Medes to him, and gained such an interest among them, as did afterwards turn very much to his advantage, for the winning of that empire which he erected. In the sixteenth year of his age, Evilmerodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon and Assyria, being abroad on a hunting expedition, a little before his marriage, for a show of his bravery made an inroad into the territories of

the Medes, which drew out Astyages, with his forces, to oppose him. On which occasion, Cyrus, accompanying his grandfather, then first entered the school of war; in which he behaved himself so well, that the victory which was at that time gained over the Assyrians was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year after, he went home to his father into Persia, and there continued till the fortieth year of his life; at which time he was called forth to the assistance of his uncle Cyaxares, on the occasion which I have mentioned. Hereon he marched out of Persia with his army, and behaved himself so wisely, that from this small beginning in twenty years' time he made himself master of the greatest empire that had ever been erected in the East to that time, and established it with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation only it stood above two hundred years, notwithstanding what was done by his successors (the worst race of men that ever governed an empire) through all that time to overthrow it.

Threatened invasion of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus, 558, 557.— Neriglissar, upon intelligence that Cyrus was come with so great an army to the assistance of the Medes, further to strengthen himself against them, sent ambassadors to the Lydians, Phrygians, Carians, Cappadocians, Cilicians, Paphlagonians, and other neighbouring nations, to call them to his aid; and by representing to them the strength of the enemy, and the necessity of maintaining the balance of power against them, for the common good of Asia, drew them into confederacy with him for the ensuing war. Whereon, in B. C. 557, the king of Armenia, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the Medes, looking on them as ready to be swallowed up by so formidable a confederacy against them, thought this a fit time for the recovering of his liberty, and therefore refused any longer to pay his tribute, or send his quota of auxiliaries for the war, on their being required of him; which being a matter that might be of dangerous consequence to the Medes, in the example it might give to other dependent states to do the same, Cyrus thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition;

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and therefore marching immediately with the best of his horse, and covering his design under the pretence of a hunting match, entered Armenia before there was any intelligence of his coming; and having surprised the

revolted king, took him and all his family prisoners; and after this, having seized the hills toward Chaldea, and planted good forts and garrisons on them, for the securing of the country against the enemy on that side, he came to new terms with the captive king; and having received from him the tribute and the auxiliaries which he demanded, he restored him again to his kingdom, and returned to the rest of his army in Media. This happened about the third year of the reign of Neriglissar, and the thirty-second after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Defeat and death of Neriglissar, 556.—After both parties had now been for three years together forming their alliances, and making their preparations for the war, in the fourth year of Neriglissar, the confederates on both sides being all drawn together, both armies took the field, and it came to a fierce battle between them; in which Neriglissar being slain, the rest of the Assyrian army was put to the rout, and Cyrus had the victory. Crœsus, king of Lydia, after the death of Neriglissar, as being in dignity next to him, took upon him the command of the vanquished army, and made as good a retreat with it as he could. But the next day following, Cyrus, pursuing after them, overtook them at a disadvantage, and put them to an absolute rout, taking their camp, and dispossessing them of all their baggage; which he effected chiefly by the assistance of the Hyrcanians, who had the night before revolted to him. Hereon Crœsus, taking his flight out of Assyria, made the best of his way into his own country. He, being aware of what might happen, had the night before sent away his women and the best of his baggage, and therefore in this respect escaped much better than the rest of the confederates. The death of Neriglissar was a great loss to the Babylonians; for he was a very brave and excellent prince. The preparations which he made for the war showed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. And there was nothing else wanting in him for his obtaining of better success in it; and therefore that he had it not was owing to nothing else, but that he had to deal with the predominant fortune of Cyrus, whom God had designed for the empire of the East, and therefore nothing was to withstand him.

Laborosoarchod succeeds to the throne: his wicked and cruel reign.—Nothing made the loss of Neriglissar more appear, than the succeeding of Laborosoarchod his son in the kingdom after him; for he was in everything

the reverse of his father, being given to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice; to which, on his advancement to the throne, he did let himself loose in the utmost excess, without any manner of restraint whatsoever, as if the regal office which he was now advanced to were for nothing else but to give him a privilege of doing without control all the vile and flagitious things that he pleased. Two acts of his tyrannical violence towards two of his principal nobility, Gobrias and Gadates, are particularly mentioned. The only son of the former he slew at a hunting to which he had invited him, for no other reason but that he had thrown his dart with success at a wild beast when he himself had missed it; and the other he caused to be castrated,

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only because one of his concubines had commended him for a handsome man. These wrongs done those two noblemen drove them, with the provinces which they governed, into a revolt to Cyrus; and the whole state of the Babylonish empire suffered by it. For Cyrus, encouraged hereby, penetrated into the very heart of the enemy's country, first taking possession of the province and garrisoning the castles of Gobrias, and afterwards doing the same in the province and castles of Gadates. The Assyrian king was before him in the latter to be revenged on Gadates for his revolt. But Cyrus on his coming, having put him to the rout, and slain a great number of his men, forced him again to retreat to Babylon. After Cyrus had thus spent the summer in ravaging the whole country, and twice shown himself before the walls of Babylon to provoke the enemy to battle, at the end of the year he led back his army again towards Media; and ending the campaign with the taking of three fortresses on the frontiers, there entered into winter quarters, and sent for Cyaxares to come thither to him, that they might consult together about the future operations of the war. As soon as Cyrus was retreated, Laborosoarchod, being now freed from the fear of the enemy, gave himself a thorough loose to all the flagitious inclinations that were predominant in him; which carried him into so many wicked and unjust actions, like those which Gobrias and Gadates had suffered from him, that being no longer tolerable, his own people conspired against him and slew him, after he had reigned only nine months. He is not named in the Canon of Ptolemy; for it is the method of that Canon to ascribe all the year to him

that was king in the beginning of it, how soon soever he died after, and not to reckon the reign of the successor but from the first day of the year ensuing; and therefore if any king reigned in the interim, and did not live to the beginning of the next year, his name was not put into the Canon at all. And this was the case of Laborosoarchod: for Neriglissar his father being slain in battle in the beginning of the spring, the nine months of his son's reign ended before the next year began; and therefore the whole of that year is reckoned to the last of Neriglissar, and the beginning of the next belonged to his successor: and this was the reason that he is not at all mentioned in that Canon.

III. REIGN OF **BELSHAZZAR**, B. C. 555-539. —

Kings of Media—Cyaxares II. and Cyrus, 559.

Egypt—Amasis, 569.

Prophets—Daniel and Ezekiel.

Conflicting accounts of Belshazzar, 555.—After Laborosoarchod succeeded Nabonadius, and reigned seventeen years. Berosus calls him Nabonnedus; Megasthenes, Nabonnidochus; Herodotus, Labynetus; and Josephus, Naboandelus, who, he saith, is the same with Belshazzar. And there is as great a difference among writers what he was, as well as what he was called. Some will have him to be of the royal blood of Nebuchadnezzar, and others no way at all related to

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him. And some say he was a Babylonian, and others that he was of the seed of the Medes. And of those who allow him to have been of the royal family of Nebuchadnezzar, some will have it that he was his son, and others that he was his grandson. For the clearing of this matter, these following particulars are to be taken notice of: First, that he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the Babylonish kings. Secondly, That therefore he must have

been the same who in Scripture is called Belshazzar: for immediately after the death of Belshazzar, the kingdom was given to the Medes and Persians. (Dan. v. 28, 30, 31.) Thirdly, That he was of the seed of Nebuchadnezzar, for he is called his son, and Nebuchadnezzar is said to be his father in several places of the same fifth chapter of Daniel; and, in the Second Book of Chronicles (chap. xxxvi. 20) it is said that Nebuchadnezzar and his children, or offspring, reigned at Babylon till the kingdom of Persia. Fourthly, That the nations of the East were to serve Nebuchadnezzar, and his son, and his son's son, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah (chap. xxvii. 7); and, therefore, he must have had a son and a son's son, successors to him in the throne of Babylon. Fifthly, That as Evilmerodach was his son, so none but Belshazzar, of all the kings that reigned after him at Babylon, could be his son's son; for Neriglissar was only his daughter's husband, and Laborosoarchod was the son of Neriglissar; and, therefore, neither of them was either son or son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. Sixthly, That this last king of Babylon is said by Herodotus to be son to the great queen Nitocris; and therefore she must have been the wife of a king of Babylon to make her so; and he could have been none other than Evilmerodach: for by that king of Babylon only could she have a son that was son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. And therefore, putting all this together, it appears that this Nabonadius, the last king of Babylon, was the same with him that in Scripture is called Belshazzar; and that he was the son of Evilmerodach, by Nitocris his queen, and so son's son to Nebuchadnezzar. And that whereas he is called the son of Nebuchadnezzar in the fifteenth chapter of Daniel, and Nebuchadnezzar is there called his father, this is to be understood in the large sense, wherein any ancestor upward is often called father, and any descendant downward son, according to the usual style of Scripture.

Regency of Queen Nitocris.—This new king came young to the crown, and had he been wholly left to himself, the Babylonians would have gotten but little by the change; for he hath in Xenophon the character of an impious prince; and it sufficiently appears, by what is said of him in Daniel, that he was so. But his mother, who was a woman of great understanding and a masculine spirit, came in to their relief; for while her son followed his pleasures, she took the main burden of the government upon her, and did all that could be done by human wisdom to preserve it. But God's appointed

time for its fall approaching, it was beyond the power of any wisdom to prevent it.

Cyaxares II. and Cyrus resolve on besieging the Babylonian towns.—On the coming of Cyaxares to Cyrus's camp, and consultation thereon

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had between them concerning the future carrying on of the war, it was found that by ravaging and plundering the countries of the Babylonish empire they did not at all enlarge their own; and therefore it was resolved to alter the method of the war for the future, and to apply themselves to the besieging of the fortresses, and the taking of their towns; that so they might make themselves masters of the country: and in this sort of war they employed themselves for the next seven years.

Preparations of Nitocris for fortifying Babylon.—In the mean time Nitocris did all that she could to fortify the country against them, and especially the city of Babylon; and therefore did set herself diligently to perfect all the works that Nebuchadnezzar had left unfinished there, especially the walls of the city, and the banks of the river within it. By this last she fortified the city as much against the river, by walls and gates, as it was against the land; and had it been in both places equally guarded, it could never have been taken. And moreover, while the river was turned for the finishing of these banks and walls, she caused a wonderful vault or gallery to be made under the river, leading across it from the old palace to the new, twelve feet high, and fifteen feet wide; and having covered it over with a strong arch, and over that with a layer of bitumen six feet thick, she turned the river again over it; for it is the nature of that bitumen to petrify when water comes over it, and grow as hard as stone; and thereby the vault or gallery under was preserved from having any of the water of the river pierce through into it. The use this was intended for was to preserve a communication between the two palaces, whereof one stood on the one side of the river, and the other on the other side, that in case one of them were distressed (for they were both fortresses strongly fortified), it might be relieved from the other; or, in case either were taken, there might be a way to retreat from it to the other. But all these cautions and provisions served in

no stead when the city was taken by surprise; because in that hurry and confusion, which men were then in, none of them were made use of.

Daniel's vision of the four monarchies, and vision of the ram and he-goat, 555.—In the first year of this king's reign, which was the thirty-fourth after the destruction of Jerusalem, Daniel had revealed unto him the vision of the four monarchies, and of the kingdom of the Messiah that was to succeed after them; which is at full related in the seventh chapter of Daniel. In the third year of king Belshazzar, Daniel saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, whereby were signified the overthrow of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great, and the persecution that was to be raised against the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria. This vision is at full related in the eighth chapter of Daniel; and it is there said that it was revealed unto him at Shushan, in the palace of the king of Babylon, while he attended there as a counsellor and minister of state about the king's business; which shows that Shushan, with the province of Elam, of which it was the metropolis, was then in the hands of the Babylonians. But about three years after, Abradates, viceroy or prince of Shushan, revolting to Cyrus, it was thenceforth joined to the empire of the Medes and Persians; and the Elamites came up with the Medes to besiege Babylon,

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according to the prophecy of Isaiah (chap. xxi. 2), and Elam was again restored, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah (chap. xlix. 39), for it recovered its liberty again under the Persians, which it had been deprived of under the Babylonians.

Belshazzar forms an alliance with Crœsus, king of Lydia, 551.—The Medes and Persians growing still upon the Babylonians, and Cyrus making great progress in his conquests, by taking fortresses, towns, and provinces from them, to put a stop to this prevailing power, the king of Babylon, about the fifth year of his reign, taking a great part of his treasure with him, goes into Lydia to king Crœsus his confederate, and there, by his assistance, framed a very formidable confederacy against the Medes and Persians; and with his money hiring a very numerous army of Egyptians, Greeks, Thracians, and all the nations of Lesser Asia, he appointed Crœsus to be

their general, and sent him with them to invade Media, and then returned again to Babylon.

Cyrus defeats Crœsus and besieges Sardis, 548.—Cyrus, having full intelligence of all these proceedings from one of his confidants, who, by his order, under the pretence of a deserter, had gone over to the enemy, made suitable preparations to withstand the storm, and, when all was ready, marched against the enemy. By this time Crœsus had passed over the river Halys [now called the Kizil-Irmak], taken the city of Pteria, and in a manner destroyed all the country thereabout. But before he could pass any farther Cyrus came up with him, and having engaged him in battle, put all his numerous army to flight; whereon Crœsus, returning to Sardis, the chief city of his kingdom, dismissed all his auxiliaries to their respective homes, ordering them to be again with him by the beginning of the ensuing spring, and sent to all his allies for the raising of more forces, to be ready against the same time, for the carrying on of the next year's war, not thinking that in the interim (now winter being approaching) he should have any need of them. But Cyrus, pursuing the advantage of his victory, followed close after him into Lydia, and there came upon him just as he had dismissed his auxiliaries. However, Crœsus, getting together all his own forces, stood battle against him. But the Lydians being mostly horse, Cyrus brought his camels against them, whose smell the horses not being able to bear, they were all put into disorder by it; whereon the Lydians dismounting fought on foot; but being soon overpowered, were forced to make their retreat to Sardis, where Cyrus immediately shut them up in a close siege.

Story of Abradates and Panthea.—While he lay there, he celebrated the funeral of Abradates and Panthea his wife. He was prince of Shushan under the Babylonians, and had revolted to Cyrus about two years before, as hath been already mentioned. His wife, a very beautiful woman, had been taken prisoner by Cyrus in his first battle against the Babylonians. Cyrus having treated her kindly, and kept her chastely for her husband, the sense of this generosity drew over this prince to him; and he happening to be slain in this war, as he was fighting valiantly in his service, his wife, out of grief for his death, slew herself upon his dead body, and Cyrus took care to have them both

honourably buried together, and a stately monument was erected over them near the river Pactolus, where it remained many ages after.

Sardis taken by Cyrus.—Crœsus, being shut up in Sardis, sent to all his allies for succours, but Cyrus pressed the siege so vigorously, that he took the city before any of them could arrive to its relief, and Crœsus in it, whom he condemned to be burnt to death; and accordingly a great pile of wood was laid together, and he was placed on the top of it for the execution; in which extremity, calling to mind the conference he formerly had with Solon, he cried out with a great sigh three times, "Solon, Solon, Solon." This Solon was a wise Athenian, and the greatest philosopher of his time, who coming to Sardis on some occasion, Crœsus, out of the vanity and pride of his mind, caused all his riches, treasures, and stores to be shown unto him, expecting that on his having seen them, he should have applauded his felicity, and pronounced him of all men the most happy herein; but on his discourse with him, Solon plainly told him, that he could pronounce no man happy as long as he lived, because no one could foresee what might happen unto him before his death; of the truth of which Crœsus being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, this made him call upon the name of Solon; whereon Cyrus, sending to know what he meant by it, had the whole story related to him, which excited in him such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and such a compassion for Crœsus, that he caused him to be taken down from the pile just as fire had been put to it, and not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable subsistence, and made use of him as one of his chief counsellors all his life after; and at his death recommended him to his son Cambyses, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow. The taking of this city happened in the first year of the fifty-eighth Olympiad, which was the eighth year of Belshazzar, and the forty-first after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Oracles previously consulted by Crœsus.—Crœsus, being a very religious prince, according to the idolatrous superstition of those times, entered not on this war without having first consulted all his gods, and taken their advice about it; and he had two oracular answers given him from

them, which chiefly conduced to lead him into this unfortunate undertaking, that cost him the loss of his kingdom. The one of them was, that Crœsus should then only think himself in danger, when a mule should reign over the Medes; and the other, that when he should pass over Halys to make war upon the Medes, he should overthrow a great empire. The first, from the impossibility of the thing that ever a mule should be a king, made him argue that he was for ever safe. The second made him believe that the empire that he should overthrow on his passing over the river Halys should be the empire of the Medes. And this chiefly encouraged him in this expedition, contrary to the advice of one of the wisest of his friends, who earnestly dissuaded him from it; but now all things having happened otherwise than these

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oracles had made him expect, he obtained leave of Cyrus to send messengers to the temples of those gods who had thus misled him, to expostulate with them about it. The answers which he had hereto were, that Cyrus was the mule intended by the oracle; for that he was born of two different kinds of people, of the Persians by his father, and of the Medes by his mother, and was of the more noble kind by his mother. And the empire, which he was to overthrow by his passing over the Halys, was his own. By such false and fallacious oracles did those evil spirits, from whom they proceeded, delude mankind in those days; rendering their answers, when consulted, in such dubious and ambiguous terms, that whatsoever the event were, they might admit of an interpretation to agree with it.

Cyrus conquers Asia Minor, Syria, and Arabia, and lays siege to Babylon, 540.—After this Cyrus continued some time in Lesser Asia, till he had brought all the several nations which inhabited in it, from the Ægean Sea to the Euphrates, into thorough subjection to him. From hence he went into Syria and Arabia, and there did the same thing, and then marched into the upper countries of Asia; and having there also settled all things in a thorough obedience under his dominion, he again entered Assyria, and marched on towards Babylon, that being the only place of all the East which now held out against him and having overthrown Belshazzar in battle, he shut him up in Babylon, and there besieged him. This happened in

the ninth year after the taking of Sardis, and in the beginning of the sixteenth year of Belshazzar. But this siege proved a very difficult work: for the walls were high and impregnable, the number of men within to defend them very great, and they were fully furnished with all sorts of provisions for twenty years, and the void ground within the walls was able both by tillage and pasturage to furnish them with much more. And therefore the inhabitants, thinking themselves secure in their walls and their stores, looked on the taking of the city by a siege as an impracticable thing; and therefore from the top of their walls scoffed at Cyrus, and derided him for everything he did towards it. However, he went on with the attempt; and first he drew a line of circumvallation round the city, making the ditch broad and deep, and by the help of palm trees, which usually grow in that country to the height of one hundred feet, he erected towers higher than the walls, thinking at first to have been able to take the place by assault; but finding little success this way, he applied himself wholly to the starving of it into a surrender, reckoning that the more people there were within, the sooner the work would be done. But, that he might not over-fatigue his army, by detaining them all at this work, he divided all the forces of the empire into twelve parts, and appointed each its month to guard the trenches.

Babylon taken by a stratagem, and Belshazzar slain, 539.—But, after near two years had been wasted this way, and nothing effected, he at length lighted on a stratagem, which, with little difficulty, made him master of the place; for understanding that a great annual festival was to be kept at Babylon on a day approaching, and that it was usual for the Babylonians on that solemnity to spend the whole night in revelling, drunkenness, and all manner of disorders, he thought this a

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proper time to surprise them; and, for the effecting of it, he had this device. He sent up a party of his men to the head of the canal leading to the great lake above described, with orders, at a time set, to break down the great bank or dam, which was between the river and that canal, and to turn the whole current that way into the lake. In the interim getting all his forces together, he posted one part of them at the place where the river ran into the

city, and the other where it came out, with orders to enter the city that night by the channel of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. And then, toward the evening, he opened the head of the trenches on both sides the river above the city, to let the water of it run into them. And by this means, and the opening of the great dam, the river was so drained, that by the middle of the night, it being then in a manner empty, both parties, according to their orders, entered the channel, the one having Gobrias and the other Gadates for their guides; and, finding the gates leading down to the river, which used on all other nights to be shut, then all left open, through the neglect and disorder of that time of looseness, they ascended through them into the city; and both parties being met at the palace, as had been concerted between them, they there surprised the guards and slew them all: and when, on the noise, some that were within opened the gates to know what it meant, they rushed in upon them, and took the palace; where, finding the king with his sword drawn, at the head of those who were at hand to assist him, they slew him valiantly fighting for his life, and all those that were with him. After this, proclamation being made of life and safety to all such as should bring in their arms, and of death to all who should refuse so to do, all quietly yielded to the conquerors, and Cyrus, without any further resistance, became master of the place and this concluded all his conquests, after a war of twenty-one years; for so long was it from his coming out of Persia with his army, for the assistance of Cyaxares, to his taking of Babylon; during all which time he lay abroad in the field, carrying on his conquests from place to place, till, at length, he had subdued all the East, from the Ægean Sea to the river Indus, and thereby erected the greatest empire that had ever been in Asia to that time; which work was owing as much to his wisdom as his valour, for he equally excelled in both. And he was also a person of that great candour and humanity to all men, that he made greater conquests by his courtesy, and his kind treatment of all he had to do with, than by his sword, whereby he did knit the hearts of all men to him; and in this foundation lay the greatest strength of his empire, when he first erected it.

Agreement between Herodotus, Xenophon, and Holy Scripture.—This account Herodotus and Xenophon both give of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus; and herein they exactly agree with the Scripture. For Daniel tells

us, that Belshazzar made a great feast for a thousand of his lords, and for his wives, and for his concubines, and that in that very night he was slain, and Darius the Mede, that is, Cyaxares, the uncle of Cyrus, took the kingdom: for Cyrus allowed him the title of all his conquests as long as he lived. In this feast Belshazzar having impiously profaned the gold and silver vessels that were taken out of the temple of Jerusalem, in causing them to be brought into the ban queting-house,

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and there drinking out of them, he, and his lords, and his wives, and his concubines, God did, in a very extraordinary and wonderful manner, express his wrath against him for the wickedness hereof; for he caused a hand to appear on the wall, and there write a sentence of immediate destruction against him for it. The king saw the appearance of the hand that wrote it; for it was exactly over against the place where he sat. And, therefore, being exceedingly affrighted and troubled at it, he commanded all his wise men, magicians, and astrologers, to be immediately called for, that they might read the writing, and make known unto him the meaning of it. But none of them being able to do it, the queen-mother, on her hearing of this wonderful thing, came into the banqueting-house, and acquainted the king of the great skill and ability of Daniel in such matters; whereon he, being sent for, did read to the king the writing, and boldly telling him of his many iniquities and transgressions against the great God of heaven and earth, and particularly in profaning at that banquet the holy vessels which had been consecrated to his service in his temple at Jerusalem, made him understand that this hand-writing was a sentence from heaven against him for it, the interpretation of it being, that his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the Medes and Persians. And it seemeth to have been immediately upon it that the palace was taken, and Belshazzar slain. For candles were lighted before the hand-writing appeared: some time after this must be required for the calling of the wise men, the magicians, and astrologers, and some time must be wasted in their trying in vain to read the writing. After that, the queen-mother came from her apartment into the banqueting-house to direct the king to send for Daniel, and then he was called for, perchance from some distant place. And by this time many hours

of the night must have been spent; and therefore we may well suppose, that by the time Daniel had interpreted the writing, the Persians were got within the palace, and immediately executed the contents of it, by slaying Belshazzar, and all his lords that were with him. The queen, that entered the banqueting-house to direct the king to call for Daniel, could not be his wife; for all his wives and concubines, the text tells us, sat with him at the feast: and therefore it must have been Nitocris, the queen-mother. And she seemeth to have been there called the queen by way of eminency, because she had the regency of the kingdom under her son, which her great wisdom eminently qualified her for. And Belshazzar seemeth to have left this entirely to her management: for when Daniel was called in before him, he did not know him, though he was one of the chief ministers of state that did the king's business in his palace, but asked of him whether he were Daniel. But Nitocris, who constantly employed him in the public affairs of the kingdom, knew him well, and therefore advised that he should be sent for on this occasion. This shows Belshazzar to have been a prince that wholly minded his pleasures, leaving all things else to others to be managed for him; which is a conduct too often followed by such princes, who think kingdoms made for nothing else but to serve their pleasures and gratify their lusts. And therefore that he

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held the crown seventeen years, and against so potent an enemy as Cyrus, was wholly owing to the conduct of his mother, into whose hands the management of his affairs fell: for she was a lady of the greatest wisdom of her time, and did the utmost that could be done to save the state of Babylon from ruin. And therefore her name was long after of that fame in those parts, that Herodotus speaks of her as if she had been sovereign of the kingdom, in the same manner as Semiramis is said to have been, and attributes to her all those works about Babylon which other authors ascribe to her son. For although they were done in his reign, it was she that did them, and therefore she had the best title to the honour that was due for them: though, as hath been above hinted, the great lake, and the canal leading to it (which, though reckoned among the works of Nebuchadnezzar, must at least have been finished by her, according to Herodotus), how

wisely soever they were contrived for the benefit both of the city and country, turned to the great damage of both; for Cyrus, draining the river by this lake and canal, by that means took the city. And when, by the breaking down of the banks at the head of the canal, the river was turned that way, no care being taken afterwards again to reduce it to its former channel, by repairing the breach, all the country on that side was overflown and drowned by it; and the current, by long running this way, at length making the breach so wide, as to become irreparable, unless by an expense as great as that whereby the bank was first built, a whole province was lost by it; and the current which went to Babylon afterwards grew so shallow as to be scarce fit for the smallest navigation, which was a further damage to that place. Alexander, who intended to have made Babylon the seat of his empire, endeavoured to remedy this mischief, and did accordingly set himself to build the bank anew, which was on the west side of it, but when he had carried it on the length of four miles, he was stopped by some difficulties that he met with in the work from the nature of the soil, which possibly would have been overcome, had he lived; but his death, which happened a little after, put an end to this, as well as to all other his designs. And a while after Babylon falling into decay, on the building of Seleucia in the neighbourhood, this work was never more thought of; but that country hath remained all bog and marsh ever since. And no doubt this was one main reason which helped forward the desertion of that place, especially when they found a new city built in the neighbourhood, in a much better situation.

End of the Babylonish empire: fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Daniel.—In the taking of Babylon ended the Babylonish empire, after it had continued from the beginning of the reign of Nabonassar (who first founded it) two hundred and nine years. And here ended the power and pride of this great city, just fifty years after it had destroyed the city and temple of Jerusalem; and hereby were in a great measure accomplished the many prophecies which were by the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and Daniel, delivered against it. And here it is to be observed, that in reference

to the present besieging and taking of the place, it was particularly foretold by them, that it should be shut up, and besieged by the Medes, Elamites, and Armenians; that the river should be dried up; that the city should be taken in the time of a feast, while her princes and her wise men, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men, were drunken; and that they should be thereon made to sleep a perpetual sleep, from which they should not awake. And so accordingly all this came to pass, Belshazzar, and all his thousand princes, who were drunk with him at the feast, having been all slain by Cyrus's soldiers when they took the palace. And so also was it particularly foretold by the prophet Isaiah (xiv.), that God would make the country of Babylon "a possession for the bittern, and pools of water" (ver. 23), which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam, in order to take the city; which I have above given an account of. And so also that God would cut off from that city "the son and the grandson" (ver. 22), that is, the son and grandson of their great king Nebuchadnezzar; and they were accordingly both cut off by violent deaths in the flower of their age, Evilmerodach the son, before this time, in the manner as hath been above related, and Belshazzar the grandson in the present taking of Babylon; and hereby the sceptre of Babylon was broken, as was foretold by the same prophecy (ver. 5), for it did never after any more bear rule. Where I read "the son and the grandson" (ver. 22), it is, I confess, in the English translation, "the son and the nephew." But in the twenty-first chapter of Genesis (ver. 23) the same Hebrew word *neked* is translated son's son, and so it ought to have been translated here; for this is the proper signification of the word, which appears from the use of the same word, Job xviii. 19. For Bildad, there speaking of the wicked, and the curse of God which shall be upon him in the want of a posterity, expresseth it thus: *Lo nin lo velo neked*, i. e. he shall have neither son nor grandson. For nephew, in the English signification of the word, whether brother's son or sister's son, cannot be within the meaning of the text, the context not admitting it.

IV. MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE UNDER DARIUS THE MEDE, B. C. 538-536:

CYRUS, 536.

Kings of Egypt—Amasis, 569.

Prophets-Daniel and Ezekiel.

Darius the Mede takes the kingdom of Babylon, 538.—After the death of Belshazzar, Darius the Mede is said in Scripture to have taken the kingdom: for Cyrus, as long as his uncle lived, allowed him a joint title with him in the empire, although it was all gained by his own valour, and out of deference to him yielded him the first place of honour in it. But the whole power of the army, and the chief conduct of all affairs, being still in his hands, he only was looked on as the supreme governor of the empire which he had erected; and therefore there is no notice at all taken of Darius in the Canon of Ptolemy, but immediately after the death of Belshazzar (who is there called Nabonadius) Cyrus is placed as the next successor, as in truth and reality he was; the other having no more than the name and the

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shadow of the sovereignty, excepting only in Media, which was his own proper dominion.

Identification of Darius the Mede with Cyaxares II.—There are some who will have Darius the Median to have been Nabonadius, the last Babylonish king in the Canon of Ptolemy. And their scheme is, that after the death of Evilmerodach, Neriglissar succeeded only as guardian to Laborosoarchod his son, who was next heir in right of his mother, she having been daughter to Nebuchadnezzar: and that Laborosoarchod was the Belshazzar of the Scriptures, who was slain in the night of the impious festival, not by Cyrus (say they), but by a conspiracy of his own people; that the Scriptures attribute to him the whole four years of Belshazzar, which the Canon of Ptolemy doth to Neriglissar (or Nericassolassar, as he is

there called), because Neriglassar reigned only as guardian for him; and that hence it is that we hear of the first and the third year of Belshazzar, in Daniel, though Laborosoarchod reigned alone, after his father's death, only nine months; that after his death, the Babylonians made choice of Nabonadius, who was no way of kin to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, but a Median by descent; and that for this reason only is he called Darius the Median in Scripture. As to what they say of Nabonadius not being of kin to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, it must be confessed that the fragments of Megasthenes may give them some authority for it; but as for all the rest, it hath no other foundation but the imagination of them that say it. And the whole is contrary to Scripture; for, 1st, the hand-writing on the wall told Belshazzar, that his kingdom should be divided or rent from him, and be given to the Medes and Persians; and immediately after the sacred text tells us, that Belshazzar was slain that night, and Darius the Median took the kingdom, who could be none other than Cyaxares, king of Media, who, in conjunction with Cyrus the Persian, conquered Babylon. 2ndly, Therefore Belshazzar must have been the last Babylonish king, and, consequently, the Nabonadius of Ptolemy. 3rdly, This last king was not a stranger to the family of Nebuchadnezzar, for the sacred text makes him his descendant. 4thly, Darius is said to have governed the kingdom by the laws of the Medes and Persians, which cannot be supposed till after the Medes and Persians had conquered that kingdom. Had this Darius been Nabonadius the Babylonish king, he would certainly have governed by the Babylonish laws, and not by the laws of his enemies, the Medes and Persians, who were in hostility against him all his reign, and sought his ruin. 5thly, Darius is said to have divided his empire into one hundred and twenty provinces, which could not have been true of the Babylonish empire, that never having been large enough for it. But it must be understood of the Persian empire only, which was vastly larger. And afterwards, on the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, and of Thrace and India by Darius Hystaspis, it had seven other provinces added to its former number; and therefore, in the time of Esther, it consisted of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces. And this having been the division of the Persian empire at that time, it sufficiently proves the former to have been of the same empire also: for if the Persian empire,

from India to Ethiopia, contained but one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, the empire of Babylon alone, which was not the seventh part of the other, could not contain one hundred and twenty. The testimony which Scaliger brings to prove Nabonadius to have been a Mede by descent, and by election made king of Babylon, is very absurd. In the prophecy of Nebuchadnezzar, delivered to the Babylonians a little before his death, concerning their future subjection to the Persians, which is preserved in the fragments of Megasthenes, there are these words: "A Persian mule shall come, who, by the help of your own gods fighting for him, shall bring slavery upon you, whose assistant, or fellow-causer herein, shall be the Mede." By which Mede is plainly meant Cyaxares, king of Media, who was confederate with Cyrus in the war wherein Babylon was conquered. But Scaliger saith it was Nabonadius; and hence proves that he was a Mede, and quotes this place in Megasthenes for it. If you ask him why he saith this, his answer is, that the person who is in that prophecy said to be the assistant of Cyrus, and fellow-causer with him in bringing servitude upon Babylon, must be Nabonadius, because he was an assistant and fellow-causer with him herein, in being beaten and conquered by him. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore Isaac Vossius well observes, that the arguments which Scaliger brings for this are *indigna Scaligero*, i. e. "unworthy of Scaliger."

Division of the Median empire into 120 provinces, under three presidents, of whom Daniel is the first.—After Cyrus had settled his affairs at Babylon, he went into Persia, to make a visit to his father and mother, they being both yet living; and on his return through Media, he there married the daughter of Cyaxares, having with her for her dower the kingdom of Media, in reversion after her father's death, for she was his only child; and then with his new wife he went back to Babylon. And Cyaxares, being earnestly invited by him thither, accompanied him in the journey. On their arrival at Babylon, they there took counsel in concert together for the settling of the whole empire; and, having divided it into one hundred and twenty provinces, which I have before spoken of, they distributed the government of it among those that had borne with Cyrus the chief burden of the war, and best merited from him in it. Over these were appointed three

presidents, who, constantly residing at court, were to receive from them from time to time an account of all particulars relating to their respective government, and again remit to them the king's orders concerning them. And therefore in these three, as the chief ministers of the king, was intrusted the superintendency and main government of the whole empire and of them Daniel was made the first. To which preference, not only his great wisdom (which was of eminent fame all over the East), but also his seniority, and long experience in affairs, gave him the justest title; for he had now, from the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, been employed full sixty-five years as a prime minister of state under the kings of Babylon. However, this station advancing him to be the next person to the king in the whole empire, it stirred up so great an envy against him among the other

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courtiers, that they laid that snare for him which cast him into the lions' den. But he being there delivered by a miracle from all harm, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors; and Daniel being thenceforth immovably settled in the favour of Darius and Cyrus, he prospered greatly in their time as long as he lived.

Daniel's prophecy concerning the coming of the Messiah at the end of 70 weeks.—In the first year of Darius, Daniel, computing that the seventy years of Judah's captivity, which were prophesied of by the prophet Jeremiah, were now drawing to an end, earnestly prayed unto God that he would remember his people, and grant restoration to Jerusalem, and make his face again to shine upon the holy city, and his sanctuary which he had placed there. Whereon, in a vision, he had assurance given him by the angel Gabriel, not only of the deliverance of Judah from their temporal captivity under the Babylonians, but also of a much greater redemption, which God would give his church in his deliverance of them from their spiritual captivity under sin and Satan, to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks after the going forth of the commandment to rebuild Jerusalem, that is, at the end of four hundred and ninety years. For taking each day for a year, according as is usual in the prophetic style of Scripture, so many years seventy weeks of years will amount to, which is the clearest prophecy of the coming of the Messiah that we have in the Old Testament: for it determines

it to the very time, on which he accordingly came, and by his death, and passion, and resurrection from the dead, completed for us the great work of our salvation.

Cyrus settles the distant provinces whilst Darius the Mede governs at Babylon.—Cyrus, immediately on his return to Babylon, had issued out his orders for all his forces to come thither to him, which at a general muster he found to be one hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand scythed chariots, and six hundred thousand foot. Of these having distributed into garrisons as many as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the rest in an expedition into Syria, where he settled all those parts of the empire, reducing all under him as far as the Red Sea and the confines of Ethiopia. In the interim, Cyaxares (whom the Scriptures call Darius the Median) stayed at Babylon, and there governed the affairs of the empire; and during that time happened what hath been above related concerning Daniel's being cast into the lions' den, and his miraculous deliverance from it.

Coinage of the gold Darics.—And about the same time seem to have been coined those famous pieces of gold called "Darics," which, by reason of their fineness, were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout all the East; for we are told that the author of this coin was not Darius Hystaspis, as some have imagined, but an ancienter Darius. But there is no ancienter Darius mentioned to have reigned in the East, excepting only this Darius, whom the Scripture calls Darius the Median. And therefore it is most likely that he was the author of this coin, and that, during the two years that he

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reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was absent from thence on his Syrian, Egyptian, and other expeditions, he caused it to be made there out of the vast quantity of gold which had been brought thither into the treasury, as the spoils of the war which he and Cyrus had been so long engaged in; from whence it became dispersed all over the East, and also into Greece, where it was of great reputation. According to Dr. Bernard, it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas; but the fineness added much more to its

value; for it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at least very little, alloy in it; and therefore may be well reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us in respect to each other, to be worth twenty-five shillings of our money. In those parts of Scripture which were written after the Babylonish captivity, these pieces are mentioned by the name of *Adarkonim*, and in the Talmudists by the name of *Darkonoth*, both from the Greek Δαρεικοὶ, i. e. Darics. And it is to be observed, that all those pieces of gold which were afterwards coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persian but also of the Macedonian race, were all called Darics, from the Darius that was the first author of them. And these were either whole Darics or half Darics, as with us there are guineas and half guineas.

Death of Darius the Mede and Cambyses the Persian: Cyrus becomes sole monarch of the great Medo-Persian empire, 536.—But about two years after, Cyaxares dying and Cambyses being also dead in Persia, Cyrus returned and took on him the whole government of the empire, over which he reigned seven years. His reign is reckoned, from his first coming out of Persia with an army for the assistance of Cyaxares, to his death, to have been thirty years, from the taking of Babylon nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire after the death of Cyaxares and Cambyses, seven years. Tully reckons by the first account, Ptolemy by the second, and Xenophon by the third. And the first of these seven years is that first year of Cyrus mentioned in the first verse of the book of Ezra, wherein an end was put to the captivity of Judah, and a licence given them, by a public decree of the king's, again to return into their own country. The seventy years, which Jeremiah had prophesied should be the continuance of this captivity, were now just expired: for it began a year and two months before the death of Nabopolassar, after that Nebuchadnezzar reigned forty-three years, Evilmerodach two years, Neriglissar four years, Belshazzar seventeen years, and Darius the Median

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two years; which being all put together make just sixty-nine years and two months; and if you add hereto ten months more to complete the said seventy years, it will carry down the end of them exactly into the same month, in the

first year of Cyrus, in which it began in the last save one of Nabopollasar, i. e. in the ninth month of the Jewish year, which is the November of ours. For in that month Nebuchadnezzar first took Jerusalem, and carried great numbers of the people into captivity, as hath been before related. And that their release from it happened also in the same month may be thus inferred from Scripture. The first time the Jews are found at Jerusalem after their return was in their Nisan, i. e. in our April, as will hereafter be shown. If you allow them four months for their march thither from Babylon (which was the time in which Ezra performed the like march), the beginning of that march will fall in the middle of the December preceding. And if you allow a month's time after the decree of release for their preparing for that journey, it will fix the end of the said captivity, which they were then released from, exactly in the middle of the month of November, in the first year of Cyrus; which was the very time on which it began, just seventy years before. And that this first of Cyrus is not to be reckoned, with Ptolemy, from the taking of Babylon and the death of Belshazzar, but with Xenophon, from the death of Darius the Mede, and the succession of Cyrus into the government of the whole empire, appears from hence, that this last is plainly the Scripture reckoning; for therein, after the taking of Babylon and the death of Belshazzar, Darius the Mede is named in the succession before Cyrus the Persian, and the years of the reign of Cyrus are not there reckoned, till the years of the reign of Darius had ceased; and therefore, according to Scripture, the first of Cyrus cannot be till after the death of Darius.

Decree of Cyrus in favour of the Jews obtained by Daniel.—There can be no doubt, but that this decree in favour of the Jews was obtained by Daniel. When Cyrus first came into Babylon, on his taking the city, he found him there an old minister of state, famed for his great wisdom all over the East, and long experienced in the management of the public affairs of the government, and such counsellors wise kings always seek for: and moreover, his late reading of the wonderful handwriting on the wall, which had puzzled all the wise men of Babylon besides, and the event which happened immediately after, exactly agreeable to his interpretation, had made a very great and fresh addition to his reputation; and therefore, on Cyrus having made himself master of the city, he was soon called for, as a person that was best able to advise and direct about the settling of the

government on this revolution, and was consulted with in all the measures taken herein. On which occasion he so well approved himself, that afterwards, on the settling of the government of the whole empire, he was made first superintendent, or prime minister of state, over all the provinces of it, as hath been already shown. And when Cyrus returned from his Syrian expedition again to Babylon, he found a new addition to his fame from his miraculous deliverance from the lions' den. All which put together gave sufficient reason for that wise and excellent prince to have

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him in the highest esteem; and therefore it is said, that he prospered under him, as he did under Darius the Median, with whom it appears he was in the highest favour and esteem. And since he had been so earnest with God in prayer for the restoration of his people, as we find in the ninth chapter of Daniel, it is not to be thought that he was backward in his intercessions for it with the king, especially when he was in so great favour, and of so great authority with him. And to induce him the readier to grant his request, he showed him the prophecies of the prophet Isaiah, which spake of him by name one hundred and fifty years before he was born, as one whom God had designed to be a great conqueror, and king over many nations, and the restorer of his people, in causing the temple to be built, and the land of Judah and the city of Jerusalem to be again dwelt in by its former inhabitants. That Cyrus had seen and read these prophecies, Josephus tells us, and it is plain from Scripture that he did so; for they are recited in his decree in Ezra for the rebuilding of the temple. And who was there that should show them unto him but Daniel, who in the station that he was in had constant access unto him, and of all men living had it most at heart to see these prophecies fulfilled in the restoration of Sion? Besides, Cyrus in his late expedition into Syria and Palestine, having seen so large and good a country as that of Judæa lie wholly desolate, might justly be moved with a desire of having it again inhabited; for the strength and riches of every empire being chiefly in the number of its subjects, no wise prince would ever desire that any part of his dominions should lie unpeopled. And who could be more proper again to plant the desolated country of Judæa than its former inhabitants? They were first carried out of Judea by Nebuchadnezzar

to people and strengthen Babylon; and perchance, under this government of the Persians, to which the Babylonians were never well affected, the weakening and dispeopling of Babylon might be as strong a reason for their being sent back again into their own country. But whatsoever second causes worked to it, God's overruling power, which turneth the hearts of princes which way he pleaseth, brought it to pass, that in the first year of Cyrus's monarchy over the East, he issued out his royal decree for the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem, and the return of the Jews again into their own country. And hereon the state of Judah and Jerusalem began to be restored; of which an account will be given in the next book.

BOOK III.

RESTORATION OF THE JEWS AND REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE; COMPRISING THE HISTORY OF THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE, FROM THE ACCESSION OF CYRUS TO THE TAKING OF BABYLON BY DARIUS HYSTASPIS, B. C. 536 TO 515.

I. REIGN OF CYRUS, B. C. 536—530. —

High priests of Judah—Jeshua, 536.

Kings of Egypt—Amasis, 569.

Prophets—Daniel.

First caravan of Jews return to Judæa under Zerubbabel, grandson of king Jehoiachin, and Jeshua the high priest, 536.—CYRUS having issued out his decree for the restoring of the Jews unto their own land, and the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, they gathered together out of the several parts of the kingdom of Babylon, to the number of forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty persons, with their servants, which amounted to seven thousand three hundred and thirty-seven more. Their chief leaders were Zerubbabel the son of Salathiel, the son of Jehoiachin, or Jeconias, king of Judah, and Jeshua the son of Jozadack, the high priest. Zerubbabel (whose Babylonish name was Shezbazzar) was made governor of the land, under the title of Tirshatha, by commission from Cyrus. But Jeshua was high priest by lineal descent from the pontifical family; for he was the son of Jozadack, who was the son of Seraiah, that was high priest when Jerusalem was destroyed, and the temple burnt by the Chaldeans. Seraiah, being then taken prisoner by Nebuzaradan, and carried to Nebuchadnezzar to Riblah in Syria, was then put to death by him: but Jozadack, his son, being spared as to his life, was only with the rest led captive to Babylon, where he died before the decree of restoration came

forth; and therefore the office of high priest was then in Jeshua, his son; and under that title he is named, next Zerubbabel, among the first of those that returned. The rest were Nehemiah, Seraiah, Reelaiah, Mordecai, Bilsham, Mispar, Bigvai, Rehum, and Baanah, who were the prime leaders of the people, and the chief assistants to Zerubbabel, in the resettling of them again in their own land, and are by the Jewish writers reckoned the chief men of the great synagogue; so they call the convention of elders, which they say sat at Jerusalem after the return of the Jews, and did there again reëstablish all their affairs both as to church and state, of which they speak great things, as shall hereafter be shown. But it is to be observed, that the Nehemiah and Mordecai above mentioned were not the Nehemiah and Mordecai of whom there is so much said in the books of Nehemiah and Esther, but quite different persons, who bore the same name.

Restoration of the temple vessels.—At the same time that Cyrus issued out his decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, he ordered all the vessels to be restored which had been taken from thence. Nebuchadnezzar, on the burning of the former temple, had brought them to Babylon, and placed them there in the temple of Bel his god. From thence they were, according to Cyrus's order, by Mithredath, the king's treasurer, delivered to Zerubbabel, who carried them back again to Jerusalem. All the vessels of gold and silver that were at this time restored were five thousand four hundred; the remainder was brought back by Ezra, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, many years after.

Partial return of the Ten Tribes.—And not only those of Judah and Benjamin, but several also of the other tribes, took the benefit of this decree to return again into their own land: for some of them, who were carried away by Tiglath-Pileser, Salmaneser, and Esarhaddon, still retained the true worship of God in a strange land, and did not go into the idolatrous usages and impieties of the heathens, among whom they were dispersed, but joined themselves to the Jews, when, by a like captivity, they were brought into the same parts, and some, after all the Assyrian captivities, were still left in the land. For we find some of them still there in the time of Josiah, and they suffered the Babylonish captivity, as well as the Jews, till at length they

were wholly carried away in the last of them by Nebuzaradan, in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar. And many of them had long before left their tribes for their religion, and incorporating themselves with their brethren of Judah and Benjamin, dwelt in their cities, and there fell into the same calamity with them in their captivity under the Babylonians. And of all these a great number took the advantage of this decree, again to return and dwell in their own cities; for both Cyrus's decree, as well as that of Artaxerxes, extended to all the house of Israel. The decree of Artaxerxes is by name to all the people of Israel, and that of Cyrus is to all the people of the God of Israel, that is (as appears by the text), to all those that worshipped God at Jerusalem, which must be understood of the people of Israel as well as of Judah: for that temple was built for both, and both had an equal right to worship God there. And therefore Ezra, when he returned, in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, sent a copy of the king's decree, whereby that favour was granted him through all Media, where the ten tribes were in captivity, as well as through all Chaldea and Assyria, where the Jews were in captivity; which plainly implies that both of them were included in that decree, and that being a renewal of the decree of Cyrus, both must be understood of the same extent. And we are told in Scripture, that after the captivity, some of the children of Ephraim and Manasseh dwelt in Jerusalem, as well as those of Judah and Benjamin. And it appears, from several places in the New Testament, that some of all the tribes were still in being among the Jews, even to the time of their last dispersion on the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, though then all were comprehended under the name of Jews, which after the Babylonian

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captivity, became the general name of the whole nation, as that of Israelites was before. And this being premised, it solves the difficulty which ariseth from the difference that is between the general number, and the particulars of those that returned upon Cyrus's decree. For the general number, both in Ezra and Nehemiah, is said to be forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty; but the particulars, as reckoned up in their several families in Ezra, amount only to twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and in Nehemiah, to thirty-one thousand and thirty-one. The meaning of which is,

they are only the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi, that are reckoned by their families in both these places; the rest, being of the other tribes of Israel, are numbered only in the gross sum, and this is that which makes the gross sum so much exceed the particulars in both the computations. But how it comes to pass that the particulars in Ezra differ from the particulars in Nehemiah, since there are several ways how this may be accounted for, and we can only conjecture which of them may be right, I shall not take upon me to determine.

Four courses of priests only return, out of the twenty-four.—Of the twenty-four courses of the priests that were carried away to Babylon, only four returned, and they were the courses of Jedaiah, Immer, Pashur, and Harim, which made up the number of four thousand two hundred and eighty-nine persons. The rest either tarried behind, or were extinct. However, the old number of the courses, as established by king David, were still kept up. For of the four courses that returned, each subdivided themselves into six, and the new courses, taking the names of those that were wanting, still kept up the old titles; and hence it is, that after this Mattathias is said to have been of the course of Joarib, and Zacharias of the course of Abia, though neither of these courses were of the number of those that returned. For the new courses took the names of the old ones, though they were not descended from them, and so they were continued by the same names under the second temple as they had been under the first, only the fifth course, though of the number of those that returned, changed its name, and for that of Malchijah, under which it was first established, took the name of Pashur, that is, the name of the son instead of that of the father; for Pashur was the son of Malchijah. It is a common saying among the Jews, that they were only the bran, that is, the dregs of the people, that returned to Jerusalem after the end of the captivity, and that all the fine flour stayed behind at Babylon. It is most certain, that notwithstanding the several decrees that had been granted by the kings of Persia for the return of the Jews into their own land, there were a great many that waived taking the advantage of them, and continued still in Chaldea, Assyria, and other eastern provinces, where they had been carried; and it is most likely that they were of the best and richest of the nation that did so: for when they had gotten houses and lands in those parts, it cannot be supposed that such

would be very forward to leave good settlements to new plant a country that had lain many years desolate. But of what sort soever they were, it is certain a great many stayed behind, and never again returned into their own country.

And if we may guess at their number by the family of Aaron, they must have been many more than those who settled again in Judæa; for of the twenty-four courses of the sons of Aaron which were carried away, we find only four among those that returned, as hath been already taken notice of; and hereby it came to pass, that during all the time of the second temple, and for a great many ages after, the number of the Jews in Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia, grew to be so very great, that they were all along thought to exceed the number of the Jews of Palestine, even in those times when that country was best inhabited by them.

Settlement of the returned Jews: correspondence between the period of the desolation of the land and the neglect of the Sabbatical years, 535.—Those who made this first return into Judæa arrived there in Nisan, the first month of the Jewish year (which answers to part of March and part of April in our calendar); for the second month of the next year is said to be in the second year after their return; and therefore they must then have been a whole year in the land. As soon as they came thither, they dispersed themselves according to their tribes and the families of their fathers in their several cities, and there betook themselves to rebuild their houses, and again manure their lands, after they had now, from the destruction of Jerusalem, and the flight of the remainder of the people into Egypt on the death of Gedaliah, lain desolate and uncultivated fifty-two years, according to the number of the sabbatical years, which they had neglected to observe; for, according to the Mosaical law, they ought to have left their lands fallow every seventh year. But among other commandments of God, this also they had neglected; and therefore God made the land lie desolate without inhabitants or cultivation, till it had enjoyed the full number of its sabbaths that it had been deprived of. And this tells us how long the Jews had neglected this law of the sabbatical year: for it is certain, the land was desolated only fifty-two years, that is, from the death of Gedaliah till the

end of the seventy years' captivity, in the first year of the empire of Cyrus. And fifty-two sabbatical years make fifty-two weeks of years, which amount to three hundred and sixty-four years; which carries up the computation to the beginning of the reign of Asa; and therefore from that time the Jews having neglected to observe the sabbatical years, till they had deprived the land of fifty-two of them, God made that land lie desolate without cultivation or inhabitants just so many years, till he had restored to it that full rest, which the wickedness of its inhabitants had, contrary to the law of their God, denied unto it. If we reckon the whole seventy years of the captivity into those years of desolation, which were to make amends for the sabbatical years that the land had been deprived of, then we must reckon the observation of them to have been laid aside for seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years. But this will carry back the omission higher up than the days of David and Samuel, in whose time it is not likely that such a breach of the law of God would have been permitted in the land.

Celebration of the Feast of Trumpets.—On the seventh month, which is called the month Tisri, all the people which had returned to

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their several cities gathered together at Jerusalem, and there, on the first day of that month, celebrated the feast of trumpets. This month began about the time of the autumnal equinox, and was formerly the first month of the year, till it was changed at the time of the coming up of the children of Israel out of Egypt; for that happening in the month of Abib, afterwards called Nisan, that month for this reason had the honour given it as thenceforth to be reckoned among the Israelites for the first month of the year, that is, in all ecclesiastical matters. Before this time Tisri was reckoned everywhere to begin the year, because from thence did commence (it was thought) the beginning of all things; it being the general opinion among the ancients that the world was created and first began at the time of the autumnal equinox. And for this reason the Jews do still, in their era of the creation of the world, as well as in their era of contracts, compute the beginning of the year from the first of Tisri; and all their bills and bonds, and all other civil acts and contracts, are still dated among them according to the same computation. And from this month also they began all their jubilees and

sabbatical years. And, therefore, although their ecclesiastical year began from Nisan, and all their festivals were reckoned according to it, yet their civil year was still reckoned from Tisri, and the first day of that month was their new year's day; and for the more solemn celebration of it, this feast of trumpets seems to have been appointed.

Contributions towards the restoration of the Temple.—On the tenth day of the same month was the great day of expiation, when the high priest made atonement for all the people of Israel; and on the fifteenth day began the feast of tabernacles, and lasted till the twenty-second inclusively. During all which solemnities the people stayed at Jerusalem, and employed all that time to the best of their power to set forward the restoration of God's worship again in that place; towards which all that had riches contributed according to their abilities. And the free-will offerings which were made on this occasion, besides one hundred vestments for the priests, amounted to sixty-one thousand drachms of gold and five thousand minas of silver, which in all comes to about seventy-five thousand five hundred pounds of our money; for every drachm of gold is worth ten shillings of our money, and every mina of silver nine pounds; for it contained sixty shekels, and every shekel of silver is worth of our money three shillings. And upon this fund they began the work. And a great sum it was to be raised by so small a number of people, and on their first return from their captivity, especially if they were only of the poorer sort, as the rabbins say. It must be supposed, that these offerings were made by the whole nation of the Jews, that is, by those who stayed behind, as well as by those who returned; otherwise it is scarce possible to solve the matter. For

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all having an equal interest in that temple, and the daily sacrifices there offered up having been in the behalf of all, it is very reasonable to suppose that all did contribute to the building of it; and that especially seeing that as long as that temple stood every Jew annually paid a half shekel, i. e. about eighteen pence of our money, towards its repair and the support of the daily service in it, into what parts soever they were dispersed through the whole world.

Restoration of the Altar of Burnt-offerings.—The first thing they did was to restore the altar of the Lord for burnt-offerings. This stood in the middle of the inner court of the temple, exactly before the porch leading into the holy place; and hereon were made the daily offerings of the morning and evening service, and all other offerings, ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by fire. It had been beaten down and destroyed by the Babylonians at the burning of the temple, and in the same place was it now again restored. That it was built, and stood in another place, with a tabernacle round it, till the rebuilding of the temple was fully finished and completed, is a fancy without a foundation. It was certainly built in its proper place, that is, in the same place where it before stood, and there they daily offered sacrifices upon it, even before anything else of the temple was built about it. It was a large pile, built all of unhewn stones, thirty-two cubits (i. e. forty-eight feet) square at the bottom; from thence it rising one cubit, benched-in one cubit; and from thence being thirty cubits square, it did rise five cubits, and benched-in one cubit; and from thence being twenty-eight cubits square, it did rise three cubits, and benched-in two cubits; from whence it did rise one cubit, which was the hearth upon which the offerings were burned, and the benching-in of two cubits' breadth was the passage round it, on which the priests stood when they tended the fire, and placed the sacrifices on it. So this hearth was a square of twenty-four cubits, or thirty-six feet, on every side, and one cubit high, which was all made of solid brass, and from hence it was called the brazen altar. For it is not to be imagined that it was all made of solid brass; for to make up so big a pile all of that metal would cost a vast sum of money. And besides, if it were so made, it would not only be against the law, but also impracticable for the use intended. It would be against the law, because thereby they are commanded, that wheresoever they should make an altar, other than the portable altar of the tabernacle, they should make it of earth, or else of unhewn stone. And it would be impracticable for the use intended; because, if it were all of brass, the fire continually burning upon the top of it would so heat the whole, and especially that part of it next the hearth, that it would be impossible for the priests to stand on it when they were to come thither to officiate in tending the altar, and offering the sacrifices thereon; and that especially since they were always to officiate

barefooted, without anything at all upon their feet to fence them from the heat of it. It is not,

indeed, anywhere commanded that the priests should officiate barefooted, but among the garments assigned for the priests (Exod. xxviii.), shoes not being named, they were supposed therefore to be forbid: and the text saying, verse 4, “these are the garments which they shall make,” this, they say, excludes all that are not there named. And Moses being commanded at the burning bush to put off his shoes, for that the ground on which he stood was holy, because of the extraordinary presence of God then in that place, this they make a further argument for it; for, say they, the temple was all holy for the same reason, that is, because of the extraordinary presence of God there residing in the Shekinah over the mercy-seat. And for these reasons it was most strictly exacted that the priests should be always barefooted in the temple, although their going there with their bare feet upon the marble pavement was very pernicious to the health of many of them. On the four corners of the altar, on the last benching-in, where the priests stood when they offered the sacrifices, there were fixed four small pillars of a cubit height, and a cubit on every side, in the form of an exact cube. And these were the horns of the altar so often mentioned in Scripture. The middle of each of them was hollow, because therein was to be put some of the blood of the sacrifices. The ascent up to the altar was by a gentle rising on the south side, called the kibbesh, which was thirty-two cubits in length, and sixteen in breadth, and landed upon the upper benching-in next the hearth or the top of the altar, for to go up to the altar by steps was forbid by the law.

Rebuilding of the Temple, 534.—But their zeal for the temple being that which had brought most of them back again into Judæa, the rebuilding of this was what they had their hearts most intent upon. And therefore, having employed the first year in preparing materials, and contracting with carpenters and masons for the work, in the second month of the second year they laid the foundation of the house, which was done with great solemnity. For Zerubbabel the governor, and Jeshua the high priest, being present with all the congregation, the trumpeters blew their trumpets and the musicians

sounded their instruments, and singers sung, all in praise to the Lord their God, and all the rest of the people shouted for joy while the first stones were laid; only the old men who had seen the glory of the first temple, and had no expectation that this, which was now a-building by a few poor exiles lately returned into their country, could ever equal that which had all the riches of David and Solomon, two of the wealthiest princes of the East, expended in the erecting of it, wept at the remembrance of the old temple, while others rejoiced at the laying the foundations of the new. And, indeed, the difference between the former temple and this which was now a-building was so great, that God himself tells the prophet Haggai that the latter in comparison with the former was as nothing, so much did it come short of it. But this is not to be understood of its bigness; for the second temple was of the same dimensions with the first, it being built upon the very same foundations, and therefore it was exactly of the same length and breadth. Cyrus's commission may seem to make it broader, for that allows sixty

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cubits to its breadth, whereas Solomon's temple is said to have been but twenty cubits in breadth. But these different measures are to be understood in respect of the different distances between which the said measures were taken. The twenty cubits breadth said of Solomon's temple was only the breadth of the temple itself, measuring from the inside of the wall on the one side to the inside of the wall on the other side. But the sixty cubits breadth in Cyrus's commission was the breadth of the whole building, measuring from the inside of the outer wall of it on the one side, to the inside of the outer wall on the other side. For besides the temple itself, which contained the holy place and the holy of holies, each twenty cubits broad, there were thick walls enclosing it on each side, and without them chambers on each side; then another wall, then a gallery, and then the outer walls of all enclosing the whole building, being five cubits thick; which altogether made up the whole breadth to be seventy cubits from out to out, from which deducting the five cubits breadth of the outer wall on each side, you have remaining the breadth of Cyrus's commission, that is, sixty cubits, which was the breadth of the whole building from the inside of one outer

wall to the inside of the other. So that the difference of the said twenty cubits breadth, and of the said sixty cubits breadth, is no more than this, that one of them was measured from the inside to the inside of the inner walls, and the other from the inside to the inside of the outer walls of the said temple.

Five special marks of the Divine favour towards the Temple of Solomon wanting to the second Temple.—But the glory of Solomon's temple was not in the temple itself, much less in the bigness of it; for that alone was but a small pile of building, as containing no more than one hundred and fifty feet in length and one hundred and five in breadth, taking the whole of it together from out to out, which is exceeded by many of our parish churches. The main grandeur and excellency of it consisted, first, in its ornaments; its workmanship being everywhere exceeding curious, and its overlayings vast and prodigious; for the overlayings of the holy of holies only, which was a room but thirty feet square and thirty feet high, amounted to six hundred talents of gold, which comes to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds of our sterling money. Secondly, in its materials; for Solomon's temple was all built of new large stones, hewn out in the most curious and artful manner, whereas the second temple was mostly built of such stones only as they dug up out of the ruins of the former. Thirdly, in its out-buildings; for the court in which the temple stood, and that without it, called the court of the women, were built round with stately buildings and cloisters, and the gates entering thereinto were very beautiful and sumptuous. And the outer court, which was a large square, encompassing all the rest, of seven hundred and fifty feet on every side, was surrounded with a most stately and magnificent cloister, sustained by three rows of pillars on three sides of it, and by four on the fourth. And all the out-buildings then lay in their rubbish,

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without any prospect of a speedy reparation; and there could then be no such ornaments or materials in this new temple as there were in the former. In process of time indeed all the out-buildings were restored, and such ornaments and materials were added on Herod's repairing of it, that the second temple after that came little short herein of the former, and there are

some who will say that it exceeded it. But still, what was the main glory of the first temple those extraordinary marks of the divine favour with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the second. The Jews reckon them up in these five particulars: 1. The Ark of the Covenant, and the Mercy-seat which was upon it; 2. The Shekinah, or divine presence; 3. The Urim and Thummim; 4. The holy fire upon the altar; and, 5. The spirit of prophecy.

1st, **The Ark of the Covenant with the Mercy-seat and Cherubims.—** The ark of the covenant was a small chest or coffer, three feet nine inches in length, and two feet three inches in breadth, and two feet three inches in height; in which were put the two tables of the law, as well the broken ones (say the rabbins) as the whole; and that there was nothing else in it when it was brought into Solomon's temple, is said in two places of Scripture. But the rabbins raise a controversy concerning Aaron's rod and the pot of manna, and the original volume of the law written by Moses's own hand, whether they were not also in the ark. It is said of Aaron's rod and the pot of manna, that they were laid up *before the testimony*; and it being agreed on all hands, that by the *testimony* are meant the two tables, those who interpret these words [*before the testimony*] in the strictest sense, will have the said rod and pot of manna to have been laid up immediately before the tables within the ark; for otherwise, say they, they would not have been laid up before the testimony, but before the ark. But others, who do not understand the words in so strict a sense, say they were laid up in the holy of holies without the ark, in a place just before it; thinking that in this position, without the ark, they may be as well said to be laid up before the testimony or tables of the law, as if they had been placed immediately before them within the ark. But the holy apostle St. Paul decides this controversy; for he positively tells us, "that within the ark were the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant." As to the book, or volume of the law, it being commanded to be put *mitzzad*, i. e. on the side of the ark, those who interpret that word of the inside place it within the ark, and those who interpret it of the outside place

it on the outside of it, in a case or coffer made of purpose for it, and laid on the right side, meaning by the right side that end of it which was on the

right hand. And the last seem to be in the right as to this matter. For, first, the same word, *mitzzad*, is made use of, where it is said, that the Philistines sent back the ark with an offering of jewels of gold put in a coffer by the side of it. And there it is certain that word must be understood of the outside, and not of the inside. Secondly, The ark was not of capacity enough to hold the volume of the whole law of Moses, with the other things placed therein. Thirdly, The end of laying up the original volume of the law in the temple was, that it might be reserved there as the authentic copy, by which all others were to be corrected and set right; and therefore, to answer this end, it must have been placed so as that access might be had thereto on all occasions requiring it; which could not have been done if it had been put within the ark, and shut up there by the cover of the mercy-seat over it, which was not to be removed. And fourthly, when Hilkiah the high priest, in the time of Josiah, found the copy of the law in the temple, there is nothing said of the ark, neither is it there spoken of as taken from thence, but as found elsewhere in the temple. And therefore, putting all this together, it seems plain that the volume of the law was not laid within the ark, but had a particular coffer or repository of its own, in which it was placed on the side of it. And the word *mitzzad*, which answers to the Latin *a latere*, cannot truly bear any other meaning in the Hebrew language. And therefore the Chaldee paraphrase, which goes under the name of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, in paraphrasing on those words of Deuteronomy—"Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant," renders it thus, "Take the book of the law, and place it in a case or coffer, on the right side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God." Over the ark was the mercy-seat, and it was the covering of it. It was all made of solid gold, and of the thickness (say the rabbins) of a hand's-breadth. At the two ends of it were two cherubims, looking inward towards each other, with wings expanded, which, embracing the whole circumference of the mercy-seat, did meet on each side in the middle; all which (say the rabbins) was made out of the same mass, without joining any of the parts by solder. Here it was where the Shekinah, or divine presence, rested both in the tabernacle and temple, and was visibly seen in the appearance of a cloud over it; and from hence the divine oracles were given out by an audible voice, as often as God was consulted in the behalf of his people. And hence it is that God is so often said in Scripture to dwell between the cherubims, that is, between the

cherubims on the mercy-seat, because there was the seat or throne of the visible appearance of his glory among them. And for this reason the high priest appeared before this mercy-seat once every year, on the great day of expiation, when he was to make his nearest approach to the divine presence, to mediate and make atonement for the whole people of Israel. And all else of that nation,

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who served God according to the Levitical law, made it the centre of their worship, and not only in the temple when they came up thither to worship, but everywhere else in their dispersion through the whole world, whenever they prayed, they turned their faces towards the place where the ark stood, and directed all their devotions that way. And therefore the author of the book Cozri justly saith, that the ark, with the mercy-seat and cherubims, were the foundation, root, heart, and marrow of the whole temple, and all the Levitical worship therein performed. And therefore, had there nothing else of the first temple been wanting in the second but the ark only, this alone would have been reason enough for the old men to have wept when they remembered the first temple in which it was, and also for the saying of Haggai, that the second temple was as nothing in comparison of the first, so great a part had it in the glory of this temple as long as it remained in it.

Comparison between the Ark in the first Temple and the Ark in the second.—However, the defect was supplied as to the outward form; for in the second temple there was also an ark made of the same shape and dimensions with the first, and put in the same place. But though it was there substituted in its stead (as there was need that such an one should for the service that was annually performed before it on the great day of expiation), yet it had none of its prerogatives or honours conferred upon it; for there were no tables of the law, no Aaron's rod, no pot of manna in it, no appearance of the divine glory over it, no oracles given from it. The first ark was made and consecrated by God's appointment, and had all these prerogatives and honours given unto it by him. But the second, being appointed and substituted by man only, to be in the stead and place of the other, could have none of them. And the only use that was made of it was to be a representative of the former on the great day of expiation, and to be a

repository of the Holy Scriptures; that is, of the original copy of that collection which was made of them after the captivity by Ezra and the men of the great synagogue, as will be hereafter related. For when this copy was perfected, it was there laid up in it. And in imitation hereof, the Jews in all their synagogues have a like ark or coffer, of the same size or form, in which they keep the Scriptures belonging to the synagogue; and from whence they take it out with great solemnity whenever they use it, and return it with the like when they have done with it.

Question of whether there was or was not an Ark in the second Temple.—That there was any ark at all in the second temple, many of the Jewish writers do deny; and say, that the whole service of the great day of expiation was performed in the second temple, not before any ark, but before the stone on which the ark stood in the first temple. But since, on their building of the second temple, they found it necessary for the carrying on of their worship in it, to make a new altar of incense, a new shew-bread table, and a new candlestick, instead of those which the Babylonians had destroyed, though none of them could be consecrated

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as in the first temple, there is no reason to believe but that they made a new ark also; there being as much need of it, for the carrying on of their worship, as there was of the others. And since the holy of holies, and the veil that was drawn before it, were wholly for the sake of the ark, what need had there been of these in the second temple, if there had not been the other also? Were it clear that it is the figure of the ark that is on the triumphal arch of Titus, still remaining at Rome, this would be an undeniable demonstration for what I here say; for therein his triumph for the taking of Jerusalem being set forth in sculpture, there is to be seen, even to this day, carried before him in that triumph, the golden candlestick, and another figure, which Adrichomius and some others say is the ark. But Villalpandus, Cornelius a Lapide, Ribera, and the generality of learned men who have viewed that triumphal arch, tell us that it is the table of shew-bread. The obscurity of the figures, now almost worn out by length of time, makes the difficulty: but by the exactest draughts which I have seen of it, it plainly appears to have been the shew-bread table, especially from the two cups on

the top of it; for two such cups filled with frankincense were always put upon the shew-bread table, but never upon the ark. Josephus, who was present at the triumph of Titus, and saw the whole of it, tells us of three things therein carried before him: first, the shew-bread table; secondly, the golden candlestick (which he mentions in the same order as they are on the arch); and, thirdly, the law, which is not on the arch. Most likely it was omitted there only for want of room to engrave it: for as there is the figure of a table carried aloft before the shew-bread table, and another before the golden candlestick, to express by the writings on them what the things were which they were carried before; so, after the golden candlestick, there is on the said arch a third table without anything after it, the arch there ending without affording room for any other sculpture; where the thing omitted, no doubt, was what Josephus saith was carried in the third place, that is, the law; which is not to be understood of any common volume (of which there were hundreds everywhere in common use, both in their synagogues and in private hands), but of that which was found in the temple (as the other two particulars were), and laid up there, as the authentic and most sacred copy of it. And it cannot be imagined it should be carried otherwise than in that repository in which it was laid, that is, in the ark, which was made for it under the second temple.

Position of the Ark in the first Temple.—But to return to the ark under the first temple, which was that I was describing. It was made of wood, excepting only the mercy-seat, but overlaid with gold all over both in the inside and the outside, and it had a ledge of gold, surrounding it on the top, in form of a crown, into which, as into a socket, the cover was let in. The place where it stood was the innermost and most sacred part of the temple, called the holy of holies, and sometimes the most holy place, which was ordained and made of purpose for its reception: the whole end and reason of that most sacred place being none other but to be a tabernacle for it. This place or room was of an exact cubic form, as being thirty feet square and thirty feet high. In the centre

of it the ark was placed upon a stone (say the rabbins), rising there three fingers' breadth above the floor, to be as it were a pedestal for it. On the two

sides of it stood two cherubims fifteen feet high, one on the one side, and the other on the other side, at equal distance between the centre of the ark and each side wall; where, having their wings expanded, with two of them they touched the said side walls, and with the other two they did meet and touch each other exactly over the middle of the ark; so that the ark stood exactly in the middle between these two cherubims. But it is not in respect of these, that God is so often said in Scripture to dwell between the cherubims, but in respect of the cherubims only which were on the mercy-seat, as hath been observed. For most of those places of Scripture, wherein this phrase is found, were written before Solomon's temple was built; and till then there were no such cherubims in the most holy place; for they were put there in the temple only, and not in the tabernacle. These cherubims stood not with their faces outward, as they are commonly represented, but with their faces inward; and therefore were in the posture of figures worshipping, and not in the posture of figures to be worshipped, as some fautors of idolatry do assert. The ark, while it was ambulatory with the tabernacle, was carried by staves on the shoulders of the Levites.

Ancient mode of carrying the Ark.—These staves were overlaid with gold, and put through golden rings made for them, not on the sides of the ark, as all hitherto have asserted, but on the two ends of it; which plainly appears from this, that when it was carried into the temple of Solomon, and fixed there in the most holy place, which was ordained and prepared of purpose for it, the Scriptures tell us, that the staves being drawn out reached downward towards the holy place, which was without the most holy place, or holy of holies. For had they been on the sides of the ark lengthway, they would, on their being drawn out, have reached towards the side wall, and not downward, unless you suppose the ark to have been there put sideway, with one of its ends downward, and the other upward, which no one will say. And it is a plain argument against it, that the high priest, when he appeared before the ark on the great day of expiation, is said to have gone up to it between the staves; but if these staves had been drawn out from the sides, there would then have been but two feet three inches between them, which would not have afforded the high priest room enough, with all his vestments on, to have passed up between them towards the ark, for the performance of that duty. Neither could the bearers, in so near a position of

the staves to each other, go with any convenience in the carrying of the ark from place to place on their shoulders, but they must necessarily have incommoded each other, both before and behind, in going so near together.

Question of what became of the old Ark.—What became of the old ark, on the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar, is a dispute among the rabbins. Had it been carried to Babylon with the other

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vessels of the temple, it would again have been brought back with them at the end of the captivity. But that it was not so is agreed on all hands, and therefore it must follow, that it was destroyed with the temple, as were also the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, and the golden candlestick; for all these in the second temple were made anew after the rebuilding of it. However, the Jews contend that it was hid and preserved by Jeremiah, say some, out of the Second Book of Maccabees. But most of them will have it that king Josiah, being foretold by Huldah the prophetess that the temple would speedily after his death be destroyed, caused the ark to be put in a vault underground, which Solomon, foreseeing this destruction, had caused of purpose to be built for the preserving of it. And for the proof hereof, they produce the text where Josiah commands the Levites to put the holy ark in the house "which Solomon the son of David king of Israel did build;" interpreting it of his putting the ark into the said vault, where they say it hath lain hid ever since even to this day, and from thence shall be manifested, and brought out again, in the days of the Messiah; whereas the words import no more, than that Manasseh, or Ammon, having removed the ark from whence it ought to have stood, Josiah commanded it again to be restored into its proper place. Other dotages of the rabbins concerning this ark I forbear troubling the reader with.

2ndly, **The Shekinah.—**The second thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the **Shekinah**, or the Divine presence, manifested by a visible cloud resting over the mercy-seat, as hath been already shown. This cloud did there first appear when Moses consecrated the tabernacle, and was afterwards, on the consecrating of the temple by Solomon, translated thither. And there it did continue in the same visible

manner till that temple was destroyed; but after that it never appeared more. Its constant place was directly over the mercy-seat; but it rested there only when the ark was in its proper place, in the tabernacle first, and afterwards in the temple, and not while it was in movement from place to place, as it often was during the time of the tabernacle.

3rdly, **The Urim and Thummim.—**The third thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the **Urim** and **Thummim**. Concerning this, many have written very much; but by offering their various opinions have helped rather to perplex than explain the matter. The points to be inquired into concerning it, are these two, first, What it was? and, secondly, What was the use of it?

Description of the Urim and Thummim.—First, as to what it was, the Scripture hath nowhere explained it any further than to say, that it was something which Moses did put into the breast-plate of the high priest. This breast-plate was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were set in sockets of gold twelve precious stones, bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel engraven on them; which being fixed to the ephod, or upper vestment of the high priest's robes, was worn by him on his breast on all solemn occasions. On this breast-plate the Urim and Thummim, say the Scriptures, were put.

They who hold them to have been some corporeal things there placed beside the stones, will have them to be enclosed within the folding or doubling of the breast-plate, which, they say, was doubled for this very purpose, that it might be made fit, as in a purse, to contain them in it. Christophorus a Castro, and from him Dr. Spencer, tell us, that they were two images, which being thus shut up in the doubling of the breast-plate, did from thence give the oracular answer by a voice. But this is a conceit which a late very learned man hath sufficiently shown to be both absurd and impious, as savouring more of heathenism and idolatry, than of the pure institution of a divine law. Some will have them to be the *Tetragrammaton*, or the ineffable name of God, which being written or engraven, say they, in a mysterious manner, and done in two parts, and in two different ways,

were the things signified by the Urim and Thummim, which Moses is said to have put into the breast-plate; and that these did give the oracular power to it. And many of the rabbins go this way; for they have all of them a great opinion of the miraculous power of this name: and therefore, not being able to gainsay the evidence which there is for the miracles of Jesus Christ, their usual answer is, that he stole this name out of the temple, from the stone of foundation on which it was there written (that is, the stone on which the ark formerly stood), and keeping it hid always about him, by virtue of that did all his wondrous works. Others, who hold in general for the addition of some things corporeal denoted by the names of Urim and Thummim, think not fit to inquire what they were as to the particular, but are of opinion that they were things of a mysterious nature, hid and closed up in the doubling of the breast-plate, which Moses only knew of, who did put them there, and no one else was to pry into; and that these were the things that gave the oracular power to the high priest, when he had the breast-plate on. But this looking too much like a telesme, or a spell, which were of those abominations that God abhorred, it will be safest to hold that the words **Urim** and **Thummim** meant no such things, but only the divine virtue and power, given to the breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an oraculous answer from God, whenever counsel was asked of him by the high priest with it on, in such manner as his word did direct; and that the names of Urim and Thummim were given hereto only to denote the clearness and perfection which these oracular answers always carried with them; for *Urim* signifieth light, and *Thummim*, perfection: for these answers were not, like the heathen oracles, enigmatical and ambiguous, but always clear and manifest; not such as did ever fall short of perfection, either of fulness in the answer, or certainty in the truth of it. And hence it is that the Septuagint translate Urim and Thummim by the words *Δήλωσιν καὶ Ἀλήθειαν*, i. e. manifestation and truth, because all these oracular answers given by Urim and Thummim

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were always clear and manifest, and their truth ever certain and infallible.

Manner of consulting God by Urim and Thummim in the Tabernacle.—Secondly, As to the use which was made of the Urim and

Thummim, it was to ask counsel of God in difficult and momentous cases relating to the whole state of Israel. In order whereto the high priest did put on his robes, and over them his breast-plate, in which the Urim and Thummim were, and then presented himself before God to ask counsel of him. But he was not to do this for any private man, but only for the king, for the president of the Sanhedrim, for the general of the army, or for some other great prince or public governor in Israel, and not for any private affairs, but for such only as related to the public interest of the nation, either in church or state. For he appeared before God with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel upon his breast-plate; and, therefore, whatever counsel he asked was in the name and on the behalf of all the tribes, and consequently it must have been concerning matters which related publicly to them all. The place where he presented himself before God was before the ark of the covenant, not within the veil of the holy of holies (for thither he never entered but once a year, on the great day of expiation), but without the veil in the holy place: and there standing with his robes and breast-plate on, and his face turned directly towards the ark and the mercy-seat over it, on which the divine presence rested, he proposed the matter concerning which counsel of God was asked, and directly behind him at some distance without the holy place, perchance at the door (for further no layman could approach), stood the person in whose behalf the counsel was asked, whether it were the king, or any other public officer of the nation, and there with all humility and devotion expected the answer that should be given. But how this answer was given is that which is made the great dispute. The most common received opinion among the Jews is, that it was by the shining and protuberating of the letters in the names of the twelve tribes graven on the twelve stones in the breast-plate of the high priest, and that in them he did read the answer. They explain it by the example which we have in the first chapter of the book of Judges. There the children of Israel, either by the president of the Sanhedrim, or some other officer intrusted with the public interest, did ask counsel of God: "Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first, to fight against them?" The answer given by the high priest, who did by Urim and Thummim then ask counsel of God for them, was, "Judah shall go up:" for having asked the counsel, he did immediately (say they) look into the breast-plate, and saw there these letters shining

above the rest, and protuberating beyond them, which being combined into words, made up the answer which was given. And this notion was very

ancient among them; for both Josephus and Philo Judæus have it, and from them several of the ancient Fathers of the Christian church give the same account of this matter. But there are unanswerable objections against it; for, 1st, All the letters of the Hebrew alphabet are not to be found in these twelve names; four of them, that is, *Cheth*, *Teth*, *Zaddi*, and *Koph*, being wholly wanting in them; and, therefore, an answer could not be given this way to everything concerning which counsel might have been asked of God. To solve this, they have added the names of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to the breast-plate. But still the letter *Teth* will be wanting; and, therefore, further to botch up the matter, they have added also these words, *Col elleh shilte Israel*, i. e. All these are the tribes of Israel. But this is not only without any foundation in Scripture, but rather contrary to it; for the description of the breast-plate in Scripture being very particular, in the reckoning up of all its parts, seems plainly to exclude whatever is not there named. 2ndly, The assertors of this opinion do not tell us where the words which they would have added were placed in the breast-plate. They could not be written or engraven on the breast-plate itself; for that was only a piece of cloth. They must therefore be engraven either on some of the twelve stones, or else on others set there on purpose for it. They could not be on any of the twelve stones, because on them were only engraven the names of the twelve tribes of Israel; and they could not be on other stones, because there were none other set there, but these twelve stones only. And in these two particulars the Scriptures are sufficiently positive, to exclude all such additions. 3rdly, They that hold this opinion are forced to have recourse to the spirit of prophecy in the high priest, for the right combining of those shining and protuberating letters that were to make up the words of which the answer did consist; which is a difficulty of itself alone sufficient to explode this conceit. 4thly, There were some answers given of that length (as particularly that in the 2nd Samuel, ch. v. ver. 23, 24), that all the letters in the breast-plate, taking in all those also which the assertors of this opinion have added, will not suffice for them. It would be too tedious to add

all else that might be said to show the absurdity of this opinion. Dr. Spencer deservedly saith of it, that it is a Talmudical camel, which no one that is in his wits can ever swallow.

Answer given by an audible voice from the Mercy-seat.—There are also other opinions offered by others concerning this matter. But to me it appears plain from Scripture, that when the high priest appeared before the veil to ask counsel of God, the answer was given him by an audible voice from the mercy-seat, which was within, behind the veil. There it was that Moses went to ask counsel of God in all cases, and from thence he was answered by an audible voice; for from thence God communed with him of all those things which he gave him in commandment unto the children of Israel. And in the same way did God afterwards communicate his will to the governors of Israel, as often as he was consulted by them, only with this difference, that whereas Moses,

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through the extraordinary favour that was granted unto him, had immediate access to the divine presence, and God did there commune with him, and speak to him, as it were face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend, none other was admitted thither to ask counsel of him, but through the mediation of the high priest, who in his stead asked counsel for him by Urim and Thummim, that is, by presenting himself with the breast-plate on, over all his other robes, before the veil, exactly over against the mercy-seat, where the divine presence rested. And when he thus presented himself in due manner, according to the prescription of the divine law, God gave him an answer in the same manner as he did unto Moses, that is, by an audible voice from the mercy-seat. For in many instances which we have in Scripture of God's being consulted this way, the answer in every one of them, except two, is ushered in with, *The Lord said*: and when the Israelites made peace with the Gibeonites, they are blamed in that they *asked not counsel at the mouth of God*: both which phrases seem plainly to express a vocal answer; and, taking them both together, I think they can scarce import anything else. And for this reason it is, that the holy of holies, the place where the ark and the mercy-seat stood, from whence this answer was

given, is so often in Scripture called "the oracle," because from thence the divine oracles of God were uttered forth to those that asked counsel of him.

Manner of consulting Urim and Thummim in the camp.—This, I take it to be plain, was the manner of consulting God by Urim and Thummim in the tabernacle; but how it was done in the camp raiseth another question. For it appeareth by Scripture, that either the high priest, or another deputed in his stead, always went with the armies of Israel to the wars, and carried with him the ephod and breast-plate, therewith to ask counsel of God by Urim and Thummim in all difficult emergencies that might happen. Thus Phineas went to the wars against the Midianites "with the holy instruments," that is, say the Jewish commentators, with the ephod and the breast-plate, which were, say they, put into an ark or coffer made on purpose for it, and carried by Levites on their shoulders, as the other ark was. And of this ark they understand that place of Scripture, where Saul saith to Ahiah the high priest, "Bring hither the ark of God;" for this could not be the ark of the covenant; for that was then at Kirjath-Jearim, and never ought to have been removed from its place in the tabernacle to be carried to the wars, or anywhere else from its proper station, and never was so but once against the Philistines; and then God gave the armies of Israel, and also the ark itself, into the hands of the enemy, for the punishment hereof. It must therefore have been no other ark which Saul called to Ahiah for, than that ark or coffer in which the

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ephod and breast-plate were carried; and the end for which he called for it shows the thing; for it was to ask counsel of God, for which the ephod and breast-plate served. So that the saying of Saul to Ahiah, "Bring hither the ark," importeth no more than the saying of David afterwards to Abiathar in the like case, "Bring hither the ephod." For this ark was the coffer in which the ephod was kept, and with which Abiathar fled to David when Saul destroyed his father's house. And of the same ark they understand the saying of Uriah the Hittite unto David, when he excused his not going to his house, and lying with his wife. "The ark, and Israel, and Judah, abide in tents; and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord, are encamped in the open fields; shall I then go into mine house, to eat, and to drink, and to lie with my

wife?" For if this be understood of the ark of the covenant, and the tent or tabernacle in which it was kept, what he said would have been a reason for him never to have lain with his wife; for that was always kept in such a tent or tabernacle till the temple of Solomon was built. It is most likely, therefore, that the ark which he speaks of was the ark or coffer in which the ephod and breast-plate were put, which the priest carried with him who was sent to the war. The priest that was sent on this occasion, that he might be fully qualified to act in the high priest's stead, whenever there should be occasion for him to ask counsel of God by Urim and Thummim, was consecrated to the office by the holy anointing oil, in the same manner as the high priest was; and therefore he was called **The anointed for the wars**. But how he had the answer is the difficulty: for there was no mercy-seat in the camp to appear before, or from whence to receive the oracle, as there was in the tabernacle. And yet that such oracles were given in the camp is certain, from several instances which we have of it in Scripture: for David did, by the ephod and breast-plate only, ask counsel of God three several times, in the case of Keilah, and twice at Ziglag, once on the pursuit of those who had burned that city, and again on his going from thence for Hebron, there to take possession of the kingdom of Judah on the death of Saul; and on every one of these times he had an answer given him, though it is certain the ark of the covenant was not then present with him. It is most likely, since God allowed that counsel should be thus asked of him in the camp without the ark, as well as in the tabernacle where the ark was, that the answer was given in the same manner by an audible voice. It seems most probable, that "the priest anointed for the wars" had a tent in the camp, on purpose there erected for this use, in which a part was separated by a veil, in the same manner as the holy of holies was in the tabernacle; and that, when he asked counsel of God in the camp, he appeared there before that veil in the same manner as the high priest, on the like occasion, did before that in the tabernacle, and that the answer was given from behind it, though no ark or mercy-seat was there. And the words of Uriah above recited plainly refer us to such a tent. And it cannot be agreeable to a religion of so much ceremony and solemnity, to suppose them to be without it for so sacred an office.

Question of whether the Urim and Thummim had absolutely ceased in the second Temple.—Although this way of asking counsel of God was frequently used during the tabernacle, and no doubt continued afterward till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, yet we have no instance of it in Scripture during the whole time of the first temple; and it is most certain that it was wholly wanting in the second temple; for both Ezra and Nehemiah tell us as much. And hence is that saying among the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by Urim and Thummim, and under the first temple by the prophets, and under the second by *Bath-kol*. They who would have the Urim and Thummim absolutely to have ceased under the first temple give two reasons for it: 1st, That it was an appendant of the theocracy: for as long as God was the immediate governor of Israel, it was necessary, say they, that a method should be established, whereby he might at all times be applied to and consulted with by his people and for this reason, they tell us, the oracle by Urim and Thummim was appointed. But when the theocracy ceased (which, they say, it did when Solomon, the first hereditary king, sat upon the throne), this oracle ceased with it. And 2ndly, they say, that the Urim and Thummim was established to ask counsel only about that which belonged to the common interest of all Israel; and therefore, whenever the high priest asked counsel of God this way, it was with the names of all the tribes of Israel upon his breast, to denote that what was asked was for the common interest of all of them. But that common interest ceasing upon the division of the kingdom, this way of asking counsel of God must, in the nature of the thing, have then ceased also, as being no longer practicable. But how far these arguments may conclude, is left to every one to consider.

4thly, **The holy Fire upon the Altar.**—The fourth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the holy fire, which came down from heaven upon the altar. It descended first upon the altar in the tabernacle, at the consecrating of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood; and afterwards it descended anew upon the altar in the temple of Solomon; at the consecrating of that temple. And there it was constantly fed and maintained by the priests day and night, without suffering it ever to go out, in the same manner as it had been before in the tabernacle, and with this all

the offerings were offered that were made by fire. And for using other fire were Nadab and Abihu consumed by fire from the Lord. This, say some of the Jewish writers, was extinguished in the days of Manasseh. But the more general opinion among them is, that it continued till the destruction of the temple by the Chaldeans. After that it was never more restored; but instead of it they had only common fire in the second temple. For what is said of its being hid in a pit by Jeremiah, and again brought thence, and revived upon the altar in the second temple, is a fable that deserves no regard.

5thly, **The Spirit of Prophecy.**—The fifth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the spirit of prophecy. But this was not wholly wanting there for the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi lived after the second temple was built, and prophesied under it. But on their death, which (say the rabbins) happened all in one year, the prophetic spirit wholly ceased from among them.

The holy anointing Oil likewise wanting.—Besides these five things, there was wanting also a sixth, that is, the holy anointing oil, which was made by Moses for the anointing and consecrating of the king, the high priest, and all the sacred vessels made use of in the house of God. And for this use it was commanded to be kept by the children of Israel throughout their generations. And therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the most holy place. And as the original copy of the law was placed there on the right side of the ark of the covenant, so perchance the vessel containing this oil was placed on the other side of it, and there kept till the first temple being destroyed that also was destroyed with it. Every king was not anointed, but only the first of the family: for he being anointed for himself and all the successors of his race, they needed no other anointing; only if there arose any difficulty or dispute about the succession, then he that obtained it, though of the same family, was anointed anew to put an end to the controversy, and after that no one was to question the title; and this was the case of Solomon, Joash, and Jehoahaz. But every high priest was anointed at his consecration, or first admission to the office, and so also was the priest that went in his stead to the wars. The vessels and utensils that were anointed were the ark of the covenant, the altar of incense, the shew-bread

table, the golden candlestick, the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and all other the vessels and utensils belonging to them. And as by this anointing they were first consecrated at the erecting of the tabernacle by Moses, so in case any of them were afterwards decayed, destroyed, or lost, they could, as long as this anointing oil remained, be again restored, by making and consecrating new ones in their place, of the same virtue and holiness with the former. But this being wanting in the second temple, the want hereof caused a want of sanctity in all things else belonging to it: for although, on the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity, and the rebuilding of their temple, they did anew make an ark, an altar of incense, a shew-bread table, a golden candlestick, an altar of burnt-offerings, and a laver, with the other vessels and utensils belonging to them, and did put them all in their former places, and applied them to their former uses, yet through want of the holy anointing oil to consecrate them, these all wanted that holiness under the second temple which they had under the first; and their high priest, who officiated in that temple, was no otherwise consecrated than by the putting on of his vestments. So that the want of this one thing only in the second temple caused a great want and defect in all things else that were therein; everything in it falling short of its former holiness by reason hereof. And therefore this anointing oil might well, under

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the second temple, have been reckoned among the principal things that were wanting in it.

Superstition of the Jews respecting the five particulars wanting.—But the Jews superstitiously confine themselves to the number of five particulars in this reckoning. For in the eighth verse of the first chapter of Haggai, where God saith of the second temple, "I will take pleasure in it, and will be glorified," the Hebrew word *Aicabedha*, i. e. I will be glorified, being written without the letter *He* at the end of it, which it ought to have been written with, they make a mystery of it, as if this letter (which is the numerical letter for five) were there left out for this purpose, that the want of it might denote the five things of the first temple that were wanting in the second, and therefore will not add a sixth. But, however, there are some among them, who, to make room for it, contract the Shekinah and the "spirit

of prophecy" under one and the same head, and instead of them two (which are two of the particulars above mentioned) put the Holy Spirit, as reckoning them no other than different manifestations of the same Holy Spirit of God, the one in a place, and the other in a person, and thereby, without altering the number of five in the reckoning up of these defects, have given the holy anointing oil a place among them, and therefore name them as followeth. 1. The ark of the covenant, with the mercy-seat; 2. The holy fire; 3. The Urim and Thummim; 4. The holy anointing oil; and, 5. The Holy Spirit. And these, as well as many other particulars of the glory of the first temple, being wanting in the second, there was reason enough for those to weep at the rebuilding of the second temple who remembered the first. But all these wants and defects were abundantly repaired in the second temple, when the desire of all nations, the Lord, whom they sought, came to this his temple, and Christ our Saviour, who was the truest *Shekinah* of the Divine Majesty, honoured it with his presence; and in this respect the glory of the latter house did far exceed the glory of the former house. And herein the prophecies of the prophet Haggai, which foretold it should be so, had a very full and thorough completion.

Samaritans refused any participation in the rebuilding of the Temple, 534.—The Samaritans, hearing that the Jews had begun to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem, came thither, and expressing a great desire of being admitted to worship God at the same temple in joint communion with them, offered to join with them in the building of it; telling them, that ever since the days of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, they had worshipped the same God that they did. But Zerubbabel, and Jeshua, and the rest of the elders of Israel, made answer to them that they, not being of the seed of Israel, had nothing to do to build a temple to their God with them; that Cyrus's commission being only to those of the house of Israel, they would keep themselves exactly to that, and according to the tenor of it build the house to the Lord their God themselves, without admitting any other with them into the work. The reason of this answer was, they saw they intended not sincerely what they said, but came with an insidious design to get an opportunity, by being admitted among them, of doing them mischief.

And besides, they were not truly of their religion; for although from the time that they had been infested with lions in the days of Esarhaddon, they had worshipped the God of Israel, yet it was only in conjunction with their other gods, whom they worshipped before, and therefore, notwithstanding their worship of the true God, since they worshipped false gods too at the time, they were in this respect idolaters.

Samaritans retard the execution of the work.—And this was reason enough for the true worshippers of God to have no communion with them; at which the Samaritans being much incensed, they did all they could to hinder the work; and although they could not alter Cyrus's decree, yet they prevailed by bribes and underhand dealings with his ministers and other officers concerned herein, to put obstructions to the execution of it, so that for several years the building went but very slowly on, which the Jews resenting according as it deserved, this became the beginning of that bitter rancour which hath ever since been between them and the Samaritans: which, being improved by other causes, grew at length to that height, that nothing became more odious to a Jew than a Samaritan, of which we have several instances in the Gospels, and so it still continues. For even to this day, a *Cuthean* (that is, a Samaritan) in their language, is the most odious name among them, and that which in the height of their anger, by way of infamy and reproach, they bestow on those they most hate and abominate. And by this they commonly call us Christians, when they would express the bitterest of their hatred against us.

Death of Daniel.—By these underhand and subdolous dealings, the work of the temple being much retarded, and Cyrus's decree in many particulars defeated of its effect, this seems to have been the cause, that in the third year of Cyrus, in the first month of that year, Daniel did give himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. After this, on the twenty-fourth day of that month, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the kings of Persia, the empire of the Macedonians, and the conquests of the Romans, of which the three last chapters of his prophecies contain an account. And by what is written in the conclusion of the last of them, he seems to have died soon after; and his great age makes it not likely that he could have survived much longer. For the third of Cyrus being the seventy-third year of his captivity, if he were eighteen years old at his

carrying to Babylon (as I have shown before is the least that can be supposed), he must have been in the ninety-first year of his age at this time: which was a length of years given to few in those days.

His Prophecies rejected by the Jews.—Daniel was a very extraordinary person, both in wisdom and piety, and was favoured of God, and honoured of men, beyond any that had lived in his time. His prophecies concerning the coming of the Messiah, and other great events of after-times, are the clearest and the fullest of all that we have in the Holy Scriptures, insomuch that Porphyry, in his objections against them, saith, they must have been written after the facts were done: for it seems they rather appeared to him to be a narration of matters afore transacted, than a prediction of things to come; so great an agreement was there between the facts when accomplished,

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and the prophecies which were foretold them. But notwithstanding all this, the Jews do not reckon him to be a prophet; and therefore place his prophecies only among the *Hagiographa*. And they serve the Psalms of David after the same rate. The reason which they give for it in respect of both is, that they lived not the prophetic manner of life, but the courtly; David in his own palace as king of Israel, and Daniel in the palace of the king of Babylon, as one of his chief counsellors and ministers in the government of that empire. And in respect of Daniel they further add, that although he had divine revelations delivered unto him, yet it was not in the prophetic way, but by dreams and visions of the night, which they reckon to be the most imperfect manner of revelation, and below the prophetic. But Josephus, who was one of the ancientest writers of that nation, reckons him among the greatest of the prophets; and says further of him, that he had familiar converse with God, and did not only foretell future events as other prophets did, but also determined the time when they should come to pass; and that whereas other prophets only foretold evil things, and thereby drew on them the ill-will both of princes and people, Daniel was a prophet of good things to come, and by the good report which his predictions carried with them on this account, reconciled to himself the good-will of all men. And the event of such of them as were accomplished procured to the rest a

thorough belief of their truth, and a general opinion that they came from God. But what makes most for this point with us, against all that contradict it, our Saviour Christ acknowledgeth Daniel to be a prophet: for he so styles him in the Gospel; and this is a sufficient decision of this matter.

His wisdom, not only in things divine and political, but in arts and sciences.—But Daniel's wisdom reached not only to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. And Josephus tells us of a famous edifice built by him at Susa in the manner of a castle (which he saith was remaining to his time), and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been newly built. Within this edifice, he saith, was the place where the Persian and Parthian kings used to be buried; and that, for the sake of the founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the Jewish nation even to his time. The copies of Josephus that are now extant do indeed place this building in Ecbatana in Media; but St. Jerome, who gives us the same account of it word for word out of Josephus, and professeth so to do, placeth it in Susa in Persia; which makes it plain that the copy of Josephus which he made use of had it so, and it is most likely to have been the true reading; for Susa being within the Babylonish empire, the Scripture tells us that Daniel had sometimes his residence there; and the common tradition of those parts hath been for many ages past, that Daniel died in that city, which is now called Tuster, and there they show his monument even to this day. And it is to be observed that

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Josephus calls this building *Baris*, which is the same name by which Daniel himself calls the castle or palace at Shushan or Susa. For what we translate, "at Shushan in the palace," is in the original, *Beshushan Habirah*, where, no doubt, the *Birah* of Daniel is the same with the *Baris* of Josephus: and both signify this palace or castle there built by Daniel, while he was governor of that province. For "there he did the king's business," i. e. was governor for the king of Babylon.

History of the Book of Daniel.—Part of the book of Daniel was originally written in the Chaldee language, that is, from the fourth verse of

the second chapter to the end of the seventh chapter; for there the holy prophet treating of Babylonish affairs, he wrote of them in the Chaldee or Babylonish language. All the rest is in Hebrew. The Greek translation of this book, used by the Greek churches through all the Eastern countries, was that which was translated by Theodotion. In the Vulgar Latin edition of the Bible, there is added in the third chapter, after the twenty-third verse, between that and the twenty-fourth verse, the Song of the Three Children; and at the end of the book, the History of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon; and the former is made the thirteenth and the other the fourteenth chapter of the book in that edition. But these additions were never received into the canon of holy writ by the Jewish church, neither are they extant either in the Hebrew or the Chaldee language, nor is there any evidence that they ever were so. That there are Hebraisms in them can prove no more than that they were written by an Hebrew in the Greek tongue, who transferred the idioms of his own tongue into that which he wrote in, as is usual in this case. And that they were thus originally written in the Greek tongue by some Hellenistical Jew, without having any higher fountain from whence they are derived, appears from this, that in the History of Susanna, Daniel, in his replies to the elders, alludes to the Greek names of the trees, under which they said the adultery, which they charged Susanna with, was committed; which allusions cannot hold good in any other language. However, the church of Rome allows them to be of the same authority with the rest of the book of Daniel, and by their decree at Trent have given them an equal place with it among the canonical Scriptures. But the ancients never did so. Africanus, Eusebius, and Apollinarius have rejected those pieces, not only as being uncanonical, but also as fabulous; and Jerome gives the History of Bel and the Dragon no better title than that of the fables of Bel and the Dragon. And others, who have been content to admit them for instruction of manners, have yet rejected them from being parts of the canonical Scripture; whom the Protestant churches following herein, do give them a place in their Bibles among the apocryphal writings, but allow them not to be canonical.

Jews assisted in the rebuilding of the Temple by the Phoenicians of Tyre and Zidon.—In the death of Daniel the Jews having lost a powerful advocate in the Persian court, this gave their enemies the greater advantage of succeeding in their designs against them. But although they prevailed by underhand dealings to divert those encouragements which Cyrus had ordered for the carrying on of the work, yet they could not put an open stop to it. So that as far as the Jews of themselves were able, they still carried on the work, in which they were much helped by the Tyrians and Zidonians, not only in furnishing them with masons, and other workmen and artificers, but chiefly in bringing the cedars, which Cyrus had given them, out of the forest of Mount Libanus, from thence to Joppa by sea; from which place they were carried by land to Jerusalem. For the Tyrians and Zidonians, being wholly given to traffic and navigation, did very little addict themselves to the planting of oliveyards or vineyards, or the tillage of the ground, neither had they indeed any territory for either: for their gain being very great by sea, they did not set themselves to make any enlargements by land, but were in a manner pent up within the narrow precincts of the cities in which they dwelt; and therefore having very little of corn, wine, or oil of their own, they depended mostly on their neighbours for these provisions; from whom they had them, either for their money, or by way of barter and exchange for other commodities, which they supplied them with, and they were mostly furnished this way out of the Jews' country, and therefore they readily assisted them with their labour and shipping, to be supplied with these necessaries in exchange for it. So that as it was by their help that Solomon built the first temple, so also was it by their help that the Jews were enabled to build the second.

Death of Cyrus, 530.—In the seventh year after the restoration of the Jews died Cyrus, their great benefactor, after he had reigned, from his first taking on him the command of the Persian and Median armies, thirty years; from his taking of Babylon, nine years; and from his being sole monarch of the East, after the death of Cyaxares, or Darius the Median, his uncle, seven years, being at the time of his death seventy years old. There are different accounts of the manner of his death. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and Justin, tell us, that having invaded the Scythians, he was there cut off with all his army, consisting of two hundred thousand men. But Xenophon

makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends and in his own country: and this is by much the more probable account of the two; for it is by no means likely that so wise a man as Cyrus was, and so advanced in years as he then was, should engage in so rash an undertaking, as that Scythian expedition is described to be by those who tell us of it. Neither can it be conceived, how, after such a blow, his new-erected empire could have been upheld, especially in the hands of such a successor as Cambyses was, or how it could be possible that he should so soon after be in a condition to wage such a war as he did with the Egyptians, and make such an absolute conquest of that country as he did. That such a wild-headed man could settle himself so easily in his

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father's new-erected empire, and hold it in such quiet at home, and, so soon after his coming to it, enlarge it with such conquests abroad, could certainly be owing to nothing else but that it was founded in the highest wisdom, and left to him in the highest tranquillity. Besides, all authors agree that Cyrus was buried at Pasargada in Persia; in which country, Xenophon saith, he died, and his monument there continued to the time of Alexander. But if he had been slain in Scythia, and his body there mangled by way of indignity to it, in such a manner as Herodotus and Justin do relate, how can we suppose it could ever have been brought thence out of the hands of those enraged barbarians to be buried at Pasargada?

II. REIGN OF CAMBYSES, THE AHASUERUS OF EZRA, B. C. 529—522. —

High priests of Judah—Jeshua, 536.

Kings of Egypt—Amasis, 569,

Psammenitus, 526.

Cambyses discourages the rebuilding of the Temple, 529.—This Cambyses, who succeeded his father Cyrus, is in Scripture called **Ahasuerus**. As soon as he was settled in the throne, the enemies of the Jews, knowing him to be of a temper fit to be worked upon for the doing of mischief, instead of opposing the Jews in their building of the temple by secret machinations, and underhand dealings with the ministers of the court, and other subordinate officers, as they had hitherto done, they now openly addressed to the king himself to put a stop to the work. But it seems he had so much respect for the memory of his father, that he could not be induced publicly to revoke his decree. However he otherwise defeated in a great measure the design of it, by several discouragements which he put upon it, so that the work went but heavily on all his reign.

Preparations for a war against Egypt, 528.—Cambyses had not long been king, ere he resolved upon a war with the Egyptians, by reason of some offence taken against Amasis their king. Herodotus tells us it was because Amasis, when he desired of him one of his daughters to wife, sent him a daughter of Apries instead of one of his own. But this could not be true, because Apries having been dead above forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough at that time to be acceptable to Cambyses. They speak with more probability who say that it was Cyrus, and not Cambyses, to whom this daughter of Apries was sent. Her name, they say, was Nitetis; and for some time she concealed her true parentage, and was content to go for the daughter of Amasis. But at length, having had several children by Cyrus, and fully secured herself in his favour and affection, she discovered to him the whole truth of the matter, and excited him all she could to revenge upon Amasis her father's wrong; which he intended to have done, as soon as his other affairs would have permitted; but dying before he could execute his intentions, Cambyses (who they say was her son) undertook the quarrel on her account, and made this war upon Egypt for no other reason than to revenge upon Amasis the case of Apries. But it is most likely, that whereas Amasis had subjected himself

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to Cyrus, and become his tributary, he did on his death withdraw his obedience from his successor, and that this was the true cause of the war;

for the carrying on whereof Cambyses made great preparations both by sea and land. For the sea-service, he engaged the Cypriots and the Phoenicians to help him with their fleets; and for the war by land, besides his other forces, he had a great number of Greeks, Ionians, and Aeolians in his army, who were the main strength of it. But the greatest help he had in this war was from Phanes, a Halicarnassean, who being a commander of some of the Grecian auxiliaries that were in the service of Amasis, on some disgust given him, revolted to Cambyses, and made those discoveries to him of the nature of the country, the strength of the enemy, and the then state of their affairs, as chiefly conduced to the making of that expedition successful. And it was by his advice that Cambyses contracted with the Arabian king, that lay next the borders of Palestine and Egypt, to supply him with water, while he passed the deserts that lay between these two countries; where accordingly it was brought him on camels' backs, without which he could never have marched his army that way.

Invasion and conquest of Egypt, 526.—Being therefore thus prepared, Cambyses invaded Egypt in the fourth year of his reign [B. C. 526]. On his arrival on the borders he found Amasis was newly dead, and that Psammenitus his son, being made king in his stead, was drawing together a great army to oppose him. To make his passage open into the country, it was necessary for him to take Pelusium, which was as the key of Egypt on that side. But that being a strong place, it was like to give him much trouble: for the preventing hereof, by the counsel, it is supposed, of Phanes, he had recourse to this stratagem. Finding that the garrison were all Egyptians, in an assault which he made upon the city, he placed a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other of those animals, which the Egyptians reckoned sacred, in the front of the army; and therefore the soldiers, not daring to throw a dart or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of killing some of those animals, Cambyses made himself master of the place, without any opposition: for these being the gods which the Egyptians then adored, it was reckoned the highest impiety to kill any of them, and when they died of themselves, they buried them with the greatest solemnity. By the time that Cambyses had taken this place, Psammenitus came up with his army to oppose his further progress, whereon ensued a bloody battle between them. At the beginning of it, the Greeks that were in Psammenitus's army, to be

revenged on Phanes for his revolt to the enemy, brought forth his children (whom he was forced to leave behind him on his flight), and slew them in the front of the battle in the sight of both armies, and drank their blood. But this served them not in any stead for the victory: for the Persians, being exasperated by a spectacle of so horrid a nature, fell on with such fury and rage to revenge it, that they soon vanquished and overthrew the whole Egyptian army, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. The remainder fled to Memphis, where Cambyses pursuing them, on his arrival thither, sent into the city by the Nile, on which it stood, a ship of Mitylene, with a herald to summon them to

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a surrender; but the people, rising on him, in their rage slew the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But Cambyses, after a short siege, having taken the place, sufficiently revenged their death, causing ten Egyptians of the first rank to be publicly executed for every one of those that were thus slain; and the eldest son of Psammenitus was one of the number. As to Psammenitus himself, Cambyses was inclined to have dealt kindly with him for at first he gave him his life, and allowed him wherewith honourably to live; but he, not being contented herewith, endeavoured to raise new troubles for the recovery of his crown; whereon he was forced to drink bulls' blood, and so ended his life. His reign was only six months. For so much time only intervened from the death of his father to the taking of Memphis, when he fell into the hands of the enemy, and all his power ceased; for hereon all Egypt submitted to Cambyses. This happened in the fifth year of his reign [B. C. 525]; and he reigned three years after.

Libya, Cyrene, and Barca submit to Cambyses.—The Libyans, Cyrenians, and Barceans, hearing of this success, sent ambassadors with presents to make their submission to Cambyses. From Memphis Cambyses went to Sais, where the Egyptian kings, for several descents past, had kept their usual residence; and there, entering into the palace, caused the body of Amasis to be dug up out of his grave, and, after all manner of indignities had been offered thereto in his presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire and burned: which rage against the carcass showeth the anger which he had

against the man; and whatsoever it was that provoked it, this seems to be the cause that brought him into Egypt.

Cambyses projects three great expeditions: their failure, 524.—The next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he designed three expeditions; the first against the Carthaginians, the second against the Hammonians, and the third against the Ethiopians. But the Phoenicians refusing to assist him against the Carthaginians, who were descended from them (they being a colony of the Tyrians), and not being able to carry on that war without them, he was forced to drop this project. But his heart being intent upon the other two, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia, who under that name were to serve him as spies, to learn and bring him an account of the state and strength of the country. But the Ethiopians, being fully apprized of the end of their coming, treated them with great contempt. And the Ethiopian king, in return for the present they brought him from Cambyses, sent him back only his bow, advising him then to make war upon the Ethiopians, when the Persians could as easily draw that bow as they could; and in the mean time to thank the gods that they never inspired the Ethiopians with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the limits of their own country. With which answer Cambyses being exceedingly exasperated, immediately on the receipt of it, in a mad irrational humour, commanded his army forthwith to march (without considering that they were furnished neither with provisions nor any other necessaries for such an expedition), leaving only the Grecian auxiliaries behind to keep the country in awe during his absence. On his coming to Thebes, in the Upper Egypt, he detached from his army fifty thousand men to go against the Hammonians, with orders to destroy their

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country, and burn the temple of Jupiter Hammon, that stood in it. But after several days' march over the deserts, a strong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the south, at the time of their dinner, raised the sands to such a degree, and brought them in such a torrent upon them, that the whole army was overwhelmed thereby, and perished. In the interim, Cambyses madly marched on with the rest of the army against the Ethiopians, though he wanted all manner of provisions for their subsistence,

till at length, they having eaten up all their beasts of burden, they came to feed upon each other, setting out every tenth man by lot for this purpose. By this Cambyses being convinced that it was time for him to return, marched back his army to Thebes, after having lost a great part of it in this wild expedition, and from thence returned to Memphis.

Manifestation of Osiris in the bull Apis at Memphis.—When he came to Memphis, he dismissed all the Greeks to their respective homes; but on his entry into the city, finding it all in mirth and jollity, because their god Apis had then appeared among them, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this rejoicing to have been for the ill success of his affairs: and when he called the magistrates, and they gave him a true account of the matter, he would not believe them; but caused them to be put to death, as imposing a lie upon him. And then he sent for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that their god having manifested himself unto them (which seldom happened), it was always their custom to celebrate his appearance with the greatest demonstrations of joy that they could express. To this he replied, that if their god was so kind and familiar as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him; and therefore commanded them forthwith to bring him unto him. The chief god of the Egyptians was Osiris; him they worshipped in the shape of a bull, and that not only in imagery, but also in reality. For they kept a bull in the temple of Osiris, which they worshipped in his stead. At Heliopolis he was called Mnevis; at Memphis, Apis. The marks of Apis were these. His body was to be all black, excepting a square spot of white on his forehead. He was also to have the figure of an eagle, say some, of a half-moon, say others, on his back; a double list of hair on his tail, and a scarabæus or knot under his tongue. When they had found such an one, they brought him with great rejoicing to the temple of Osiris, and there kept him, and worshipped him for that god as long as he lived; and when he was dead, they buried him with

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great solemnity, and then sought for another with the same marks, which sometimes it was many years ere they could find; and such an one they having found, on Cambyses' return to Memphis from his Ethiopic expedition, this was the reason of their great rejoicing at that time. And in

imitation of this idolatry was it, that Aaron made the golden calf in the wilderness, and Jeroboam those in Dan and Bethel, and did set them up there to be worshipped by the children of Israel, as the gods that had brought them out of the land of Egypt.

Cambyses wounds Apis.—This Apis being brought to Cambyses, he fell into a rage, as well he might, at the sight of such a god, and drawing out his dagger, ran it into the thigh of the beast; and then reproaching the priests for their stupidity and wretchedness, in worshipping a brute for a god, ordered them severely to be whipped, and all the Egyptians in Memphis to be slain, that should be found any more rejoicing there on this occasion. The Apis, being carried back to the temple, there languished of his wound and died.

His madness.—The Egyptians say, that after this act (which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that was ever found among them) Cambyses was stricken with madness: but his actions showed him to have been mad long before; of which he continued to give divers instances. They tell us of these following:— He had a brother, the only son of Cyrus besides himself, and born of the same mother; his name, according to Xenophon, was Tanaoxares, but Herodotus calls him Smerdis, and Justin, Mergis. He accompanied Cambyses in his Egyptian expedition; but being the only person among all the Persians that could draw the bow which Cambyses' ambassadors brought him back from the Ethiopian king, Cambyses from hence contracted such an envy against him, that he could no longer bear him in the army, but sent him back into Persia. And not long after, dreaming that one came and told him that Smerdis sat on the throne, he thereon suspecting of his brother what was afterwards fulfilled by another of his name, sent after him, into Persia, Prexaspes, one of his chiefest confidants, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed. And when one of his sisters, who was with him in the camp, on the hearing of it, lamented his death, he gave her such a blow with his foot in the belly, that she died of it. She was the youngest of his sisters, and being a very beautiful woman, he fell violently in love with her, so that nothing could satisfy him but that he must have her to wife. Whereon he called together all the royal judges of the Persian nation, to whom the interpretation of their laws did belong, to know of them whether they had

any law that would allow it. They being unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and at the same time fearing his violent temper, should they contradict him herein, they gave him this crafty answer: That they had no law indeed that permitted a brother to marry his sister; but they had a law which allowed the king of Persia to do what he pleased. Which serving his purpose as well as a direct approbation of the thing, he solemnly married her and hereby gave the first example to that incest which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions; and her name being

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Meroe, he from her gave that name to the island in the Nile, between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the conquering of it, which in all our maps of the old geography it still bears (for so far he advanced in his wild march against the Ethiopians). And she being with child by him when he struck her, the blow caused an abortion, and of this she died. And so vile a marriage deserved no better an end. He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, without any cause deserving of it, and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. And when Croesus advised him against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences which they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, did therefore defer the execution, he caused them all to be executed for it, because they had not obeyed his commands; although, at the same time, he expressed great joy that Croesus was alive. And out of mere humour only, to show his skill in archery, he shot to death a son of Prexaspes, who was the chief of his favourites. And in such wild actions he wore out the seventh year of his reign.

Revolt of Smerdis the Magian, 522.—In the beginning of the eighth year Cambyses left Egypt, and returned towards Persia. On his coming into Syria, he there met with a herald, who, being sent from Shushan, came into the army, and there proclaimed Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, king; and commanded all men to obey him. The meaning of this was, Cambyses, when he departed from Shushan on the Egyptian expedition, placed there in

the supreme government of his affairs, during his absence, Patizithes, one of the chief of the Magians. This Patizithes had a brother, who did very much resemble Smerdis the son of Cyrus, and was (for that reason perchance) called by the same name. As soon as he had been fully informed of the death of that prince (which had been concealed from most others), and found that the extravagances of Cambyses were grown to a height no longer to be borne, he placed this brother of his on the throne, giving out that he was the true Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and forthwith sent out heralds into all parts of the empire to give notice hereof, and command obedience to be paid unto him. Cambyses, having seized him that came with this message to the army, on the examining of him, and on the examining of Prexaspes, whom he had sent to kill his brother, found that the true Smerdis was certainly dead, and that this was none other than Smerdis the Magian, who had invaded the throne; whereon much lamenting that he had been led, by the identity of the name, to murder his brother, he gave orders for his army forthwith to set forward to suppress the usurper.

Death of Cambyses.—As Cambyses mounted his horse for the march, his sword, falling out of the scabbard, gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died a few days after. The Egyptians, remarking that it was in the same part of the body where he had afore wounded the Apis, reckoned it as an especial judgment from Heaven upon him for that fact, and perchance they were not much out in it; for it seldom happened, in an affront given to any particular mode of worship, how erroneous soever it may be, but that religion is in general wounded

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hereby. There are many instances in history wherein God hath very signally punished the profanations of religion in the worst of times, and under the worst modes of heathen idolatry. While he was in Egypt, having consulted the oracle of Butus in that country, he was told that he should die at Ecbatana; which understanding of Ecbatana in Media, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither. But what he thought to avoid in Media, he found in Syria; for the town where he lay sick of this wound was of the same name, being also called Ecbatana; of which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must there die, he called for all the

chief of the Persians together, and acquainting them with the true state of the case, that his brother was certainly dead, and that it was Smerdis the Magian that then reigned, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to the cheat, and thereby permit the sovereignty to pass from the Persians again to the Medes, of which nation the Magian was; but to take care to set up a king over them of their own people. But the Persians, thinking all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it; but on his death quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true Smerdis. And it being the usage of the Eastern kings, in those times, to live retired in their palaces, and there transact all their affairs by the intercourse of their eunuchs, without admitting any else, unless those of their highest confidence, to have access to them, the Magian exactly observed this conduct; and therefore, being never seen in public, this made it the harder for them to discover the cheat.

III. REIGN OF SMERDIS THE MAGIAN, THE ARTAXERXES OF EZRA, B. C. 522. —

High priests of Judah—Jeshua, 536.

Samaritans obtain a decree prohibiting the Jews from proceeding with the rebuilding of the Temple, 522.—Cambyses reigned seven years and five months: the remaining seven months of the eighth year was the reign of the Magian. Herodotus calls him Smerdis (as hath been already said), Aeschylus Mardus, Ctesias Spendadates, and Justin Orapastes, but in the Scripture he is called Artaxerxes. As soon as he was settled in the kingdom, after the death of Cambyses, the Samaritans wrote a letter to him, setting forth, that the Jews were rebuilding their city and temple at Jerusalem; that they, having been always a rebellious people, there was reason to suspect, that as soon as they should have finished that work, they would withdraw their obedience from the king, and pay no more toll nor tribute; which might give an occasion for all Syria and Palestine to revolt

also, and the king be excluded from having any more portion on that side the river Euphrates.

And for the truth of what they had informed him of, as to the rebellious temper of that people, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, wherein they desired search might be made concerning this matter. On the receipt of this letter, examination being made, according to the purport of it, into the records of former times concerning the behaviour of the Jews under the Assyrian and Babylonish empires; and it being found in them with what valour they had long defended themselves, and with what difficulty they were at length reduced by Nebuchadnezzar, an order was issued forth to prohibit them from proceeding any further, and sent to the Samaritans to see it put in execution, who immediately, on the receipt hereof, went up to Jerusalem, and having exhibited their order to the Jews, made them desist by force and power from going on any further with the work of the house; so it wholly ceased till the second year of Darius, king of Persia, for about the space of two years. The king that now reigned having been a chief leader of the sect of the Magians, against whom the Jews were in the utmost opposition in point of religion, the aversion he had to them on this account no doubt furthered this decree against them.

Cambyses and Smerdis identified with the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes of Ezra.—That Cambyses was the Ahasuerus, and Smerdis the Artaxerxes, that obstructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are said in Scripture to be the kings of Persia that reigned between the time of Cyrus and the time of that Darius by whose decree the temple was finished; but that Darius being Darius Hystaspis (as will be unanswerably demonstrated in its proper place), and none reigning between Cyrus and that Darius in Persia but Cambyses and Smerdis, it must follow from hence, that none but Cambyses and Smerdis could be the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, who are said in Ezra to have put a stop to the work.

Efforts of Smerdis to ingratiate himself with his subjects.—But though Smerdis was thus unkind to the Jews, he studied to show grace and favour to all others, that so, gaining their affections, he might the better

secure himself in the possession of the throne which he had usurped. And therefore, as soon as he had taken on him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects a freedom from taxes and an immunity from all military services for three years; and also did so many other things for their benefit, as made his death to be very much lamented by a great many of them on the change that after followed. And, further to secure himself, he took to wife Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, aiming thereby to hold the empire by her title, if in case of discovery he could not be allowed to have any of his own. She had before been the wife of Cambyses: for after he had, upon the decision above mentioned, married one of his sisters, he took his other to wife also. And the Magian, while he pretended to be her brother, married her on the same foot.

Discovery of his imposture.—But these steps, which he took for his security, made it the more suspected that he was not the true Smerdis; for if he were, there would have been no need (it was said) of using all these arts and precautions for his establishment in the empire. And the care which he took never to be seen in public augmented the suspicion. To be fully satisfied in this matter, Otanes, a noble Persian,

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brother of Cassandana (who is said by Herodotus to have been mother to Cambyses, and the true Smerdis's brother), having a daughter named Phedyma, that had been one of Cambyses's wives, and was now kept by the Magian in the same quality, sent to her to know whether it were Smerdis the son of Cyrus that she lay with, or else some other man. The answer which she returned was, that she having never seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus, she could not tell. He then, by a second message, bid her inquire of Atossa (who could not but know her own brother), whether this were he or no? whereon she having informed him that the present king kept all his wives apart, so that they never conversed with each other, and that therefore she could not come at Atossa to ask this question of her; he sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, while he slept, to feel whether he had any ears or no: for Cyrus having caused the ears of Smerdis the Magian to be cut off for some crime that deserved it, he told her that if the person she lay with had

ears, she might satisfy herself that he was Smerdis the son of Cyrus; but that if she found it was otherwise, he was certainly Smerdis the Magian, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. Phedyma, having received these instructions, took the next opportunity of making the trial she was directed to; and finding hereon that the person she lay with had no ears, she sent word to her father of it, and hereby the whole fraud became detected.

Smerdis slain by the conspiracy of the seven.—Whereon Otanes, taking to him six other of the nobility of the Persians, entered into the palace, and there falling on the usurper and his brother Patizithes, who had been the contriver of the whole plot, slew them both; and then bringing out their heads to the people, declared unto them the whole imposture. Which did set them into such a rage, that they fell on the whole sect which the impostor was of, and slew all of them that they met with that day. For which reason the said day on which this was done thenceforth became an annual festival among them; and for a long while after it was celebrated every year by the Persians, in commemoration of the discovery of this imposture, and their deliverance from it. And by reason of the great slaughter of the Magians then made, it was called Magophonia, or the slaughter-day of the Magians. And it was from this time that they first had the name of Magians; which signifying the cropt-eared, it was then given unto them by way of nick-name and contempt, because of this impostor who was thus cropped. For mige-gush signified, in the language of the country then in use, one that had his ears cropped; and from a ringleader of that sect, who was thus cropped, the author of the famous Arabic Lexicon called Camus tells us, that they had all this name given unto them. And what Herodotus, and Justin, and other authors write of this Smerdis, plainly shows that he was the man. After this the whole sect of the Magians grew into that contempt, that they would soon have sunk into an utter extinction, but that a few years after it was, under the name of a reformation, again revived by Zoroastres, of which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place.

Idolatry anciently divided between two sects: 1st, The Sabians, or worshippers of images.—In the interim it may be proper to acquaint the

reader, that at this time all the idolatry of the world was divided between two sects, that is, the worshippers of images, who were called the Sabians, and the worshippers of fire, who were called the Magians. The true religion, which Noah taught his posterity, was that which Abraham practised, the worshipping of one God, the supreme Governor and Creator of all things, with hopes in his mercy through a Mediator: for the necessity of a Mediator between God and man was a general notion, which obtained among all mankind from the beginning; for being conscious of their own meanness, vileness, and impurity, they could not conceive how it was possible for them, of themselves alone, to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious, and supreme Governor of all things. They considered him as too high and too pure, and themselves too low and polluted, for such a converse; and therefore concluded that there must be a Mediator, by whose means only they could make any address unto him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the Mediator whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address unto him by mediators of their own choosing. And their notion of the sun, moon, and stars, being that they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, which animated those orbs in the same manner as the soul of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their motions, and that these intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought these the properest beings to become the mediators between God and them. And therefore, the planets being the nearest to them of all these heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the first place for their gods-mediators, who were to mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for; and accordingly they directed divine worship unto them as such. And here began all the idolatry that hath been practised in the world. They first worshipped them per sacella, that is, by their tabernacles, and afterwards by images also. By these sacella, or tabernacles, they meant the orbs themselves, which they looked on only as the sacella, or sacred tabernacles, in which the intelligences had their habitations. And therefore, when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worship towards the planet in which they supposed he dwelt: but these orbs, by their rising and setting, being as much under the

horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address to them in their absence. To remedy this, they had recourse to the invention of images; in which, after their consecration, they thought these intelligences, or inferior deities, to be as much present by their influence, as in the planets themselves; and that all addresses to them were made as effectually before the one as before the other. And this was the beginning of image-worship among them. To these images were given the names of the planets they represented, which were the same they

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are still called by. And hence it is that we find Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, Mercury, Venus, and Diana, to be first ranked in the polytheism of the ancients; for they were their first gods. After this, a notion obtaining, that good men departed had a power with God also to mediate and intercede for them, they deified many of those whom they thought to be such; and hence the number of their gods increased in the idolatrous times of the world. This religion first began among the Chaldeans, which their knowledge in astronomy helped to lead them to. And from this it was that Abraham separated himself when he came out of Chaldea. From the Chaldeans it spread itself over all the East, where the professors of it had the name of Sabians. From them it passed into Egypt, and from thence to the Grecians, who propagated it to all the western nations of the world. And, therefore, those who mislike the notion advanced by Maimonides, that many of the Jewish laws were made in opposition to the idolatrous rites of the Sabians, are much mistaken, when they object against it, that the Sabians were an inconsiderable sect, and therefore not likely to have been so far regarded in that matter. They are now, indeed, since the growth of Christianity and Mahometism in the world, reduced to an inconsiderable sect; but anciently they were all the nations of the world that worshipped God by images. And that Maimonides understood the name in this latitude, is plain from hence, that he tells us, the Sabians, whom he spoke of, were a sect whose heresy had overspread almost all mankind. The remainder of this sect still subsists in the East, under the same name of Sabians, which they pretend to have received from Sabius, a son of Seth. And among the books wherein the doctrines of their sect are contained, they have one which they call the book

of Seth, and say that it was written by that patriarch. That which hath given them the greatest credit among the people of the East is, that the best of their astronomers have been of this sect, as Thebet Ebn Korrah, Albattani, and others; for the stars being the gods they worshipped, they made them the chief subject of their studies. These Sabians, in the consecrating of their images, used many incantations, to draw down into them from the stars those intelligences for whom they erected them, whose power and influence they held did afterward dwell in them. And from hence the whole foolery of telesms, which some make so much ado about, had its original.

2nd, **The Magians, or worshippers of fire.—**Directly opposite to these were the Magians, another sect, who had their original in the same eastern countries; for they, abominating all images, worshipped God only by fire. They began first in Persia, and there and in India were the only places where this sect was propagated, and there they remain even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles; one of which was the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil, that is to say, God and the devil; that the former is represented by light, and the other by darkness, as their truest symbols; and that, of the composition of these two all things in the world

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are made. The good god they name Yazdan, and also Ormuzd, and the evil god, Ahraman; the former is by the Greeks called Oramasdes, and the latter Arimanius. And therefore, when Xerxes prayed for that evil upon his enemies, that it might be put into the minds of all of them to drive their best and bravest men from them, as the Athenians had Themistocles, he addressed his prayer to Arimanius, the evil god of the Persians, and not to Oramasdes, their good god. And concerning these two gods there was this difference of opinion among them, that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, there were others that contended that the good god only was eternal, and that the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two till the end of the world; that then the good god shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his world to himself; that is, the good god his world with all good men with him, and the evil god his

world with all evil men with him; that darkness is the truest symbol of the evil god, and light the truest symbol of the good god. And, therefore, they always worshipped him before fire, as being the cause of light, and especially before the sun, as being in their opinion the perfectest fire, and causing the perfectest light. And for this reason, in all their temples they had fire continually burning on altars erected in them for that purpose. And before these sacred fires they offered up all their public devotions, as likewise they did all their private devotions before their private fires in their own houses. Thus did they pay the highest honour to light, as being in their opinion the truest representative of the good god; but always hated darkness, as being, what they thought, the truest representative of the evil god, whom they ever had in the utmost detestation, as we now have the devil: and, for an instance hereof, whenever they had an occasion in any of their writings to mention his name, they always wrote it backwards, and inversed, as thus, ut And these were the tenets of this sect, when, on the death of Cambyses, Smerdis and Patizithes, the two chiefest ringleaders of it, made that attempt for the usurping of the sovereignty which I have mentioned.

IV. REIGN OF DARIUS HYSTASPIS, FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE COMPLETION OF THE REBUILDING OF THE TEMPLE, B. C. 521-515.

High priests of Judah—Jeshua, 536.

Prophets—Haggai and Zechariah.

Darius obtains the throne through an artifice of his groom, 521.— The seven princes who had slain these usurpers, entering into consultation among themselves about the settling of the government, on the sixth day after came to this agreement:—That the monarchy should be continued in the same manner as it had been established by Cyrus; and that, for the determining which of them should be the monarch, they should meet on horseback the next morning against the rising of the sun, at a place in the

suburbs of the city which they had appointed for it, and that he whose horse should first neigh should be the king; for the sun being then the great deity of the Persians, and equally

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adored by them all, whether of the Sabian or Magian sect, by this method they seemed to refer the election to it. But the groom of Darius, one of the seven princes, being informed of what was agreed on, made use of a device which secured the crown to his master; for the night before having tied a mare to the place where they were the next morning to meet, he brought Darius's horse thither, and put him to cover the mare; and therefore, as soon as the princes came thither at the time appointed, Darius's horse, at the sight of the place, remembering the mare, ran thither and neighed: whereon he was forthwith saluted king by the rest, and accordingly placed on the throne. He was the son of Hystaspes, a noble Persian of the royal family of Achæmenes, who had followed Cyrus in all his wars. He was at that time governor of the province of Persia, and so continued for many years after his son's advancement to the throne. This Darius, in the writings of the latter Persians, is called **Gushtasph**, and his father **Lorasph**; and, under these names, they are much spoken of in that country even to this day.

Special privileges of the six other conspirators.—The empire of Persia being thus restored, and settled by the wisdom and valour of these seven princes, they were afterwards admitted to extraordinary honours and privileges under the new king: for they were to have access to his presence at all times, whenever they should desire, unless only when he was accompanying with any of his wives; and their advice was to be first had in the management of all the public affairs of the empire. And whereas the king only wore his turban directly upright, and all others till then with its top reversed, or turned backward, these had it by way of special privilege granted unto them from thenceforth to wear their turbans with the top turned forward. For they having, when they went in to fall upon the Magians, turned the back part of their turbans forward, that they might by that signal be the better known to each other in the scuffle, in memory of this, as an especial mark of honour, they were permitted to wear their turbans in that manner ever afterward. And from this time the Persian kings

of this race had always seven chief counsellors in the same manner privileged, who were their prime assistants in the government, and by whose advice all the public affairs of the empire were transacted: and under this character we find them, both in the book of Ezra and in the book of Esther, made mention of.

Wives of Darius.—As soon as Darius was settled in the throne, to establish him the firmer in it, he took to wife **Atossa**, the daughter of Cyrus, and also another daughter of his called **Artistona**. The former had been before wife to Cambyses her brother, and afterwards to Smerdis the Magian, while he usurped the throne. But Artistona was a virgin when he married her, and was the most beloved by him of all his wives. Besides these, he took also to wife **Parmys**, the daughter of the true Smerdis, brother of Cambyses, and **Phedyma**, the daughter of Otanes, by whose means the imposture of the Magian was discovered, and by these had a great many children, both sons and daughters.

The Jews, excited by the exhortations of Haggai, resume the rebuilding of the Temple, 520.—Although by the death of the usurper, his edict which prohibited the building of the temple was now at an end, yet

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the Jews neglecting to resume the work, God did for this reason smite the land with barrenness, so that both the vintage and the harvest failed them. But in the second year of Darius, they being by the prophet Haggai informed of the cause of this judgment upon them, and exhorted to the doing of their duty for the averting of it, they betook themselves again to prepare for the carrying on of the work. It was on the first day of the sixth month (which answers to about the middle of our August) that the word of the Lord, by Haggai the prophet, came to Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel, governor of Judæa, and to Jeshua, the son of Josadak, the high priest, concerning this matter. And on the twenty-fourth day of the same month, they, being excited hereby, arose with all the remnant of the people, and obeyed the voice of the Lord, and again applied themselves with all diligence to provide stone and timber, and all other materials that were necessary, for the again carrying on of the work. And to encourage them to

go on vigorously herewith, on the twenty-first day of the seventh month (i. e. about the beginning of our October), another message from God came to them by the same prophet, which not only assured them of his presence with them herein, to make it prosper in their hands; but also promised them, that the glory of the latter house, when built, should be greater than the glory of the former house; which was accordingly accomplished, when Christ our Lord came to this his temple, and honoured it with his presence. In all other respects this latter temple, the same prophet tells us, at its first building, was as nothing in comparison of the former.

In the eighth month of the same year (which answers to part of our October and part of November) the word of the Lord came by Zechariah the prophet to the people of the Jews, exhorting them to repentance, and promising them mercy and favour on their obedience hereto.

On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month (which fell about the beginning of our December), the Jews, after they had been employed from the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month in preparing materials for the temple, went on again with the building of it; whereon the prophet Haggai promised them from God a deliverance from that barrenness of their land with which it had been smitten, and plentiful increase of all its fruits for the future; and also delivered unto Zerubbabel a message from God, of mercy and favour unto him.

Samaritans request Tatnai, the satrap of Syria, to stop the rebuilding: the matter referred to Darius, 519.—In the beginning of the next year (which was the third year of Darius, according to the Babylonian and Persian account, but the second according to the Jewish), the Samaritans understanding that the building of the temple went on again, notwithstanding the stop which they had procured to be put to it in

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the last reign, they betook themselves again to their old malicious practices for the obstructing of the work; and, therefore, applied themselves to Tatnai, whom Darius had made chief governor or prefect of all the provinces of Syria and Palestine (which was one of the twenty prefectures into which he had lately divided his whole empire), and made complaint to him against

the Jews as to this matter, suggesting that they proceeded herein without authority, and that it would tend to the prejudice of the king. Whereon Tatnai, being accompanied by Setharboznai (who seems to have been then governor of Samaria), came to Jerusalem to take an account of what was there doing. But Tatnai, being a man of temper and justice, after he had made a view of the building, did not proceed roughly and rashly to put a stop to it, but first inquired of the elders of the Jews by what authority they had gone on with it. And they having produced to him Cyrus's decree, he would not take upon him to contradict the same, or order anything contrary to it upon his own authority; but first wrote letters to the king, to know his pleasure concerning it; wherein he fairly stated the case, setting forth the matter of fact, and also the Jews' plea of Cyrus's decree for the justifying of themselves herein; and thereon requested that search might be made among the records of the kingdom, whether there were any such decree granted by Cyrus or no, and that thereon the king would be pleased to signify unto him what he would have done herein.

Decree of Cyrus confirmed by Darius Hystaspis.—Whereon search being made, and the decree being found among the rolls of the royal palace at Ecbatana, in Media, where Cyrus was when he granted it, the king resolved to confirm the same. For having lately married two of the daughters of Cyrus, the better to fortify his title to the crown thereby, he thought it concerned him to do everything that might tend to support the honour and veneration which were due to the memory of that great prince; and therefore would suffer nothing to be infringed of that which he had so solemnly granted, but ordered his royal decree to be drawn; wherein recitement being made of the decree of Cyrus, he commanded it in every particular to be observed, and sent it to Tatnai and Setharboznai, to see it fully and effectively put in execution, decreeing that whosoever should alter the same, or put any obstruction to it, should have his house pulled down, and that a gallows being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon.

On the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month (that is, about the beginning of our February), the prophet Zechariah had in a vision that revelation made unto him which is contained in the book of his prophecies, from the seventh verse of the first chapter to the ninth verse of the sixth

chapter: the substance of which is, to express the mercy that God would show unto his people, in the restoration and redemption of Zion, and the vengeance which he would execute upon those that had oppressed them.

Publication at Jerusalem of the new decree of Darius, 518.—About the beginning of the fourth year of Darius, his decree, which confirmed that of Cyrus in favour of the Jews, was brought to Jerusalem. It was about the beginning of the former year that Tatnai sent to the king about it, and less than a year's time cannot be well allowed for

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the despatch of such an affair; for the king, then residing at Shushan, in Persia, was at such a distance from Judæa, that the journey of the messenger thither to him could not take up less than three months' time (for Ezra was four months in coming to Judæa from Babylon, which was at least one quarter of the way nearer); and on his arrival, it cannot be supposed that in a court where the government of so large an empire was managed, he could immediately come at a despatch. The multiplicity of other affairs there agitated must necessarily detain him some time before it could come to his turn to be heard for the delivery of his message; and when he had obtained an order to search among the records of the empire for the decree of Cyrus (which we cannot imagine to have been without a further time of attendance), he or some other messenger first went to Babylon to make the search there, and on his failing of finding it in that place, he went from thence to Ecbatana, the capital of Media, where having found the enrolment of it (for it seems Cyrus was there when he granted it), he returned with it from thence to Shushan; in which three journeys and two searches, considering the distance of the said three places from each other, and the vast number of records which, in the registries of so large an empire, must be turned over for the finding of that which was searched for, less than five months could not have been expended. And when the record of Cyrus's decree was brought from Ecbatana to Shushan, a month is the least time that can be supposed for the despatch of the new decree which Darius made in confirmation of it; and then three months more must be allowed for the carrying of it to Tatnai, and from him to Judæa. All which put together, make a full year from the time of Tatnai's writing his letter, to the time of

the arrival of Darius's decree in answer to it. When Tatnai and Setharboznai, on the perusal of it, found how strictly the king required obedience to be given thereto, they durst not but act in conformity to it; and, therefore, they did immediately let the Jews know hereof, and forthwith took care to have it fully and effectually put in execution. And from that time the building of the house went on so successfully, that it was fully finished within three years after: for by virtue of this decree, the Jews were not only fully authorized to go on with the building, but were also furnished with the expenses of it out of the taxes of the province. This had been granted by Cyrus in the former decree, but by the underhand dealings of the Samaritans and other enemies, in corrupting those through whose hands the administration of the public affairs and public revenues passed, this part of Cyrus's decree was rendered ineffectual during a great part of his reign, and through the whole reign of Cambyses. And, therefore, during all that time, the Jews being left to carry on the work at their own charges only, and they being then very

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poor, as being newly returned from their captivity, it went very slowly on. But being now helped again by the king's bounty, they followed it with that diligence, that they soon brought it to a conclusion.

Publication of the decree, a date for the completion of the Seventy Years' Captivity.—The publishing of this decree at Jerusalem may be reckoned the thorough restoration of the Jewish state; and from the thorough destruction of it, in the burning of the city and temple of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans to this time [i. e. B. C. 588—518], is just seventy years. The time falling so exactly, and the prophet Zechariah confirming it, by expressing, under the fourth year of Darius, that the mourning and fasting of the Jews for the destruction of Jerusalem, and the utter driving of them out of the land on the death of Gedaliah, was then just seventy years: this hath given a plausible handle to some for the placing of the beginning of the seventy years of the Babylonish captivity, spoken of by Jeremiah, at the destruction of Jerusalem, and the end of them at the publication of this decree of Darius. But the Scripture plainly tells us, that these seventy years, as prophesied of by the prophet Jeremiah, began from

the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and expired on the first of Cyrus, on his then granting his decree for the rebuilding of the temple, and the return of the Jews again into their own land. But this matter will admit of a very easy reconciliation, for both computations may very well stand together; for though the Babylonish captivity did begin from the fourth of Jehoiakim, when Nebuchadnezzar first subjugated the land, and carried away to Babylon the first captives, yet it was not completed till he had absolutely destroyed it in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, which was just eighteen years after. And so, likewise, though the deliverance from this captivity, and the restoration of the Jewish state thereon, was begun by the decree of Cyrus in the first year of his reign, yet it was not completed till that decree was put in full vigour of execution by the decree which Darius granted in the fourth year of his reign for the confirmation of it; which was also just eighteen years after. And therefore, if we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the restoration, we must reckon from the fourth year of Jehoiakim to the first of Cyrus, which was just seventy years; and if we reckon from the completion of the captivity to the completion of the restoration, we must reckon from the eleventh of Zedekiah to the fourth of Darius, which was also just seventy years. So that whether we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the restoration, or from the completing of the captivity to the completing of the restoration, Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years' captivity will be both ways equally accomplished; and therefore I doubt not but that both ways were equally intended therein, though the words of the prophecy seem chiefly to refer to the former.

Application of the Jews in Babylon to discontinue the four fasts of the Captivity.—On the publication of this decree of Darius, and the care that was taken to have it fully put in execution, without suffering any of those devices to obstruct it which had rendered the former decree ineffectual, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the Jews in Judæa and Jerusalem seemed so thoroughly restored,

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that the Jews who were in Babylon, on their having had an account hereof, thought it might not be any longer proper to keep those fasts, which hitherto

they had observed for seventy years past, for the destruction which Judah and Jerusalem had suffered from the Chaldeans in the time of Zedekiah, as looking on them now to have obtained a thorough restoration from it. And therefore sent messengers to Jerusalem, Sherezer and Regem-melech, to ask advice of the priests and prophets that were there concerning this matter. For from the time of the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, the Jews of the captivity had kept four fasts, in commemoration of the calamities which then happened to their nation; the first on the tenth day of the tenth month, because then Nebuchadnezzar first laid siege to Jerusalem, in the ninth year of Zedekiah; the second on the ninth day of the fourth month, because on that day the city was taken; the third on the tenth day of the fifth month, because then the city and temple were burned by Nebuzaradan; and the fourth on the third day of the seventh month, because on that day Gedaliah was slain, and the remainder of the people were thereon dispersed and driven out of the land, which completed the desolation of it. Concerning all which fasts, and the question of the Babylonish Jews proposed concerning them, God gave them by the prophet Zechariah that answer which we have in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies. Therein the fasts of the fifth and seventh month are said to have been observed for seventy years past. And from the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Jewish account (which was the seventeenth, according to the Babylonish account), when Jerusalem was destroyed, to the fourth year of Darius Hystaspis, when the Jewish state was again thoroughly restored, were just seventy years, according to the Canon of Ptolemy; so the sacred and profane chronology do both exactly agree in this matter. The Jews still observe these four fasts even to this day, though not exactly on the same days in their present calendar as in the former.

Revolt of Babylon: the city besieged by Darius for 20 months, 517.—In the beginning of the fifth year of Darius happened the revolt of the Babylonians, which cost him the trouble of a tedious siege again to reduce them, for it lasted twenty months. This city having for many years, during the Babylonish empire, been the mistress of the East, and domineered over all the countries round about them, could not bear the subjection which they were fallen under to the Persians, especially after they had removed the imperial seat of the empire from Babylon to Shushan; for that much

diminished the grandeur, pride, and wealth of the place, which they thought they could no other way again retrieve, but by setting up for themselves against the Persians, under a king of their own, in the same manner as they had formerly

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done, under Nabopollasar, against the Assyrians. And therefore taking the advantage of the revolution which happened in the Persian empire, first on the death of Cambyses, and after on the slaying of the Magians, they began to lay in all manner of provisions for the war; and after they had covertly done this for four years together, till they had fully stored the city for many years to come, in the fifth year they broke out into an open revolt, which drew Darius upon them with all his forces to besiege the city. In the beginning of the third year of Darius, we learn from the prophet Zechariah, that the whole empire was then in peace; and therefore the revolt could not then have happened: and the message of Sherezer and Regem-melech from Babylon, in the fourth year of his reign, proves the same for that year also; and therefore it could not be till the fifth year that this war broke out. As soon as the Babylonians saw themselves begirt by such an army as they could not cope with in the field, they turned their thoughts wholly to the supporting of themselves in the siege: in order whereto, they took a resolution the most desperate and barbarous that ever any nation practised. For to make their provisions last the longer, they agreed to cut off all unnecessary mouths among them; and therefore drawing together all the women and children, they strangled them all, whether wives, sisters, daughters, or young children, useless for the wars, excepting only that every man was allowed to save one of his wives which he best loved, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house. And hereby was very signally fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah against them, in which he foretold, that "two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood; and that these should come upon them in their perfection, for the multitude of their sorceries and the great abundance of their enchantments." And in what greater perfection could these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves thus upon themselves became the executioners of them? And in many other particulars did God then execute

his vengeance upon this wicked and abominable city, which was foretold by several of the prophets; and the Jews were as often warned to come out of the place before the time of its approach, that they might not be involved in it. And especially the prophet Zechariah, about two years before, sent them a call from God, that is, "to Zion, that dwelt with the daughter of Babylon, to flee and come forth from that land," that they might be delivered from the plague which God was going to inflict upon it. And when Sherezer and Regem-melech returned to Babylon, no doubt they carried back with them, from this prophet, a repetition of the same call: and although it be nowhere said that they paid obedience to it, and so saved themselves, yet we may take it for certain that they did, and by seasonably removing from Babylon before the siege began, avoided partaking of the calamities of it. For almost all the prophecies concerning this heavy judgment upon Babylon, speaking of it as the vengeance of God upon them for their cruel dealings with his people, when they were delivered into their hands; and they all at the same time promising peace, mercy, and favour to all that were of his people, and particularly such a promise having been sent them but the year before by Sherezer and

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Regem-melech, it is utterly inconsistent with the whole tenor of these sacred predictions, that any of the Jewish nation should be sufferers with the Babylonians in this war; and therefore we may assuredly infer, that they were all gone out of this place before this war began.

Babylon taken through the stratagem of Zopyrus, 516.—Darius having lain before Babylon a year and eight months, at length, toward the end of the sixth year of his reign, he took it by the stratagem of **Zopyrus**, one of his chief commanders: for he having cut off his nose and ears, and mangled his body all over with stripes, fled in this condition to the besieged; where feigning to have suffered all this by the cruel usage of Darius, he grew thereby so far into their confidence, as at length to be made the chief commander of their forces; which trust he made use of to deliver the city to his master, which could scarce have been any other way taken. For the walls, by reason of their height and strength, made the place impregnable against all storms, batteries, and assaults; and it being

furnished with provisions for a great many years, and having also large quantities of void ground within the city, from the cultivation of which it might annually be supplied with much more, it could never have been starved into a surrender; and therefore at length it must have wearied and worn out Darius and all his army, had it not been thus delivered into his hands by this stratagem of Zopyrus, for which he deservedly rewarded him with the highest honours he could heap on him all his life after. As soon as Darius was master of the place, he took away all their hundred gates, and beat down their walls from two hundred cubits (which was their former height) to fifty cubits; and of these walls only Strabo, and other after-writers, are to be understood, when they describe the walls of Babylon to be no more than fifty cubits high. And as to the inhabitants, after having given them for a spoil to his Persians, who had been before their servants, according to the prophecy of Zechariah (chap. ii. 9), and impaled three thousand of the most guilty and active of them in the revolt, he pardoned all the rest. But by reason of the destruction they had made of their women in the beginning of the siege, he was forced to send for fifty thousand of that sex out of the other provinces of the empire to supply them with wives, without which the place must soon have become depopulated for want of propagation.

Fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah against Babylon.—And here it is to be observed, that the punishment of Babylon kept pace with the restoration of Judah and Jerusalem, according to the prophecy of the prophet Jeremiah (chap. xxv. 12, 13), whereby he foretold, that "when the seventy years of Judah's captivity should be accomplished, God would punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and would make it a perpetual desolation, and would bring upon that land all the words which he had pronounced against it." For accordingly, when the restoration of Judah began, in the first of Cyrus, after the expiration

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of the first seventy years, that is, from the fourth of Jehoiakim to the first of Cyrus, then began Babylon's punishment, in being conquered and subjected to the Persians in the same manner as they had conquered and subjected the

Jews to them in the beginning of the said seventy years. And after the expiration of the second seventy years, that is, from the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar, when Judah and Jerusalem were thoroughly desolated, to the fourth of Darius, when the restoration of both was completed, then the desolation of Babylon was also in a great measure completed in the devastation which was then brought upon it by Darius. In the first part of their punishment their king was slain, and their city taken; and thenceforth, from being the "lady of kingdoms," and mistress of all the East, it became subject to the Persians. And whereas before it had been the metropolis of a great empire, this honour was now taken from it, and the imperial seat removed from thence to Shushan or Susa (for this seems to have been done in the first year of Cyrus's reign over the whole empire), and Babylon thenceforth, instead of having a king, had only a deputy residing there, who governed it as a province of the Persian empire. And at the same time that the city was thus brought under, the country was desolated and destroyed by the inundation that was caused by turning of the river on the taking of the city, which hath been already spoken of, and thereon it became "a possession for the bittern, and pools of water," as the prophet Isaiah foretold (chap. xiv. 23); "and the sea came up upon Babylon, and she was covered with the multitude of the waves thereof," according as Jeremiah prophesied hereof (chap. li. 42). And in the second part of their punishment, on Darius's taking the place, all that calamity and devastation was brought upon it which hath been already spoken of; and from that it did never any more recover itself, but languished a while, and at length ended, according to the words of Jeremiah, "in a perpetual desolation."

Solemn dedication of the new Temple, 515.—In the sixth year of Darius, according to the Jewish account, and on the third day of the twelfth month, called the month of Adar (which answered to part of the third and part of the fourth month of the Babylonish year, and consequently was in the seventh year of Darius, according to the Babylonish account), the building of the temple at Jerusalem was finished, and the dedication of it was celebrated by the priests and Levites, and all the rest of the congregation of Israel, with great joy and solemnity. And among other sacrifices then offered, there was a sin-offering for all Israel of twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel; which is a further

addition of proof to what hath been above said, that on the return of Judah and Benjamin from the Babylonish captivity, some also of each of the other tribes of Israel returned with them out of Assyria, Babylon, and Media, whither they had been before carried, and joining with them in the rebuilding of the temple (to which they had originally an equal right), partook also in the solemnity of this dedication; otherwise there is no reason why any such offering should have been then made in their behalf. But the most of them that returned being of the tribe of Judah, that swallowed up the names of all the rest; for from this time the whole people

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of Israel, of what tribe soever they were, began to be called Jews: and by that name they have all of them been ever since known all the world over.

Review of the history of the rebuilding.—This work was twenty years in finishing: for so many years were elapsed from the second of Cyrus, when it was first begun, to the seventh of Darius, when it was fully finished. During the latter part of the reign of Cyrus, and through the whole reign of Cambyses, it met with such discouragements through the fraudulent devices of the Samaritans, that it went but slowly on for all that time: and during the usurpation of the Magians, and for almost two years after, it was wholly suppressed, that is, till towards the latter end of the second year of the reign of Darius. But then it being again resumed, on the preaching of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, and afterwards encouraged and helped forward by the decree of Darius, it was thenceforth carried on with that vigour, especially through the exhortations and prophecies of the two prophets I have mentioned, that in the beginning of the seventh year of Darius it was fully finished, and dedicated anew to the service of God, in the manner as hath been said. In this dedication, the hundred and forty-sixth, the hundred and forty-seventh, and the hundred and forty-eighth Psalms seem to have been sung; for in the Septuagint version they are styled the Psalms of Haggai and Zechariah, as if they had been composed by them for this occasion; and this, no doubt, was from some ancient tradition: but in the original Hebrew, these Psalms have no such title prefixed to them, neither have they any other to contradict it. The decree whereby this temple was finished having been granted by Darius at his palace in Shushan (or Susa, as

the Greeks call the place), in remembrance hereof the eastern gate, in the outer wall of the temple, was from this time called the **gate of Shushan**, and a picture and draught of that city was portrayed in sculpture over it, and there continued till the last destruction of that temple by the Romans.

Joyful solemnization of the Passover at Jerusalem.—In the next month after the solemn dedication of the new temple at Jerusalem, namely, in the month Nisan, which was the first of the Jewish year, the temple being now made fit for all parts of the divine service, the passover was observed in it on the fourteenth day of that month, according to the law of God, and solemnized by all the children of Israel that were then returned from the captivity, with great joy and gladness of heart; because, saith the book of Ezra, "The Lord hath made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel:" from whence Archbishop Usher infers, that Babylon must necessarily have been reduced by Darius Hystaspis before this time; for otherwise he thinks Darius could not have been here styled by Ezra as the king of Assyria, Babylon being then the metropolis of that kingdom.

Dedication of the Temple another date for the completion of the Seventy Years' Captivity.

And if we will add one stage more to the two above mentioned, of the captivity and restoration of Judah, and place the full completion of the captivity in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar according to the Jewish account (which was the twenty-first according to the Babylonish), when Nebuzaradan carried away the last remainder of the land; and the full completion of the restoration at the finishing of the temple, and the restoration of the divine worship therein, this stage will have the like distance of seventy years: for the dedication of this temple, and the solemnizing of the first passover in it, being in the seventh year of Darius, it will fall in the seventieth year from the said twenty-third of Nebuchadnezzar, according to Ptolemy's Canon. So that taking it which way you will, and at what stage you please, the prophecy of Jeremiah will

be fully and exactly accomplished concerning this matter. And here ending the rebuilding of the second temple, I shall herewith end this book.

BOOK IV.

JEWISH AND MEDO-PERSIAN HISTORY,

FROM THE DEDICATION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE TO THE DEATH OF XERXES,

B. C. 515 TO 465.

I. CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF DARIUS HYSTASPIS, B. C. 515-486.

High priests of Judah—Jeshua, 536.

Samaritans refuse to pay further tribute towards the Temple at Jerusalem, 514.—THE Samaritans, still carrying on their former spite and rancour against the Jews, gave them new trouble on this occasion. The tribute of Samaria had been assigned first by Cyrus, and afterwards by Darius, for the reparation of the temple at Jerusalem, and the furnishing of the Jews with sacrifices, that oblations and prayers might there daily be offered up for the king and the royal family, and for the welfare and prosperity of the Persian empire. This was a matter of great regret and heart-burning to the Samaritans, and was in truth the source and the true original reason of all the oppositions which they made against them; for they thought it an indignity upon them to be forced to pay their tribute to the Jews; and therefore they did by bribes and other underhand dealings prevail with the ministers and other officers to whose charge this matter belonged, during the latter part of the reign of Cyrus, and all the time of Cambyses, to put a stop to this assignment, and did all else that they could wholly to quash it. But the grant being again renewed by Darius, and the

execution of it so strictly enjoined in the manner as hath been before related, the tribute was thenceforth annually paid, to the end for which it was assigned, without any more gainsaying, till this year. But now, on pretence that the temple was finished (though the out-buildings still remained unrepaired, and were not finished till many years after), they refused to let the Jews any longer have the tribute; alleging, that it being assigned them for the repairing of their temple, now the temple was repaired the end of that assignment was ceased, and that consequently the payment of the said tribute was to cease with it, and for this reason would pay it no longer to them.

The payment strictly enforced by Darius.—Whereon the Jews, to right themselves in this matter, sent Zerubbabel the governor, with Mordecai and Ananias, two other principal men among them, with a complaint to Darius of the wrong that was done them, in the detaining of his royal bounty from them, contrary to the purport of the edict which he had in that behalf made. The king, on the hearing of the complaint, and the informing of himself about it, issued out his royal order to his officers at Samaria, strictly requiring and commanding them to take effectual care that the Samaritans observe his edict, in paying their tribute to the temple of Jerusalem, as formerly, and no more, on any pretence whatsoever, give the Jews any cause for the future to complain of their failure herein. And after this we hear no more of any opposition or contest concerning this matter till the time of Sanballat, which was many years after.

Darius invades Scythia: conquest of Thrace, 513, 512.—From the time of the reduction of Babylon, Darius had set himself to make great preparations for a war against the Scythians, that inhabited those vast steppes of southern Russia which lie between the Danube and the Don or Tanais, and which answer on modern maps to the country of the Ukraine, the Nogaïs, the Don Cossacks, and the Tartars of the Crimea, together with the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, as far as the river Aluta. The pretence of Darius for this invasion was to be revenged on the Scythians for their having invaded Asia, and held it in subjection to them twenty-eight years, as hath been afore related. This was in the time of Cyaxares, the first of that name, king of Media, about a hundred and twenty years before. But for want of a better colour for that which his ambition and thirst for

conquest only led him to, this was given out for the reason of the war. In order whereto, having drawn together an army of seven hundred thousand men, he marched with them to the Thracian Bosphorus, and having there passed over it on a bridge of boats, he brought all Thrace in subjection to him; and then marched to the Ister, or Danube, where he appointed his fleet to come to him (which consisted mostly of Ionians, and other Grecian nations, dwelling in the maritime parts of Asia and on the Hellespont); he there passed over another bridge of boats into the country of the Scythians, and having there, for three months' time, pursued them through several deserts and uncultivated countries, where they drew him by their flight, of purpose to harass and destroy his army, he was glad at last to return with one half of them, having lost the other half in this unfortunate and ill-projected expedition. And

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had not the Ionians, by the persuasion of Histiæus, prince of Miletus (or tyrant, as the Grecians call him), contrary to the opinion of others among them, stayed with the fleet to afford him a passage back, he and all the rest must have perished also. Miltiades, prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, which lies at the mouth of the Hellespont, being one of those who attended Darius with his ships, was earnest for their departure, and the first that moved it, telling them, that by their going away, and leaving Darius and his army to perish on the other side of the Danube, they had a fair opportunity of breaking the power of the Persians, and delivering themselves from the yoke of that tyranny, which would be to the advantage of every one of their respective countries. This was urged by him in a council of the chief commanders; and would certainly have taken place, but that Histiæus, in answer thereto, soon made them sensible what a dangerous risk they were going to run: for he convinced them, that if this were done, the people of each of their cities, being freed from the fear of the Persians, would immediately rise upon them to recover their liberties; and this would end in the ruin of every one of them, who now, with sovereign authority, under the protection of Darius, securely reigned over them. Which being the true state of their case, this argument prevailed with them; so that they all resolved to stay: and this gave Darius the means of again repassing the river into

Thrace, where having left Megabyzus, one of his chief commanders, with part of his army, to finish his conquests in those parts, and thoroughly settle the country in his obedience, he repassed the Bosphorus with the rest, and retired to Sardis, where he stayed all the winter and the most part of the ensuing year, to refresh his broken forces, and resettle his affairs in those parts of his empire, after the shock that had been given them by the baffle and loss which he had sustained in this ill-advised expedition.

In B. C. 512, Megabyzus, having reduced most of the nations of Thrace under the Persian yoke, returned to Sardis to Darius, and from thence accompanied him to Susa, whither he marched back about the end of the year, after having appointed Artaphernes, one of his brothers, governor of Sardis, and Otanes chief commander of Thrace, and the maritime parts adjoining, in the place of Megabyzus. This Otanes was the son of Sisamnes, one of the royal judges of Persia, who having been convicted of bribery and corruption by Cambyses, there is related this remarkable instance of that king's justice towards him; that he caused him to be flayed alive, and making with his skin a covering for the seat of the tribunal, made this his son, whom he appointed to succeed him in his office, to sit thereon, that being thus put in mind of his father's punishment, he might thereby be admonished to avoid his crime.

Scythian invasion of Thrace, 510.—The Scythians, to be revenged on Darius for his invading their country, passed over the Danube, and ravaged all those parts of Thrace that had submitted to the Persians as far as the Hellespont; whereon Miltiades, to avoid their rage, fled from the Chersonesus; but on the retreat of the enemy he returned, and was again reinstated in his former power by the inhabitants of the country.

Exploring expedition of Scylax of Caryanda down the river Indus to the Red Sea, 509.—About this time Darius, being desirous to enlarge his dominions eastward, in order to the conquering of those countries, laid a design of first making a discovery of them: for which purpose having built a fleet of ships at Caspatyrus [or Cabul], a city on the river Indus, and as far up upon it as the borders of Scythia, he gave the command of it to Scylax, a

Grecian of Caryanda, a city in Caria, and one well skilled in maritime affairs, and sent him down the river, to make the best discoveries he could of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either side; ordering him, for this end, to sail down the current, till he should arrive at the mouth of the river, and that then, passing through it into the southern ocean, he should shape his course westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the Straits of Babelmandeb and the Red Sea, and on the thirtieth month after his first setting out from Caspatyrus landed in Egypt, at the same place from whence Necho king of Egypt formerly sent out his Phoenicians to sail round the coasts of Africa, which it is most likely was the port where now the town of Suez stands, at the hither end of the said Red Sea. And from thence he went to Susa, and there gave Darius an account of all the discoveries which he had made. After this Darius entered India with an army, and brought all that large country under him, and made it the twentieth prefecture of his empire; from whence he annually received a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the then Persian year, appointing a talent to be paid him for every day in it. This payment was made him according to the standard of the Euboic talent, which was near the same with the Attic; and therefore, according to the lowest computation, it amounted to the value of one million and ninety-five thousand pounds of our money.

Origin of the Ionian revolt, 504, 503.—A sedition happened in Naxus, the chief island of the Cyclades, in the Ægean Sea, now called the Archipelago, and the better sort being therein overpowered by the greater number, many of the wealthiest of the inhabitants were expelled the island, and driven into banishment; whereon retiring to Miletus, they there begged the assistance of Aristagoras for the restoring of them again to their country. This Aristagoras then governed that city as deputy to Histiæus, whose nephew and son-in-law he was, Histiæus being then absent at Susa in Persia: for Darius, on his return to Sardis, after his unfortunate expedition against the Scythians, being thoroughly informed that he owed the safety of himself and all his army to Histiæus, in that he persuaded the Ionians not to desert him at the Danube, sent for him to come to him, and having acknowledged his service, bade him ask his reward. Whereon he desired of

him the Edonian Myrcinus, a territory on the river Strymon in Thrace, in order to build a city there. And having obtained his request, immediately on his return to Miletus he equipped a fleet and sailed for Thrace: and having there taken possession of the territory granted

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him, did forthwith set himself on the enterprise of building his intended city in the place projected. Megabyzus, being then governor of Thrace for Darius, soon saw what danger this might create to the king's affairs in those parts: for he considered that the new-built city stood upon a navigable river; that the country thereabout afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships; that it was inhabited by several nations, both of Greeks and Barbarians, which could furnish a great multitude of men fit for military service, both by sea and land; that if these should get such a crafty and enterprising person as Histiæus at the head of them, they might soon grow to a power, both by sea and land, too hard for the king to master; and that especially since from their silver and gold mines, of which there were many in that country, they might be furnished with means enough to carry on any enterprise they should undertake. All this, on his return to Sardis, he represented unto the king, who being thereby made fully sensible of the error he had committed, for the remedying of it sent a messenger to Myrcinus to call Histiæus to Sardis to him, under pretence that, having great matters in design, he wanted his counsel and advice concerning them. By which means, having gotten him into his power, he carried him with him to Susa, pretending that he needed such an able counsellor and so faithful a friend to be always about him, to advise with on all occasions that might happen; and that he would make him so far a partaker of his fortunes by his royal bounty to him in Persia, that he should have no reason any more to think either of Myrcinus or Miletus. Histiæus, hereon seeing himself under a necessity of obeying, accompanied Darius to Susa, and appointed Aristagoras to govern at Miletus in his absence, and to him the banished Naxians applied for relief. As soon as Aristagoras understood from them their case, he entertained a design of improving this opportunity to the making of himself master of Naxus, and therefore readily promised them all the relief and assistance which they desired. But not being strong enough of

himself to accomplish what he intended, he went to Sardis and communicated the matter to Artaphernes, telling him that this was an opportunity offered for the putting of a rich and fertile island into the king's hands; that if he had that, all the rest of the Cyclades would of course fall under his power also; and that then Eubœa, an island as big as Cyprus, lying next, would be an easy conquest, from whence he would have an open passage into Greece, for the bringing of all that country under his obedience; and that one hundred ships would be sufficient to accomplish this enterprise. Artaphernes on the hearing of the proposal was so much pleased with it, that instead of the hundred ships which Aristagoras demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the king liked hereof. And accordingly, on his writing to him, having received his answer of approbation, he sent him the next spring [B. C. 503] to Miletus the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of Megabates, a noble Persian of the Achæmenian or royal family. But his commission being to obey the orders of Aristagoras, and the haughty Persian not brooking to be under the command of an Ionian, this created a dissension between the two generals, which was carried on so far, that Megabates to be revenged on Aristagoras betrayed the design to the Naxians: whereon they provided so fully for their defence,

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that after the Persians had, in the siege of the chief city of the island, spent four months and all their provisions, they were forced to retire for want wherewith there any longer to subsist, and so the whole plot miscarried. The blame whereof being by Megabates all laid upon Aristagoras, and the false accusations of the one being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, Artaphernes charged on him all the expenses of the expedition: and it was given him to understand, that they would be exacted of him to the utmost penny, which being more than he was able to pay, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but also in his utter ruin; and therefore, being driven into extremities by the desperateness of his case, he entertained thoughts of rebelling against the king, as the only way left him for the extricating of himself out of this difficulty. And while he had this under consideration, came a message to him from Histiæus,

which advised the same thing. For Histiæus, after several years' continuance at the Persian court, being weary of their manners, and exceeding desirous of being again in his own country, sent this advice unto Aristagoras, as the likeliest means to accomplish his aim herein; for he concluded, that if there were any combustions raised in Ionia, he should easily prevail with Darius to send him thither to appease them, as it accordingly came to pass. Aristagoras therefore, finding his own inclinations backed with the order of Histiæus, communicated the matter to the chief of the Ionians, and finding them all ready to join with him in what he proposed, he fixed his resolutions for a revolt, and immediately set himself to make all manner of preparations to put them in execution.

Phœnician history: inhabitants of Tyre regain their former privileges and prosperity.—The Tyrians, after the taking of their city by Nebuchadnezzar, having been reduced to a state of servitude, continued under the pressure of it full seventy years: but these being now expired, they were again, according to the prophecy of Isaiah, restored to their former privileges, and were allowed to have a king again of their own; and accordingly had so till the time of Alexander. This favour seems to have been granted them by Darius, in consideration of their usefulness to him in his naval wars, and especially at this time, when he needed them and their shipping so much for the reducing of the Ionians again to their obedience to him. Hereon they soon recovered their former prosperity, and by the means of their traffic, whereby they had made their city the chief mart of all the East, they soon grew to that greatness, both of power and riches, as enabled them, on Alexander's invading the East, to make a greater stand against him than all the Persian empire besides; for they stopped the progress of his whole army full seven months before they could be reduced, as will be hereafter shown. This grant was made them by Darius in the nineteenth year of his reign.

Preparations for the Ionian revolt; Aristagoras abolishes the tyrannies, establishes democracies, and obtains assistance from Athens, 502.—The next year after, Aristagoras, to engage the Ionians the more firmly to stick to him, restored them all to their liberties. For beginning first with himself at Miletus, he there abolished his own authority, and reinstated the people in the government; and then going

round Ionia, forced all the other tyrants (as the Greeks then called them) in every city to do the same; by which having united them into one common league, and gotten himself to be made the head of it, he openly declared his revolt from the king, and armed both by sea and land to make war against him. This was done in the twentieth year of the reign of Darius. In the beginning of the following year [i. e. B. C. 501], Aristagoras, to strengthen himself the more against the Persians in this war, which he had begun against them, went to Lacedæmon, to engage that city in his interest, and gain their assistance. But being there rejected, he came to Athens, where he had a much more favourable reception: for he had the good fortune to come thither at a time when he found the Athenians in a thorough disposition to close with any proposal against the Persians that should be offered to them, they being then in the highest degree exasperated against them on this occasion. Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, having been expelled thence about ten years before, after he had in vain tried several other ways for his restoration, at length applied himself to Artaphernes at Sardis; and having there insinuated himself a great way into his favour, was well heard in all that he had to say against the Athenians, and he spared not to do all that he could to set Artaphernes against them; which the Athenians having advice of, sent an embassy to Sardis, to make friendship with Artaphernes, and to desire him not to give ear to their exiles against them. The answer which Artaphernes gave them was, that they must receive Hippias again, if they would be safe. Which haughty message being brought back to Athens did set the whole city in a rage against the Persians; and in this juncture Aristagoras coming thither, easily obtained from them all that he desired; and accordingly they ordered a fleet of twenty ships for his assistance.

Breaking out of the Ionian revolt: burning of Sardis and departure of the Athenians, 500.—In the third year of the war, the Ionians having gotten all their forces together, and being assisted with twenty ships from Athens, and five from Eretria, a city in the island Eubœa, they sailed to Ephesus, and, having there laid up their ships, resolved on an attempt upon Sardis; and accordingly marched thither and took the place. But Sardis,

being built most of cane, and their houses being therefore very combustible, one of them being accidentally set on fire did spread the flame to all the rest, and the whole city was burnt down, excepting only the castle where Artaphernes retired and defended himself. But after this accident the Persians and Lydians gathering together for their defence, and other forces coming in to their assistance from the adjacent parts, the Ionians saw it was time for them to retreat; and therefore marched back to their ships at Ephesus with all the speed they were able; but before they could reach the place they were overtaken, fought with, and overthrown with great slaughter. Whereon the Athenians, going on board their ships, hoisted their sails and returned home, and would not after this be any further concerned in this war, notwithstanding all the most earnest entreaties with which they were solicited to it by Aristagoras. However, their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war between the Persians and the Greeks, which being carried on for several generations

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after between these two nations, caused infinite calamities to both, and at last ended in the utter destruction of the Persian empire; for Darius, on his hearing of the burning of Sardis, and the part which the Athenians had therein, from that time resolved on a war against Greece; and that he might be sure not to forget it, he caused one of his attendants every day, when he was set at dinner, to say aloud unto him three times, "Sir, remember the Athenians." In the burning of Sardis it happened, that the temple of Cybele, the goddess of the country, took fire, and was consumed with the rest of the city; which afterwards served the Persians for a pretence to set on fire all the temples of the Grecians which came in their way, though in truth that proceeded from another cause, which shall be hereafter related.

Ionian confederacy joined by other Greek cities in Asia.—On the departure of the Athenians, the rest of the confederate fleet sailed to the Hellespont and the Propontis, and reduced the Byzantines, and most of the other Grecian cities in those parts, under their power; and then, sailing back again, brought in the Carians to join with them in this war, and also the Cypriots, who all (excepting the Amathusians) entered into the same confederacy against Darius, and revolted from him; which drawing upon

them all the forces that the Persians had in Cilicia and the other neighbouring provinces, and also a great fleet from Phœnicia, the Ionians sailed thither to their assistance, and engaging the Phœnician fleet, gave them a great overthrow. But at the same time the Cypriots, being vanquished in a battle at land, and the head of that conspiracy slain in it, the Ionians lost the whole fruit of their victory at sea, and were forced to return, without having at all benefited either themselves or their allies by it: for after this defeat at land, the whole island was again reduced; and within three years after, the same persons, whom they had now assisted, came against them with their ships, in conjunction with the rest of the Persian fleet, to complete their utter destruction.

Advance of the three sons-in-law of Darius: flight of Aristagoras, 499.—The next year after, being the twenty-third of Darius, Daurises, Hymees, and Otanes, three Persian generals, and all sons-in-law of Darius by the marriage of his daughters, having divided the Persian forces between them, marched three several ways to attack the revolters. Daurises with his army directed his course to the Hellespont; but after having there reduced several of their revolted cities, on his hearing that the Carians had also joined the confederates, he left those parts, and marched with all his forces against them. Whereon Hymees, who was first sent to the Propontis, after having taken the city of Cius in Mysia, marched thence to supply his place on the Hellespont, where there was much more need of him, and there reduced all the Ilian coast; but falling sick at Troas, he there died the next year after. Artaphernes and Otanes, with the third army, resolving to strike at the very heart of the confederacy, fell into Ionia and Æolia, where the chief of their strength lay, and took Clazomenæ in Ionia, and Cyma in Æolia; which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that Aristagoras hereon, despairing of his cause, resolved to leave Miletus, and shift elsewhere for his safety; and therefore, getting together all that were willing to accompany

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him, he went on ship-board and set sail for the river Strymon in Thrace, and there seized on the territory of Myrcinus, which Darius had formerly given to Histiæus; but the next year after, while he besieged the city, he was there

slain by the Thracians, and all his army cut in pieces. In B. C. 498, being the twenty-fourth year of Darius, Daurises having fallen into the country of the Carians, overthrew them in two battles with a very great slaughter; but in a third battle, being drawn into an ambush, he was slain, with several other eminent Persians, and his whole army cut off and destroyed.

Miletus taken, 497.—Artaphernes, with Otanes and the rest of the Persian generals, seeing that Miletus was the head and chief strength of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to bend all their force against it, reckoning, that if they could make themselves masters of this city, all the rest would fall of course. The Ionians, being informed of this, agreed in their general council to bring no army into the field, but provide and strengthen Miletus as well as they could for a siege, and to draw all their forces to fight the Persians by sea; in which sort of fighting they thought themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to prevail: in order whereto they appointed Lada, a small island before Miletus, for their rendezvous, and thither they came to the number of three hundred and fifty-three ships: at the sight of which the Persians, though their fleet was double the number, fearing the event, came not to a battle with them till they had, by their emissaries sent among them, corrupted the major part to desert the cause; so that when they came to engage, the Samians, Lesbians, and several others, hoisting their sails and departing home, there were not above an hundred ships left to bear the whole brunt of the day; who being soon overborne by the number of the enemy, were almost all lost and destroyed. After this Miletus, being besieged both by sea and land, soon fell a prey into the hands of the victors, who absolutely destroyed the place; which happened in the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras. From Miletus the Persians marched into Caria, and having there taken some cities by force, and received others by voluntary submission, in a short time reduced all that country again under their former yoke. The Milesians who were saved from the sword in the taking of the city, being sent captives to Darius to Susa, he did them no further harm, but sent them to inhabit the city of Ampha, which was situated at the mouth of the Tigris, where, in conjunction with the Euphrates, it falls into the Persian Gulf, not far from the place where now the city Balsora stands; and there they continued a Grecian colony for many ages after.

Suppression of the revolt and terrible revenge on the Greek cities of Asia: Histiæus crucified, 496.—After the taking of Miletus, the Persian fleet, which mostly consisted of Phoenicians, Cypriots, and Egyptians, having wintered on the coasts thereabout, the next year took in Samos, Chius, Lesbus, and the rest of the islands; and while they were thus employed at sea, the armies at land fell on the cities of the continent; and having brought them all again under their power, they treated them as they had afore threatened, that is, they made all the beautifulest of their youths eunuchs, sent all their virgins into Persia, and burned all their cities with their temples; into so grievous a calamity

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were they brought by this revolt, which the self-designs of one enterprising busy-headed man, Histiæus the Milesian, led them into; and he himself had his share in it: for this very year, being taken prisoner by the Persians, he was carried to Sardis, and there crucified by the order of Artaphernes. He hastened his execution, without consulting Darius about it, lest his kindness for him might extend to the granting him his pardon, and thereby a dangerous enemy to the Persians be again let loose to embarrass their affairs. And that it would have so happened as they conjectured did afterwards appear; for when his head was brought to Darius, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably buried, as the remains of a man that had much merited from him.

Life and character of Histiæus.—How Histiæus was the cause of the Ionian war, and what was his aim herein, hath been above related. On the breaking out of that revolt, and the burning of Sardis, Darius, understanding that Aristagoras, the deputy of Histiæus, was at the head of it, doubted not but that Histiæus himself was at the bottom of the whole contrivance, and therefore sent for him, and charged him with it; but he managed the matter so craftily with Darius as to make him believe, not only that he was innocent, but that the whole cause of this revolt was, that he was not there to have hindered it: for he told him, that the matter appeared plainly to have been long a brewing, and that they had waited only for his absence to put it in execution; and that if he had continued at Miletus, it could never have

happened; and that the only way to restore his affairs in those parts was to send him thither to appease these combustions; which he promised not only to do, but to deliver Aristagoras into his hands, and make the great island of Sardinia to become tributary to him; swearing that, if he were sent on this voyage, he would not change his garments till all were effected that he had said. By which fair speech Darius being deceived, gave him permission to return into Ionia. On his arrival at Sardis, his busy head set him at work to contrive a plot against the government there, and he had drawn several of the Persians into it: but in some discourse which he had with Artaphernes, finding that he was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the Ionian revolt, he thought it not safe for him any longer to tarry at Sardis; and therefore the next night, after getting privately away, he fled to the sea-coast, and got over to the island of Chius. But the Chians, mistrusting that his coming thither was to act some part for the interest of Darius among them, seized on his person and put him in prison; but afterwards, being satisfied how he was engaged to the contrary, they set him again at liberty. Hereon he sent one whom he had confidence in with letters to Sardis, to those Persians whom he had corrupted while he was there; but the person whom he trusted, deceiving him, delivered the letters to Artaphernes; whereby the plot being discovered, and all the persons concerned in it put to death, he failed of this design. But thinking still he could do great matters were he at the head of the Ionian league, in order to the gaining of this point, he got the Chians to convey him to Miletus. But the Milesians, having had their liberty restored to them by Aristagoras, would by no means run the hazard of losing it again, by receiving him into the city: whereon endeavouring in the night to enter by force, he

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was repulsed and wounded, and thereby forced to return again to Chius. While he was there, being asked the reason why he so earnestly pressed Aristagoras to revolt, and thereby brought so great a calamity upon Ionia, he told them, it was because the king had resolved to remove the Ionians into Phœnicia, and to bring the Phoenicians into Ionia, and give them that country; which was wholly a fiction of his own devising; for Darius had never any such intention: but it very well served his purpose, first to excuse

himself, and next to excite the Ionians with the greater firmness and vigour to prosecute the war, which accordingly had its effect; for the Ionians, hearing that their country was to be taken from them, and given to the Phœnicians, were exceedingly alarmed at it, and therefore resolved with the utmost of their power to stand to their defence. However, Histiæus finding the Chians not any way inclined to trust him with any of their naval forces, as he desired of them, he passed over to the isle of Lesbus; and having there gained eight ships, he sailed with them to Byzantium, where making prize of all the ships that passed the Bosphorus, either to or from the Euxine Sea, excepting only such as belonged to those who were confederated with him, he did there in a short time grow to a great power. But on his hearing of the taking of Miletus, he left the conduct of his affairs in those parts to a deputy, and sailed to Chius, and after some little opposition at his first landing made himself master of the island, the Chians, by reason of the loss they had lately sustained in the sea-fight against the Persians at Lada, being too weak at that time to resist him. From thence he sailed with a great army of Ionians and Eolians to Thasus, an island on the Thracian coast, and laid siege to the chief city of that island; but hearing that the Phœnician fleet, in the service of the Persians, was sailed to take in the islands on the Asian coast, he raised the siege, and sailed back to Lesbus with all his forces to defend that place; from whence passing over into the continent which was opposite to it, to plunder the country, Harpagus, one of the Persian generals, who happened then to be there with a great army, fell upon him; and having routed his forces, and taken him prisoner, sent him to Sardis, where he met with the fate which I have mentioned. He was a man of the best head and the most enterprising genius of any of his age; but he having wholly employed these abilities to lay plots and designs, which produced great mischiefs in the world, for the obtaining of little aims of his own, it happened to him as most an end it doth to such refined politicians, who, while they are spinning fine webs of politics for the bringing about of their self-designs, often find them to become snares for their own destruction; for the providence of the wisest of men being too short to overreach the providence of God, he often permits such Achitophels, for the punishment of their presumption, as well as their malice, to perish by their own devices. And so it happened to Machiavel, the famous master of our modern politicians, who, after all his politics, died in jail for want of bread. And

thus may it happen to all else, who make any other maxims than those of truth and justice to be the rules of their politics.

Persian fleet sails to the Hellespont: flight of Miltiades to Athens, 495.—After the Phoenician fleet had subdued all the islands on the Asian coast, Artaphernes sent them to reduce the Hellespont, that is,

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all its coasts on the European side, for those on the Asian had been already brought under by the armies at land; which Miltiades, prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, having advice of, and that the fleet was come as far as Tenedos to put these orders in execution, he thought not fit to tarry their arrival, as being too weak to resist so great a power; but immediately carried all that he had on board five ships, and set sail with them for Athens. But in his passage one of them, commanded by Metiochus his eldest son, was taken by the Phœnicians, and Metiochus was carried to Darius to Susa; but instead of doing him any hurt, he generously gave him a house, and lands also for his maintenance, and married him to a Persian lady, with whom he there lived in an honourable state all his life after, and never more returned into Greece. In the interim, Miltiades with his other four ships got safe to Athens, and there again settled himself; for he was a citizen of that city, and of one of the most honourable families in it. Miltiades, his father Cimon's eldest brother by the same mother (for they had different fathers), was the first of the Athenians that settled in the Thracian Chersonesus, being called thither by the Dolonces, the inhabitants of the country, to be their prince; who, dying without issue, left his principality to Stesagoras his nephew, the eldest son of his brother Cimon; he dying also without children, the sons of Pisistratus, who then governed at Athens, sent this Miltiades' brother thither to succeed him; where he arrived, and settled himself in that year in which Darius entered on his war against the Scythians, in which expedition he accompanied him with his ships to the Danube, as hath been above said. Three years after he was driven out by the Scythians; but being afterwards brought back and restored again by the Dolonces, he continued there till this time, and then was finally dispossessed by the Phœnicians. While he lived in the Chersonesus, he married for his second wife Hegesipyla, the daughter of Olorus, a Thracian

king in the neighbourhood, by whom he had Cimon, the famous general of the Athenians. After the death of Miltiades, she had by a second husband a son called also Olorus, by the name of his grandfather, who was the father of Thucydides the historian. She could not have had them both by the same husband, for Cimon and Thucydides, and consequently Olorus, were of two different tribes, and therefore they could not be both descended from Miltiades.

Persian expedition under Mardonius against Athens: its failure, 494. —Darius, recalling all his other generals, sent Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, a young Persian nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be the chief commander in all the maritime parts of Asia, with orders to invade Greece, and revenge him on the Athenians and Eretrians for the burning of Sardis. On his arrival at the Hellespont, all his forces being there rendezvoused for the execution of these orders, he marched with his land forces through Thrace into Macedonia, ordering his fleet first to take in Thasus, and then follow after him, and coast it by sea, as he marched by land, that each might be at hand to act in concert with each other, for the prosecuting of the end proposed by this war. On his arrival in Macedonia, all that country, dreading so great a power, submitted to him. But the fleet, after they had subdued Thasus, as they were passing farther on towards the coast of

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Macedonia, on their doubling of the cape of Mount Athos, now called Capo Santo, met there with a terrible storm, which destroyed three hundred of their ships and above twenty thousand of their men. And at the same time Mardonius fell into no less a misfortune by land: for lying with his army in an encampment not sufficiently secured, the Thracians took the advantage of it, and falling on him in the night, broke into his camp, and slew a great number of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself; by which losses being disabled for any further action either by sea or land, he was forced to march back again into Asia, without gaining any honour or advantage, either to himself or the king’s affairs, by this expedition.

Persian heralds demand earth and water from the cities of European Greece: refused by Athens and Lacedæmon, 493.—Darius, before he would make any further attempt upon the Grecians, to make trial which of them would submit to him, and which would not, sent heralds to all their cities, to demand earth and water; which was the form whereby the Persians used to require the submission of those whom they would have yield to them. On the arrival of these heralds, several of the Grecian cities, dreading the power of the Persians, did as was required of them. But when those who were sent to Athens and Lacedæmon came thither with this commission, they flung them, the one into a well, and the other into a deep pit, and bade them fetch earth and water thence. But this being done in the heat of their rage, they repented of it when come to a cooler temper: for thus to put heralds to death was a violation of the law of nations, for which they were afterwards condemned even by themselves, as well as all their neighbours, and would gladly have made any satisfaction for the wrong that would have been accepted of; and the Lacedæmonians sent a person of purpose to Susa to make an offer hereof.

Persian expedition under Datis and Artaphernes against Athens, 492.—Darius, on the hearing of the ill success of Mardonius, suspecting the sufficiency of his conduct, recalled him from his command, and sent two other generals in his stead, to prosecute the war against the Grecians, Datis a Median, and Artaphernes a Persian, the son of that Artaphernes's brother who was lately governor of Sardis, and gave them particularly in charge not to fail of executing his revenge on the Athenians and the Eretrians, whom he could never forgive for the part which they had in the burning of Sardis. On their arrival on the coast of Ionia, they there drew together an army of three hundred thousand men and a fleet of six hundred ships, and made the best preparations they could for this expedition against the Grecians.

Defeated at Marathon, 491.—In the beginning of the next spring, the two Persian generals, having shipped their army, rendezvoused their whole fleet at Samos, and from thence sailed to Naxus; and having there burned the chief city of the island and all their temples, and taken in all the other islands in those seas, they shaped their course directly for Eretria, and after a siege of seven days took the city by the treachery of some of its chief inhabitants, and burned it to the

ground, making all that they found in it captives. And then passing over into Attica, they were led by the guidance of Hippias, the late tyrant of Athens, into the plain of Marathon; where being met and fought with by ten thousand Athenians and one thousand Plateans, under the leading of Miltiades, who was lately prince of the Thracian Chersonesus, they were there overthrown by this small number with a great slaughter, and forced to retreat to their ships, and sail back again into Asia with baffle and disgrace, having lost in this expedition, saith Trogus, by the sword, shipwreck, and other ways, two hundred thousand men. But Herodotus tells us, they were no more than six thousand four hundred that were slain in the field of battle, of which Hippias was one, who was the chief exciter and conductor of this war. Datis and Artaphernes, on their return into Asia, that they might show some fruit of this expedition, sent the Eretrians they had taken to Darius to Susa, who, without doing them any further harm, sent them to dwell in a village of the region of Cissia, which was at the distance of about a day's journey from Susa, where Apollonius Tyaneus found their descendants still remaining a great many ages after.

Darius prepares to head an expedition in person, 490: Egyptian revolt, 487.—Darius, on his hearing of the unsuccessful return of his forces from Attica, instead of being discouraged by that or the other disasters that had happened unto him in his attempts upon the Grecians, added the defeat of Marathon to the burning of Sardis, as a new cause to excite him with the greater vigour to carry on the war against them. And therefore resolving in person to make an invasion upon them with all his power, he sent orders through all the provinces to arm the whole empire for it. But in B. C. 487, after three years had been spent in making these preparations, a new war broke out in the fourth, by the revolt of the Egyptians. But Darius's heart was so earnestly set against the Grecians, that resolving his new rebels should not divert him from executing his wrath upon his old enemies, he determined to make war against them both at the same time; and that while part of his forces were sent to reduce Egypt, he would in person with the rest fall upon Greece.

Dispute between his two sons respecting the succession: decided in favour of Xerxes.—But Darius being now an old man, and there being a controversy between two of his sons, to which of them two the succession did belong, it was thought convenient that the matter should be determined before he did set out on this expedition, lest otherwise on his death it might cause a civil war in the empire; for the preventing of which it was an ancient usage among the Persians, that before their king went out to any dangerous war his successor should be declared. The matter in dispute stood thus: Darius had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of Gobrias, all born before his advancement to the throne, and four others by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who were all born after it. Of the first Artabasanes (who is by some called Artimenes, and by others Ariamenes) was the eldest, and of the latter Xerxes. Artabasanes urged that he was the eldest son;

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and therefore, according to the usage and custom of all nations, he ought to be preferred in the succession before the younger. To this Xerxes replied, that he was the son of Darius by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, who was the first founder of the Persian empire, and therefore claimed in her right to succeed his father in it; and that it was much more agreeable to justice, that the crown of Cyrus should come to a descendant of Cyrus, than to one who was not. And he further added, that it was true Artabasanes was the eldest son of Darius, but that he was the eldest son of the *king*: for Artabasanes was born while his father was only a private person, and therefore by that primogeniture could claim no more than to be heir to his private fortunes: but as to him, he was the first-born after his father was king, and therefore had the best right to succeed him in the kingdom. And for this he had an instance from the Lacedæmonians, with whom it was the usage, that the sons of their kings, who were born after their advancement to the throne, should succeed before those who were born before it. And this last argument he was helped to by Damaratus, formerly king of Lacedæmon, who, having been unjustly deposed by his subjects, was then an exile in the Persian court. Hereupon Xerxes was declared the successor, though not so much by the strength of his plea, as by the influence which his mother Atossa had over the inclinations of Darius, who was absolutely governed in

this matter by the authority she had with him. That which was most remarkable in this contest was the friendly and amicable manner with which it was managed: for during the whole time that it lasted, all the marks of a most entire fraternal affection passed between the two brothers. And when it was decided, as the one did not insult, so neither did the other repine, or express any anger or discontent on the judgment given; and although the elder brother lost the cause, yet he cheerfully submitted to the determination, wished his brother joy, and without diminishing his friendship or affection to him, ever after adhered to his interest, and at last died in his service, being slain fighting for him in the Grecian war; which is an example very rarely to be met with, where so great a prize is at stake as that of a crown, the ambitious desire of which is usually of that force with the most of mankind, as to make them break through all other considerations whatsoever, where there is any the least pretence to it, to reach the attainment.

Sudden death of Darius, 486.—After the succession was thus settled, and all were ready to set out both for the Egyptian as well as the Grecian war, Darius fell sick and died, in the second year after the Egyptian revolt, having then reigned thirty-six years; and Xerxes, according to the late determination, quietly succeeded in the throne. There are writers who place this determination after the death of Darius, and say that it was settled by the judgment of Artabanus, uncle to the two contending princes, who was made the arbitrator between them in this contest. But Herodotus, who lived the nearest those times of all that have written of it, positively tells us that it was decided by Darius himself a little before his death. And his decision being that which was most likely to have the greatest authority in this matter, Herodotus's account of it seemeth the much more probable

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of the two. Darius was a prince of wisdom, clemency, and justice, and hath the honour to have his name recorded in holy writ, for a favourer of God's people, a restorer of his temple at Jerusalem, and a promoter of his worship therein, for all which God was pleased to make him his instrument: and in respect hereof, I doubt not it was, that he blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity. For although he were not altogether

so fortunate in his wars against the Scythians and the Grecians, yet everywhere else he had full success in all his undertakings, and not only restored and thoroughly settled the empire of Cyrus, after it had been much shaken by Cambyses and the Magian, but also added many large and rich provinces to it, especially those of India, Thrace, Macedon, and the isles of the Ionian Sea.

Jewish tradition concerning the duration of the Persian empire.—The Jews have a tradition, that in the last year of Darius died the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; and that thereon ceased the spirit of prophecy from among the children of Israel; and that this was the obsignation or sealing up of vision and prophecy spoken of by the prophet Daniel. And from the same tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of the Persians ceased also the same year; for they will have it, that this was the Darius whom Alexander conquered, and that the whole continuance of the Persian empire was only fifty-two years; which they reckon thus: Darius the Median reigned one year, Cyrus three years, Cambyses (who they say was the Ahasuerus who married Esther) sixteen years, and Darius (whom they will have to be the son of Esther) thirty-two years. And this last Darius, according to them, was the Artaxerxes who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem to restore the state of the Jews; for they tell us, that Artaxerxes among the Persians was the common name of their kings, as that of Pharaoh was among the Egyptians. This shows how ill they have been acquainted with the affairs of the Persian empire. And their countryman Josephus, in the account which he gives of those times, seems to have been but very little better informed concerning them.

II. REVIEW OF THE MAGIAN RELIGION AS TAUGHT BY ZOROASTER IN THE REIGN OF DARIUS HYSTASPIS, B. C. 521—486.

Appearance of Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, in the reign of Darius Hystaspis.—In the time of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, first appeared in

Persia the famous prophet of the Magians, whom the Persians call Zerdusht, or Zaratush, and the Greeks, Zoroastres. The Greek and Latin writers much differ about him: some of them will have it, that he lived many ages before, and was king of Bactria; and others that there were two of that name, who lived in different ages, one long before the other, both famous in the same kind. But the Oriental writers, who should best know, all unanimously agree, that there was but one

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Zerdusht or Zoroastres; and that the time in which he flourished was while Darius Hystaspis was king of Persia.

His obscure origin.—It is certain that Zoroaster was no king, but one born of mean and obscure parentage, who did raise himself wholly by his craft in carrying on that imposture with which he deceived the world. They who place him so high as the time of Ninus, by whom they say he was slain in battle, follow the authority of Justin for it. But Diodorus Siculus, out of Ctesias, tells us, that the king of Bactria, with whom Ninus had war, was called Oxyartes: and there are some ancient manuscripts of Justin in which it is read Oxyatres, and perchance that was the genuine reading, and Zoroastres came into the text instead of it, by the error of the copier, led thereto perchance by a note in the margin placed there by some critic, who, from the character of the person, took upon him to alter the name; for he is there said, *Artes Magicas primo invenisse*, i. e. That he was the first inventor of Magianism, which Zoroastres only was generally taken to be, though in truth he was not the founder of that sect, but only the restorer and reformer of it, as shall be hereafter shown.

Supposed to be a Jew, from his extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures and Jewish religion.—He was the greatest impostor, except Mahomet, that ever appeared in the world, and had all the craft and enterprising boldness of that Arab, but much more knowledge; for he was excellently skilled in all the learning of the East that was in his time; whereas the other could neither write nor read; and particularly he was thoroughly versed in the Jewish religion, and in all the sacred writings of

the Old Testament that were then extant, which makes it most likely that he was as to his origin a Jew. And it is generally said of him, that he had been a servant to one of the prophets of Israel, and that it was by this means that he came to be so well skilled in the Scriptures and all other Jewish knowledge; which is a further proof that he was of that people, it not being likely that a prophet of Israel should entertain him as a servant, or instruct him as a disciple, if he were not of the same seed of Israel, as well as of the same religion with him; and that especially since it was the usage of that people, by principle of religion, as well as by long-received custom among them, to separate themselves from all other nations, as far as they were able. And it is further to be taken notice of, that most of those who speak of his original, say that he was of Palestine, within which country the land of Judæa was. And all this put together amounts with me to a convincing proof that he was first a Jew, and that by birth as well as religion, before he took upon him to be prophet of the Magian sect.

Probably a servant of Daniel.—The prophet of Israel, to whom he was a servant, some say was Elias, and others Ezra: but as the former was too early, so the other was too late for the time in which he lived. With this best agreeth what is said by a third sort of writers, that it was one of the disciples of Jeremiah with whom he served; and if so, it must have been either Ezekiel or Daniel; for besides these two there

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was no other prophet of Israel in those times who could have been of the disciples of Jeremiah. And as Daniel was of age sufficient at his carrying away to Babylon (he having been then about eighteen years old) to have been some time before under the discipline and tutorage of that prophet, so having continued till about the end of the reign of Cyrus, he lived long enough to have been contemporary with this impostor; which cannot be said of Ezekiel. For we hear nothing more of him after the twenty-seventh year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, which was the year next after the taking of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar; and therefore it is most likely that he lived not much beyond that time. It must therefore be Daniel under whom this impostor served; and besides him there was not any other master in those times, under whom he could acquire all that knowledge, both in things

sacred and profane, which he was so well furnished with. And, no doubt, his seeing that great, good, and wise man arrive to such a height and dignity in the empire, by being a true prophet of God, was that which did set this crafty wretch upon the design of being a false one; hoping that, by acting this part well, he might obtain the same advancement, and by pretending to that which the other really was, arrive to the like honour and greatness; and it must be said that by his craft and dexterity in managing this pretence, he wonderfully succeeded in what he aimed at. It is said, that while he served the prophet, under whom he was bred, he did by some evil action draw on him his curse, and that thereon he was smitten with leprosy. But they who tell us this seem to be such who, finding Eliah said to be his master, mistook Elisha for Eliah, and therefore thought Gehazi to have been the person.

Not a founder of a new religion, like Mahomet, but a reformer only of the ancient Magian religion.—He did not found a new religion, as his successor in imposture Mahomet did, but only took upon him to revive and reform an old one, that of the Magians, which had been for many ages past the ancient national religion of the Medes, as well as of the Persians; for it having fallen under disgrace on the death of those ringleaders of that sect, who had usurped the sovereignty after the death of Cambyses, and the slaughter which was then made of all the chief men among them, it sunk so low that it became almost extinct, and Sabianism everywhere prevailed against it, Darius and most of his followers on that occasion going over to it. But the affection which the people had for the religion of their forefathers, and which they had been all brought up in, not being easily to be rooted out, Zoroastres saw that the revival of this was the best game of imposture that he could then play; and having so good an old stock to graft upon, he did with the greater ease make all his new scions to grow which he inserted into it.

Appeared first in Media.—He first made his appearance in Media, now called Aderbijan, in the city of Xiz, say some; in that of Ecbatana, now Tauris, say others: for Smerdis having been of that province, it is most likely that the sect which he was of had still there its best rooting

and therefore the impostor thought he might in those parts, with the best success, attempt the revival of it. And his first appearing here is that which I suppose hath given some the handle to assert, that this was the country in which he was born.

Nature of his reformations: 1st, The belief in one supreme God, Creator of both light and darkness.—The chief reformation which he made in the Magian religion was in the first principle of it: for whereas before they had held the being of two first causes, the first light, or the good god, who was the author of all good; and the other darkness, or the evil god, who was the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made; he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness, and out of these two, according to the alone pleasure of his own will, made all things else that are, according to what is said in Isaiah xlv. 5—7, "I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no God beside me; girded thee, though thou hast not known me: that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all these things." For these words, being directed to Cyrus, king of Persia, must be understood as spoken in reference to the Persian sect of the Magians, who then held light and darkness, or good and evil, to be the supreme beings, without acknowledging the great God who is superior to both. And I doubt not it was from hence that Zoroastres had the hint of mending this great absurdity in their theology. But to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, that God originally and directly created only light or good, and that darkness or evil followed it by consequence, as the shadow doth the person; that light or good had only a real production from God, and the other afterwards resulted from it, as the defect thereof. In sum, his doctrine as to this particular was, that there was one supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity. That under him there were two angels, one the angel of light, who is the author and director of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author and director of all evil; and that these

two, out of the mixture of light and darkness, made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there the most is good, and where the angel of darkness prevails, there the most is evil; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general resurrection, and a day of judgment, wherein just retribution shall be rendered to all according to their works; after which the angel of darkness, and his disciples, shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness

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the punishments of their evil deeds; and the angel of light, and his disciples, shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; and that after this they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And all this the remainder of that sect, which is now in Persia and India, do, without any variation after so many ages, still hold even to this day. And how consonant this is to the truth is plain enough to be understood without a comment. And whereas he taught that God originally created the good angel only, and that the other followed only by the defect of good; this plainly shows that he was not unacquainted with the revolt of the fallen angels, and the entrance of evil into the world that way, but had been thoroughly instructed how that God at first created all his angels good, as he also did man, and that they that are now evil became such wholly through their own fault, in falling from that state which God first placed them in. All which plainly shows the author of this doctrine to have been well versed in the sacred writings of the Jewish religion, out of which it manifestly appears to have been all taken; only the crafty impostor took care to dress it up in such a style and form as would make it best agree with that old religion of the Medes and Persians which he grafted it upon.

2nd, The erection of temples over the altars of sacred fire.—Another reformation which he made in the Magian religion was, that he caused fire-temples to be built wherever he came: for whereas hitherto they had erected their altars, on which their sacred fire was kept, on the tops of hills and on high places in the open air, and there performed all the offices of their religious worship, where often by rain, tempests, and storms, the sacred fire

was extinguished, and the holy offices of their religion interrupted and disturbed; for the preventing of this he directed, that wherever any of those altars were erected, temples should be built over them, that so the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and the public offices of their religion the better performed before them: for all the parts of their public worship were performed before these public sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire (for this they always disowned), but God in the fire. For Zoroastres, among other his impostures, having feigned that he was taken up into heaven, there to be instructed in those doctrines which he was to deliver unto men, he pretended not (as Mahomet after did) there to have seen God, but only to have heard him speaking to him out of the midst of a great and most bright flame of fire; and therefore taught his followers that fire was the truest Shekinah of the divine presence, that the sun being the perfectest fire, God had there the throne of his glory, and the residence of his divine presence, in a more excellent manner than anywhere else, and next that in the elementary fire with us; and for this reason he ordered them still to direct all their worship to God, first towards the sun (which they called Mithra), and next towards their sacred fires, as being the things in which God chiefly dwelt; and their ordinary way of worship was to do so towards both: for when they

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came before these fires to worship, they always approached them on the west side, that having their faces towards them, and also towards the rising sun at the same time, they might direct their worship towards both; and in this posture they always performed every act of their worship. But this was not a new institution of his: for thus to worship before fire and the sun was, as hath been said, the ancient usage of that sect; and according hereto is it that we are to understand what we find in Ezekiel viii. 16, where it is related, that the prophet being carried in a vision to Jerusalem, to see the abominations of that place, among other impieties, had there shown him "about five-and-twenty men standing between the porch and the altar, with their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east, and they worshipped the sun." The meaning of which is, that they had

turned their backs upon the true worship of God, and had gone over to that of the Magians. For the holy of holies (in which was the Shekinah of the divine presence resting over the mercy-seat) being on the western end of the temple at Jerusalem, all that entered thither to worship God did it with their faces turned that way: for that was their kebla, or the point towards which they always directed their worship. But the kebla of the Magians being the rising sun, they always worshipped with their faces turned that way, that is, towards the east. And therefore, these twenty-five men, by altering their kebla, are shown to have altered their religion, and instead of worshipping God according to the Jewish religion, to have gone over to the religion and worship of the Magians.

3rd, **Pretended to have brought sacred fire from heaven.** Zoroastres having thus retained, in his reformation of Magianism, the ancient usage of that sect in worshipping God before fire, to give the sacred fires in the temples which he had erected the greater veneration, he pretended, that when he was in heaven, and there heard God speaking to him out of the midst of fire, he brought thence some of that fire with him on his return, and placed it on the altar of the first fire-temple that he erected (which was that at Xiz in Media), from whence they say it was propagated to all the rest. And this is the reason which is given for their so careful keeping of it: for their priests watch it day and night, and never suffer it to go out, or be extinguished. And for the same reason also they did treat it with that superstition, that they fed it only with wood stripped of its bark, and of that sort which they thought most clean; and they never did blow it, either with bellows or their breath, for fear of polluting it. And to do this either of those ways, or to cast any unclean thing into it, was no less than death by the law of the land, as long as those of that sect reigned in it, which from the time of Zoroastres to the death of Yazdejerd, the last Persian king of the Magian religion, was about one thousand one hundred and fifty years; yea, it went so far, that the priests themselves never approached

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this fire but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breathe thereon; and this they did, not only when they tended the fire to lay more wood thereon, or do any other service about it, but also when they

approached it to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it: so that they mumbled over their prayers rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the Popish priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said; and if they should hear them, they would now as badly understand them.

4th, **His Magian Liturgy.** For all their public prayers are, even to this day, in the old Persian language, in which Zoroastres first composed them, above two thousand two hundred years since, of which the common people do not now understand one word; and in this absurdity also have they the Romanists partakers with them. When Zoroastres composed his liturgy, the old Persic was then indeed the vulgar language of all those countries where this liturgy was used: and so was the Latin throughout all the western empire, when the Latin service was first used therein. But when the language changed, they would not consider that the change which was made thereby, in the reason of the thing, did require that a change should be made in their liturgy also, but retained it the same, after it ceased to be understood, as it was before. So it was the superstitious folly of adhering to old establishments against reason that produced this absurdity in both of them: though it must be acknowledged, that the Magians have more to say for themselves in this matter than the Romanists; for they are taught that their liturgy was brought them from heaven, which the others do not believe of theirs, though they stick to it as if it were. And if that stiffness of humour, which is now among too many of us, against altering anything in our liturgy, should continue, it must at last bring us to the same pass: for all languages being *in fluxu*, they do in every age alter from what they were in the former; and therefore, as we do not now understand the English which was here spoken by our ancestors three or four hundred years ago, so in all likelihood will not our posterity three or four hundred years hence understand that which is now spoken by us. And therefore, should our liturgy be still continued, without any change or alteration, it will then be as much in an unknown language as now the Roman service is to the vulgar of that communion.

Framing of his reformations on a Jewish platform. — But, to return to the reformations of Zoroastres. How much he followed the Jewish platform in the framing of them doth manifestly appear from the particulars

I have mentioned; for most of them were taken either from the sacred writings or the sacred usages of that people. Moses heard God speaking to him out of a flame of fire from the bush, and all Israel heard him speaking to them in the same manner out of the midst of fire from Mount Sinai; hence Zoroastres pretended to have heard God speaking to him also out of the midst of a flame of fire. The Jews had a visible Shekinah of the divine presence among them resting over the mercy-seat in the holy of holies, both in their tabernacle and temple, toward which they offered up all their prayers; and therefore

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Zoroastres taught his Magians to pretend to the like, and to hold the sun and the sacred fires in their fire-temples to be this Shekinah in which God especially dwelt; and for this reason they offered up all their prayers to him with their faces turned towards both. The Jews had a sacred fire which came down from heaven upon their altar of burnt-offerings, which they did there ever after, till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, inextinguishably maintain: and with this fire only were all their sacrifices and oblations made, and Nadab and Abihu were punished with death for offering incense to God with other fire. And in like manner Zoroastres pretended to have brought his holy fire from heaven, and therefore commanded it to be kept with the same care. And to kindle fire on the altar of any new-erected fire-temple, or to rekindle it on any such altar where it had been by any unavoidable accident extinguished, from any other fire than from one of the sacred fires in some other temple, or else from the sun, was reckoned a crime to be punished in the same manner. And whereas great care was taken among the Jews, that no wood should be used on their altar in the temple but that which they reputed clean, and for this reason they had it all barked and examined before it was laid on; and that when it was laid on, the fire should never be blowed up, either with bellows or the breath of man, for the kindling of it: hence Zoroastres ordained both these particulars to be also observed in respect of his sacred fire among his Magians, commanding them to use only barked wood for the maintaining of it, and no other means for the kindling of it up into a flame but the pouring on of oil, and the blasts of the open air. And that he should in so many

things write after the Jewish religion, or have been so well informed therein, can scarce seem probable, if he had not been first educated and brought up in it.

His retirement in a cave. Zoroastres having thus taken upon him to be a prophet of God, sent to reform the old religion of the Persians, to gain the better reputation to his pretensions, he retired into a cave, and there lived a long time as a recluse, pretending to be abstracted from all worldly considerations, and to be given wholly to prayer and divine meditations; and the more to amuse the people who there resorted to him, he dressed up his cave with several mystical figures, representing Mithra and other mysteries of their religion: from whence it became for a long while after a usage among them to choose such caves for their devotions, which being dressed up in the same manner were called Mithratic caves. While he was in this retirement he composed the book wherein all his pretended revelations are contained, which shall be hereafter spoken of. And Mahomet exactly followed his example herein; for he also retired to a cave some time before he broached his imposture, and, by the help of his accomplices, there formed the Alcoran, wherein it is contained. And Pythagoras, on his return from Babylon to Samos, in imitation of his master Zoroastres (whom Clemens Alexandrinus tells us he emulously followed), had there in like manner his cave, to which he retired, and wherein he mostly abided both day and night, and for the same end as Zoroastres

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did in his; that is, to get himself the greater veneration from the people: for Pythagoras acted a part of imposture as well as Zoroastres, and this perchance he also learned from him.

Removal of Zoroaster from Media to Bactria: his extraordinary reputation for wisdom.—After he had thus acted the part of a prophet in Media, and there settled all things according to his intentions, he removed from thence into Bactria, the most eastern province of Persia, and there settled in the city of Balkh, which lies on the river Oxus, in the confines of Persia, India, and Cowaresmia [Kharesm or Khiva], where, under the protection of Hystaspes, the father of Darius, he soon spread his imposture

through all that province with great success: for although Darius, after the slaughter of the Magians, had, with most of his followers, gone over to the sect of the Sabians, yet Hystaspes still adhered to the religion of his ancestors, and having fixed his residence at Balkh (where it may be supposed he governed those parts of the empire under his son), did there support and promote it to the utmost of his power. And in order to give it the greater reputation, he went in person into India among the Brachmans; and having there learned from them all their knowledge in mathematics, astronomy, and natural philosophy, he brought it back among his Magians, and thoroughly instructed them in it. And they continued for many ages after, above all others of those times, skilful in these sciences, especially after they had been further instructed in them by Zoroastres, who was the greatest mathematician and the greatest philosopher of the age in which he lived; and therefore took care to improve his sect, not only in their religion, but also in all natural knowledge; which so much advanced their credit in the world, that thenceforth a learned man and a Magian became equivalent terms. And this proceeded so far, that the vulgar, looking on their knowledge to be more than natural, entertained an opinion of them, as if they had been actuated and inspired by supernatural powers, in the same manner as, too frequently among us, ignorant people are apt to give great scholars, and such as are learned beyond their comprehensions (as were Friar Bacon, Dr. Faustus, and Cornelius Agrippa), the name of conjurers. And from hence those who really practised wicked and diabolical arts, or would be thought to do so, taking the name of Magians, drew on it that ill signification which now the word magician bears among us: whereas the true and ancient Magians were the great mathematicians, philosophers, and divines, of the ages in which they lived, and had no other knowledge but what, by their own study and the instructions of the ancients of their sect, they had improved themselves in.

Three orders of Magian priests. But it is not to be understood that all Magians, that is, all of the sect, were thus learned, but only those who had this name by way of eminence above the rest, that is, their priests: for they being all of the same tribe, as among the Jews (none but the son of a priest

being capable of being a priest among them), they mostly appropriated their learning to their own families, transmitting it in them from father to son, and seldom communicating it to any other, unless it were to those of the royal family, whom they were bound to instruct, the better to fit them for the government; and therefore there were some of them as tutors, as well as chaplains, always residing in the palaces of their kings. And whether it were that these Magians thought it would bring the greater credit to them, or the kings, that it would add a greater sacredness to their persons, or whether it were from both these causes, the royal family among the Persians, as long as this sect prevailed among them, was always reckoned of the sacerdotal tribe. They were divided into three orders [viz. **Herbeds**, or disciples; **Mobeds**, or masters; and **Destur Mobeds**, or complete masters]. The lowest were the inferior clergy, who served in all the common offices of their divine worship: next above them were the superintendents, who in their several districts governed the inferior clergy, as the bishops do with us; and above all was the archimagus, or arch-priest, who in the same manner as the high priest among the Jews, or the pope now among the Romanists, was the head of the whole religion.

Three orders of Magian temples. And according to the number of their orders, the churches or temples in which the priests officiated were also of three sorts. The lowest sort were the parochial churches, or oratories, which were served by the inferior clergy, as the parochial churches are now with us; and the duties which they there performed were, to read the daily offices out of their liturgy, and, at stated and solemn times, to read some part of their sacred writings to the people. In these churches there were no fire-altars; but the sacred fire, before which they here worshipped, was maintained only in a lamp. Next above these were their fire-temples, in which fire was continually kept burning on a sacred altar. And these were, in the same manner as cathedrals with us, the churches or temples where the superintendent resided. In every one of these were also several of the inferior clergy entertained, who, in the same manner as the choral vicars with us, performed all the divine offices under the superintendent, and also took care of the sacred fire, which they constantly watched day and night by four and four in their turns, that it might be always kept burning, and never go out. 3rdly, The highest church above all was the fire-temple, where the

archimagus resided, which was had in the same veneration with them as the temple of Mecca among the Mahometans, to which every one of that sect thought themselves obliged to make a pilgrimage once in their lives. Zoroastres first settled it at Balkh, and there he, as their archimagus, had his usual residence.

But after the Mahometans had overrun Persia, in the seventh century after Christ, the archimagus was forced to remove from thence into Kerman, which is a province in Persia lying upon the southern ocean towards India, and there it hath continued even to this day. And to the fire-temple there erected, at the place of his residence, do they now pay the same veneration as formerly they did to that of Balkh. This temple of the archimagus, as also the other fire-temples, were endowed with large revenues in lands; but the parochial clergy depended solely on the tithes and offerings of the people. For this usage also had Zoroastres taken from the Jewish church, and made it one of his establishments among his Magians.

Zoroaster removes from Bactria to Susa: spread of his reformation.—The impostor having thus settled his new scheme of Magianism throughout the province of Bactria, with the same success as he had before in Media, he went next to the royal court at Susa, where he managed his pretensions with that craft, address, and insinuation, that he soon got within Darius himself, and made him a proselyte to his new reformed religion; whose example, in a short time, drew after it into the same profession the courtiers, nobility, and all the great men of the kingdom. This happened in the thirtieth year of Darius; and although it succeeded not without great oppositions from the ringleaders of the Sabians, who were the opposite sect, yet the craft, address, and dexterity of the impostor surmounted them all, and so settled his new device, that thenceforth it became the national religion of all that country, and so continued for many ages after, till this imposture was at last supplanted by that of Mahomet, which was raised almost by the same arts. They who professed this religion in Lucian's time, as reckoned up by him, were the Persians, the Parthians, the Bactrians, the Chowaresmians, the Arians, the Sacans, the Medes, and many other barbarous nations; but since that, the new imposture hath grown up to the

suppressing of the old in all these countries. However, there is a remnant of these Magians still remaining in Persia and India, who even to this day observe the same religion which Zoroastres first taught them; for they still have his book, wherein their religion is contained, which they keep and reverence in the same manner as the Christians do the Bible, and the Mahometans the Alcoran, making it the sole rule both of their faith and manners.

Composition of the Zendavesta. This book the impostor composed while he lived in his retirement in the cave, and therein are contained all his pretended revelations. When he presented it to Darius, it was bound up in twelve volumes, whereof each consisted of a hundred skins of vellum; for it was the usage of the Persians in those times to write all on skins. This book is called Zendavesta, and by contraction, Zend; the vulgar pronounce it Zundavestow, and Zund. The word originally signifieth a fire-kindler, such as is a tinder-box with us; which fantastical name the impostor gave it, because, as he pretended, all that would read this book, and meditate thereon, might from thence, as from a fire-kindler, kindle in their hearts the fire of all true love for God and his holy religion. For the better understanding of which, it is to be observed, that in those eastern countries their way of kindling

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fire is not by a tinder-box, as with us, but by rubbing two pieces of cane one against another, till one of them takes fire; and such a fire-kindler of his religion in the hearts of men the impostor would have his book to be, and therefore called it by that name. The first part of it contains their liturgy, which is still used among them in all their oratories and fire-temples even to this day. The rest treats of all other parts of their religion. And according as their actions do agree or disagree with this book, do they reckon them to be either good or evil. Thence, in their language, they call a righteous action *Zend-aver*, i. e. what the book Zend allows; and an evil action, *Na-Zend-aver*, i. e. which the book Zend disallows. This book Zoroastres feigned to have received from heaven, as Mahomet afterwards (perchance following his pattern) pretended of his Alcoran. It is still preserved among them in the old Persian language and character; and in every oratory and fire-temple,

even to this day, there is a copy of it kept, in the same manner as there is with us of the Bible in every parish church, out of which, on certain stated times, the priests read a portion of it to the people.

Subject-matter of the Zendavesta. In this book are found a great many things taken out of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, besides those I have already mentioned; which further proves the author's original to have been what I have said. For therein he inserts a great part of the Psalms of David; he makes Adam and Eve to have been the first parents of all mankind, and gives in a manner the same history of the creation and the deluge that Moses doth; only, as to the former, whereas Moses tells us that "all things were created in six days," Zoroastres converts those six days into six times, allowing to each of those times several days: so that, putting them all together, the time of the creation, according to his account, amounted to three hundred and sixty-five days, that is, a whole year. He speaks therein also of Abraham, Joseph, Moses, and Solomon, in the same manner as the Scriptures do. And out of a particular veneration for Abraham, he called his book the book of Abraham, and his religion the religion of Abraham: for he pretended, that the reformation which he introduced was no more than to bring back the religion of the Persians to that original purity in which Abraham practised it, by purging it of all those defects, abuses, and innovations, which the corruptions of after-times had introduced into it. And to all this Mahomet also (no doubt from this pattern) afterwards pretended for his religion. For the name of Abraham hath for a great many ages past been had in great veneration all over the East, and among all sects; so that every one of them have thought it would give reputation to them, could they entitle themselves

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to him: for not only the Jews, the Magians, and the Mahometans, but the Sabians, and also the Indians (if the Brahama of the latter be Abraham, as it is with good reason supposed), all challenge him to themselves, as the great patriarch and founder of their several sects; every one of them pretending that their religion is the same which Abraham professed, and by his reformation established among them; and to restore this reformation was all that Zoroastres, Mahomet, and the author of the Sabian sect, whoever he

was, pretended to. This veneration for Abraham, in those parts, proceeded from the great fame of his piety, which was (it is supposed) there spread among them by the Israelites in their dispersion all over the East; first on the Assyrian, and after on the Babylonish captivity. And this fame being once fixed, made all parties fond of having him thought their own, and therefore all laid claim to him. And in this book Zoroastres commands also the same observances about beasts, clean and unclean, as Moses doth; gives the same law of paying tithes to the sacerdotal order; enjoins the same care of avoiding all external as well as all internal pollutions; the same way of cleansing and purifying themselves by frequent washings; the same keeping of the priesthood always within the same tribe, and the same ordaining of one high priest over all; and several other institutions are also therein contained of the same Jewish extraction. The rest of its contents are an historical account of the life, actions, and prophecies of its author, the several branches and particulars of his new-reformed superstition, and rules and exhortations to moral living, in which he is very pressing, and sufficiently exact, saving only in one particular, that is, about incest. For therein he wholly takes this away, and, as if nothing of this nature were unlawful, allows a man to marry, not only his sister or his daughter, but also his mother; and it went so far with that sect in the practice, that in the sacerdotal tribe, he that was born of this last and worst sort of incest was looked on as the best qualified for the sacerdotal function, none being esteemed among them more proper for the highest stations in it than those that were born of mothers who conceived them of their own sons; which was such an abomination, that though all things else had been right therein, this alone is enough to pollute the whole book. The Persian kings being exceedingly given to such incestuous marriages, this seems to have been contrived out of a vile piece of flattery to them, the better to engage and fix them to their sect. But Alexander, when he conquered Persia, did put an end to this abomination; for he did by a law forbid all such incestuous copulations among them.

Zoroaster's residence at Balkh, as supreme head of the Magian church: slain by the Scythians. Zoroastres having obtained this wonderful success, in making his imposture to be thus received by the king, and the great men, and the generality of the whole kingdom, he returned back again

to Balkh, where, according to his own institution, he was obliged to have his residence, as archimagus, or head of the sect: and there he reigned in spirituals with the same authority over the whole empire, as the king did in temporals; and from hence perchance might

proceed the mistake of making him king of Bactria, Balkh being in that province. And his being said to have been there slain in battle by Ninus, might also have its original from his suffering this fate in that country, although from another hand; for after his return to Balkh, having enterprised upon Argasp, king of the oriental Scythians (who was a zealous Sabian), to draw him over to his religion, and backed his attempt with the authority of Darius, the more prevalently to induce him to it, the Scythian prince resented it with such indignation to be thus imperiously addressed to concerning this matter, that he invaded Bactria with an army; and having there defeated the forces of Darius that opposed him, slew Zoroastres, with all the priests of his patriarchal church, which amounted to the number of eighty persons, and demolished all the fire-temples in that province. This happened in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Darius. The Persians tell us that Lorasp, or Hystaspes, the father of Darius, was slain also in the same war. But if he lived so long, he must then have been exceeding old; for allowing him to have been no more than twenty on his first coming with Cyrus out of Persia, he must now have been ninety-three years old. But this is no strange thing in those parts: for the air being there thoroughly pure and healthy, the perspiration free and regular, and all the fruits of the earth fully concocted, they who can there avoid the excesses of lust and luxury usually live to a great age, of which we have lately had two instances, in Aurang-Zeb, king of India, and Rajah-Singah, king of Candia, in the island of Ceylon; the former dying in the year 1708, of the age of near a hundred, and the other about twenty years before, much older.

Darius archimagus of the Magians. But Darius soon revenged the injury upon the Scythian king: for falling on him before he could make his retreat, he overthrew him with a great slaughter, and drove him out of the province; after which he rebuilt again all the fire-temples that had been demolished by the enemy, and especially that at Balkh, which he erected

with a grandeur suitable to its dignity, it being the patriarchal temple of the sect; and therefore from the name of its restorer it was thenceforth called Auzur Gustasp, i. e. the fire-temple of Darius Hystaspis. And the care which he took in this matter shows the zeal which he had for his new religion, which he still continued to propagate after the death of its author with the same ardour as before. And the better to preserve its credit and reputation after this accident, he thenceforth took it on himself to be their archimagus: for Porphyry tells us, he ordered before his death, that among other his titles it should be engraven on his monument, that he was master of the Magians, which plainly implies that he bore this office among them (for none but the archimagus was master of the whole sect). But it was not long that he was in it, for he died the next year after. However, from hence it seems to have proceeded that the kings of Persia were ever after looked on to be of the sacerdotal tribe, and were always initiated into the sacred order of the Magians, before they took on them the crown, or were inaugurated into the kingdom.

Zoroaster highly esteemed by the Greeks. The Greeks had the name of Zoroastres in great esteem, speaking of him as the great master of all human and divine knowledge. Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, and Porphyry, mention him with honour, acknowledging his great learning; and so do others. Pliny saith much of him; and particularly remarks, that he was the only person that laughed on the day in which he was born; and that the pulsation of his head did then beat so strong that it heaved up the hand laid upon it, which last, he saith, was a presage of his future learning. Solinus tells us the same story of his laughing on the day of his birth; and saith, that he was *optimarum artium peritissimus*, i. e. most skilful in the knowledge of the best arts. And Apuleius's character of him is, that he was *omnis divini arcani antistes*, i. e. the chief doctor in all divine mysteries. Cedrenus names him as a famous astronomer among the Persians, and Suidas saith of him, that he excelled all others in that science. And this reputation he still hath over all the East, even among those who are most averse to his sect to this very day: for they all there, as well Mahometans as Sabians, give him the title of Hakim, that is, of a wise and learned philosopher, and reckon

him as the most skilful and eminent of their ancient astronomers. And particularly Ulugh Beigh, that famous and learned Tartarian prince, writing a book of astronomy and astrology, doth therein prefer Zoroastres before all others for his skill and knowledge in these sciences.

Pythagoras declared to be the scholar of Zoroaster. It is to be observed also, that they who write of Pythagoras, do almost all of them tell us that he was the scholar of Zoroastres at Babylon, and learned of him and his disciples the Magians most of that knowledge which afterwards rendered him so famous in the west. So saith Apuleius, and so say Jamblichus, Porphyry, and Clemens Alexandrinus (for the Zabratus or Zaratus of Porphyry, and the Na-Zaratus of Clemens, were none other than this Zoroastres); and they relate the matter thus:—That when Cambyses conquered Egypt, he found Pythagoras there on his travels, for the improvement of himself in the learning of that country; and that having taken him prisoner, he sent him with other captives to Babylon, where Zoroastres (or Zabratus as Porphyry calls him) then lived; and that there he became his disciple, and learned many things of him of the eastern learning. The words of Porphyry are, "That by Zabratus he was cleansed from the pollutions of his life past, and instructed from what things virtuous persons ought to be free, and also learned from him the discourse concerning nature, and what are the principles of the universe." This doth not disagree with the age of Zoroastres, nor with the time in which Pythagoras is said to have lived. For Zoroastres being a very old man

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at the time of his death, past eighty at least, if we reckon thirty-eight years back from the time of his death, it will prove him to be forty-two at least when Cambyses conquered Egypt. And that Pythagoras flourished at the same time is sufficiently evidenced, in that he had for his contemporaries Polycrates tyrant of Samos, Amasis king of Egypt, and Milo the Crotonian. For when Pythagoras went into Egypt, he carried with him from Polycrates letters of recommendation to Amasis, which Amasis died in the same year in which Cambyses invaded that country; and Milo, who was Pythagoras's scholar, was victor in the wrestling games at the sixty-second Olympiad, seven years before Cambyses invaded Egypt, and about the seventh year of

Darius Hystaspis married his daughter to Democides the physician, and about twenty years after Pythagoras was in Milo's house, when he was assaulted by Cylon, one of his scholars, and slain. Hereby it appears, that Zoroastres and Pythagoras both flourished together, between the beginning of the reign of Cyrus and the latter end of that of Darius Hystaspis. But if what is said of Pythagoras's being taken prisoner by Cambyses's soldiers in Egypt doth not exactly accord with what others write of the different stages of his life, this is owing to the uncertainty of the ancient Grecian chronology. For Sir John Marsham observes right, that till after the time of Alexander the Greeks were far from being accurate in this matter. But however this be, that Pythagoras was in Egypt, and from thence went to Babylon, and learned there a great part of that knowledge which he was afterwards so famous for, is agreed by all. His stay there, Jamblichus tells us, was twelve years; and that, in his converse with the Magians, he learned from them (over and above what hath been afore mentioned out of Porphyry) arithmetic, music, and the knowledge of divine things, and the sacred mysteries pertaining thereto. But the most important doctrine which he brought home from thence was that of the immortality of the soul: for it is generally agreed among the ancients, that he was the first of all the Greeks that taught it. And this, I take it for certain, he had from Zoroastres; for, as I have afore shown, it was his doctrine, and he is the ancientest of any whom we have upon record of all the heathen nations that taught it. But Pythagoras did not bring this doctrine into Greece with that purity in which he received it from his master; for having corrupted it with a mixture of the Indian philosophy (for this also he had learned in the East), he made this immortality to consist in an eternal transmigration of the soul from one body to another; whereas Zoroastres's doctrine was, that there is to be a

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resurrection of the dead, and an immortal state after to follow, in the same manner as Daniel taught, and the people of God then held, and we now; and there is no doubt but that he had it from them.

Antiquity attributed to Zoroaster by both the Greek and the Latin writers. — Some of the ancient both Greek and Latin writers give unto Zoroastres a very fabulous antiquity. Justin, according to our present printed

copies, makes him contemporary with Ninus, who is said to have reigned in Assyria one thousand three hundred years before the death of Sardanapalus, from which this our history begins. Eudoxus placeth him six thousand years before the death of Plato, and so did Aristotle. Hermodorus, Hermippus, and Plutarch, make him to have flourished five thousand years before the war of Troy. But Xanthus Lydius, and another anonymous author followed by Suidas, reckoning it by hundreds instead of thousands, the latter of them brings down his time to five hundred years before the war of Troy, and the other to six hundred years before the expedition of Xerxes into Greece, which was much later; but the best evidence is for the age where I have placed it, that is, between the beginning of the reign of Cyrus over the East, and the latter end of that of Darius Hystaspis. This is indeed the latest that is said, but in all such pretences to antiquity they that say the latest are almost always nearest the truth. And that this latest is the truth in the present case, is confirmed not only by the concurrent testimony of all the writers of the East that make mention of this matter, but many of the western writers also assert the same thing. What hath been said to this purpose by Apuleius, Jamblichus, Porphyry, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Agathias, hath been already alleged. Plato in the tenth book of his Politics hath said, that Zoroastres had the name of Er of Pamphylia, the son of Armenius, which same is the Armenius of Pamphylia, whom Arnobius asserts to have been a familiar acquaintance of Cyrus's. Suidas, who had the use of many ancient books not now extant, from them tells us, that Zoroastres was Perso-medus; but there was no such person or name as Perso-medus, till Cyrus had joined the Medes and Persians together, and incorporated them under him into one nation. Pliny, speaking of Ostanes, who came into Greece with Xerxes, saith of him, that Zoroastres lived paulo ante hunc, that is, a little before him. And Diogenes Laertius makes mention of this Ostanes as the next successor of Zoroastres, and Suidas doth the same, which plainly proves this Zoroastres to have lived but a little before the time of Xerxes. And Pliny tells us, that they were the diligentiores, that is, the more diligent and accurate, that did so assert. The greatest objection against

this is the testimony of Xanthus Lydius in Diogenes Laertius. For if he lived at that time, when the Athenians burnt Sardis in the reign of Darius Hystaspis, as Suidas tells us, he must then have lived in the same age in which we say Zoroastres flourished; and how then could he say of him, that he lived six hundred years before? One answer to be given hereto is, that Athenæus tells us from Antemon Cassandreus (who wrote a tract of purpose to show who were the genuine authors of the books then extant, and who were not), that the books which went under the name of Xanthus Lydius, in the time of Diogenes Laertius, were not written by him, but by Dionysius Scytobrachion (who lived a little before the time of Julius Cæsar), and that the name of Xanthus Lydius (whose true works had all perished long before) was falsely ascribed to them. But supposing it otherwise, the objection may be fully solved by what Pliny tells us of two Zoroastres's; the former of which might live six hundred years before the latter, and this latter might be that alius Zoroastres, that is, that other Zoroastres, who according to the same Pliny lived a little before Ostanes, and was the same of which we now treat. But however that matter was, thus much is certain, that the Zoroastres that was the Zerdusht of the Persians, who was the great patriarch of the Magians, who wrote the book Zendavesta (which is the Bible of that sect), and whose name is still in the same veneration among them as that of Moses is among the Jews, and that of Mahomet among the Mahometans, lived in no other times than those where I have placed him. Possibly there might be another before him of the same name, and he the same of which the book ascribed to Xanthus Lydius did speak. If any one shall say, that the former was the founder of the Magian sect, and the latter the reformer of it, and for that reason called by the same name, I shall not contradict the conjecture; for I am apt to think that may be the truth of the matter.

Pretensions of the ancient heretics to possess the secret books of Zoroaster. — Some of the ancient heretics, especially the followers of Prodicus, pretended to have the secret books of Zoroastres, containing his revelations, and other mysteries of religion, and offered to make use of them in defence of their heresies. Against these Plotinus and Porphyry did both write, and fully showed them to have been the forgeries of the Gnostic Christians. And others have gathered together out of Proclus, Simplicius,

Damascius, Synesius, Olympiodorus, and other writers, what they call the oracles of Zoroastres; and several editions have been published of them in Greek, with the scholia or comments of Pletho and Psellus. But all these are mere figments coined by the Platonic philosophers, who lived after the time of Christ, and are condemned as such by St. Chrysostom, who plainly tells us that they were all figments. If any are desirous to see what unintelligible and nonsensical stuff these oracles do contain, they may consult Mr. Stanley's book of the Chaldaic Philosophy, which is published at the end of his History of Philosophy, where they will find them translated into English from the collection of Francis Patricius.

Prophecy of the Star in the East attributed to Zoroaster. — Abul-Pharagius tells us, that Zerdusht (or Zoroastres) foretold to his Magians the coming of Christ, and that at the time of his birth there should appear a wonderful star, which should shine by day as well as by night; and therefore left in command with them, that when that star should appear, they should follow the directions of it, and go to the place where he should be born, and there offer gifts and pay their adoration unto him; and that it was by this command, that the three wise men came from the East, that is, out of Persia, to worship Christ at Bethlehem. And so far Sharistani, though a Mahometan writer, doth agree with him, as that he tells us, that Zerdusht (or Zoroastres) foretold the coming of a wonderful person in the latter times, who should reform the world both in religion and righteousness; and that kings and princes should become obedient to him, and give him their assistance in promoting the true religion, and all the works thereof. But what these attribute to the prophecy of Zoroastres, others refer to the prophecy of Balaam, and say that it was by his prediction that the wise men were led by the star to seek Christ in Judæa, and there pay their adoration unto him. But all this seems to be taken out of the legendary writings of the eastern Christians. And Abul-Pharagius, though an Arab writer, being by religion a Christian, it is most likely that what he tells us of this matter was taken from them.

Remnant of the sect: in Persia known as Giaours; in India, as Parsees. — Those who are still remaining of this sect in Persia have there

the name of Gaurs, which in the Arabic signifieth infidels, and is the usual appellation which the Mahometans bestow on all that are not of their religion. But those people have this name in Persia by way of eminency, as if there were none other such like them; and therefore they are called by it, as if it were their national name, and are known by none other in that country; and whosoever speaks of a Gaur there, understands none other by it than one of this sect. They have a suburb at Hispahan, the metropolis of Persia, which is called Gaurabad, or the town of the Gaurs, where they are employed only in the meanest and vilest drudgeries of the town. And some of them are scattered abroad in other places of that country, where they are made use of in the like services. But the bulk of them is in Kerman, which being the barrenest and worst province of all Persia, and where others care not to dwell, the Mahometans have been content to permit them to live there with some freedom, and the full exercise of their religion. But everywhere else they use them as dogs, esteeming them as to their religion the worst of all those that differ from them; and it is with a wonderful constancy that they bear this oppression. Some ages since, for the avoiding of it, several of them fled into India, and settled there in the country about Surat, where their posterity are still remaining even to this day. And a colony of them is settled in Bombay, an island in those parts belonging to the English, where they are allowed, without any molestation, the full freedom and exercise of their religion. They are a poor, harmless sort of people, zealous in their superstition,

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rigorous in their morals, and exact in their dealings, professing the worship of one God only, and the belief of a resurrection and a future judgment, and utterly detesting all idolatry, although reckoned by the Mahometans the most guilty of it: for although they perform their worship before fire, and towards the rising sun, yet they utterly deny that they worship either of them. They hold, that more of God is in these his creatures than in any other, and that therefore they worship God towards them, as being in their opinion the truest Shekinah of the divine presence among us, as darkness is that of the devil's; and as to Zoroastres, they still have him in the same

veneration as the Jews have Moses, looking on him as the great prophet of God, by whom he sent his law, and communicated his will unto them.

III. FURTHER INQUIRY INTO THE TRUE DATE AND CHARACTER OF ZOROASTER AND THE ZENDAVESTA.

Variety of modern opinions. — Prideaux's opinion that Zoroaster flourished in the reign of Darius Hystaspis was originally promulgated by Hyde, and has since been defended by Kleuker, the learned editor of the Zendavesta. The hypothesis was thus established. The chronological data afforded by the later Greek writers were compared, and were thought to tally with the date of Darius Hystaspis; whilst at the same time the name of Hystaspis tallied with that of Gustasp, to whom Zoroaster generally addresses his doctrines. Tychsen, however, has endeavoured to show that Zoroaster flourished in the reign of Cyaxares I., prior to the establishment by Cyrus of a Persian dynasty, and about a hundred years before Darius Hystaspis; Heeren would carry him back to the time when Bactriana was an independent monarchy, a period anterior to the very commencement of the Median empire, as related by Herodotus, and ascending beyond the eighth century before the Christian era; whilst Rhodes would refer him to a still more ancient epoch, prior to the establishment of the Assyrian monarchy. Before attempting to support any particular theory, I shall endeavour to bring together the most important information upon the subject which has been obtained since the time when Prideaux wrote his inquiry. Accordingly I shall present the reader, 1st, With a brief sketch of the arrangement and subject-matter of the Zendavesta; 2ndly, With the mythos of the Zendavesta, in the form of a short epitome of Rhode's Analysis; and, 3rdly, With a review of the historical traditions found in the Vendidat, as compared with those of the Greeks;

after which I hope to be able to offer such general remarks as may assist the student to form for himself an idea of the true age and character of Zoroaster and the Zendavesta.

1st, **Arrangement and contents of the Zendavesta. —** The Zendavesta is so called from being written in the Zend language; Zendavesta signifying "The word of the Zend." It consists of the Vendidat, or the "law given" by Ormuzd; the Yashna, which is a series of liturgies; and the Vispered, which is a series of invocations; together with some other pieces of inferior importance. The three first mentioned, namely, the Vendidat, the Yashna, and the Vispered, are together termed the Vendidat-Sadé. The first, or Vendidat, is supposed to have been written by Zoroaster himself. It consists of narrative and imprecative passages, in the form of express revelations from Ormuzd to Zoroaster, who consults him. In these passages are many remarkable things relating to the history of the ancient human race, and to the religious rites and notions of the Magi. The Vendidat, however, is only a small part of a series of works of which the remainder are lost, or are unknown in Europe, except by the titles yet extant in manuscript catalogues written by the Parsees. The entire series originally contained twenty-one sections, or noshkas; and of these only a part of the twentieth noshka is included in the Vendidat. The Yacna, or Yashna, termed in the Pehlvi, Izeshné, is a series of liturgies or solemn prayers, addressed to Ormuzd professedly by Zoroaster. Rhode supposes it to be a collection of various ages, a part having been written by Zoroaster. It contains fragments from the Vendidat, and probably from other noshkas no longer extant. The Vispered, as previously stated, is a series of invocations. Of the other portions of the Zendavesta may be mentioned the Sironze, termed by Kleuker a liturgical calendar, containing directions for the prayers proper for each day in the month, and an invocation to the protecting genius of each day; the Yeshts-Sadés, a collection of hymns or praises; and the Bundehesh, which is a work of much greater importance. This last book, however, is not extant in Zend, and never existed in that language in its present form. It is only to be found in Pehlvi, and was compiled at a comparatively late period, but contains a variety of fragments or extracts from different parts of the original Zendavesta, now lost in the Zend language. It is a sort of Persian Genesis, and consists of thirty-four pieces of

different composition. Many of them are evidently passages of the old Magian laws and mythology, excerpts from the lost noshkas of the Zendavesta. Some are of later date, and contain notices of some particular sect.

2nd, **Mythos of the Zendavesta: creation of Ormuzd, or "light," and Ahriman, or "darkness." —** In the beginning, Zerouane Akerene, that is, "Uncreated Time," gave origin to two great and powerful agents, which are in constant conflict with each other. The first of these is Ormuzd, the principle of light or goodness; the other is Ahriman, the

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principle of darkness or evil. To remedy the mischief, which arose from the continual contest, the Infinite Being, Zerouane Akerene, resolved to call into existence the visible world by the agency of Ormuzd. This visible world was predestined to last for a period of twelve thousand years, that is, through four ages of three thousand years each. In the first age Ormuzd was to be sole ruler; in the second Ahriman was to make attempts which were to be unsuccessful; in the third the power of the two forces was to be nearly equal; in the fourth Ahriman was to predominate until the end.

Ormuzd creates the invisible and the visible world. — Ormuzd then commenced his work of creation, by means of which he was to wage war against Ahriman and the powers of darkness. Before, however, creating the visible world, he created an invisible world, namely, the Ferouers, or guardian spirits, or genii of all earthly beings. These Ferouers were in fact living archetypes of all corporeal beings, and the visible world which followed was properly an embodying, or rendering cognisable to sense, the preëxisting spiritual creation. Ormuzd next created the visible world. He made the arch of heaven, and the earth on which it rests. On the earth he placed the lofty mountain of Albordj, reaching up through all the three spheres of heaven, to the supernal region of light; and on the summit of Albordj he fixed his own dwelling. The bridge Tschinevad connects this summit with the solid vault of heaven, called Gorodman, the abode of Ferouers and blessed spirits. Underneath the bridge is the great gulf of Duzahk, a dark abyss, the abode of Ahriman and the powers of darkness.

Creates the sun, moon, and stars, and appoints their situations. — Ormuzd next prepared himself for the contest with Ahriman, by creating the luminous host of heaven, namely, the sun, moon, and stars, —all animated beings devoted to his service. The sun is the immortal king of the whole material universe. In the morning he issues forth from Albordj, and going round the world in the highest sphere of heaven, returns in the evening to the holy mountain. The moon goes round the earth in a lower sphere. The planets and the fixed stars move round in the lowest sphere of all. Thus the whole space from the earth to the highest firmament is divided into three distinct spheres, namely, the sphere of the sun, the sphere of the moon, and the sphere of the stars. The whole army of fixed stars—soldiers in the ranks for the war against Ahriman—are divided into twelve bands, which are the twelve

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zodiacal constellations. The stars of the four great quarters of heaven are further marshalled into four great troops, each having its own watcher or commander. Taschter, or Jupiter, a prince of the stars, governs the eastern quarter; Satetis, or Saturn, governs the western; Venant, or Mercury, governs the southern; and Haftorang, or Mars, governs the northern. Besides these, Mishgah or Mithra, who is the same as the planet Venus, is king of all the stars, and protector of all; he, however, principally gives his aid in the southern quarter, which is under the government of Venant or Mercury, the smallest and weakest of all the planets. Underneath all the stars, the great dog of heaven, Sura, or Sirius, keeps watch at the bridge Tschinevad, where Ahriman is to break in from the under-world. Sirius is fixed to his post, and, unlike the planets, is incapable of changing his position.

Grand contest between Ormuzd and Ahriman. — The first age of three thousand years passed away without war. Meantime Ahriman had created a horrible army of evil beings. At the commencement of the second age he began the conflict; but terrified by the splendour of Ormuzd, and especially by the sight of the pure Ferouers of holy men, he sunk back into the dark abyss of Duzahk, and lay again supine during the second age. Ormuzd was thus enabled to complete his creation. Sapandomad was made

protecting spirit of the earth. Khordad, the Moon, became king of times, years, months, and days, and protecting spirit of the water which gushes out of the fountain Anduisur from the side of Albordj. The various processes of nature, in heaven and earth, became the care of other starry deities. All terrestrial things had their protecting genii, in subjection to Ormuzd. All, however, were subordinate to seven chieftains, who were the seven Amshaspands. These seven are Ormuzd himself and six others who stand round his throne, viz. Bahman, Ardibehesht, Schariver, Sapandomad, Khordad, and Amerdad. Thus passed the second period of three thousand years. Meantime Ormuzd had formed the primitive Bull, the first-made of the animal creation. The third age passed away without any decisive success on either side. At the commencement of the fourth age, Ahriman began the battle in earnest at the head of the Devs, or powers of darkness; the Devs were led by six Arch-Devs, corresponding to the six Amshaspands who surrounded the throne of Ormuzd. The six Arch-Devs were named Akuman, Ander, Savel, Nakaet, Farik, and Zaretsh. Ahriman sprang upon earth in the form of a serpent, and penetrated every created body, even the primeval Bull; the very element of fire, which he polluted with smoke and vapour. He struggled against heaven, and overcame a part of the fixed stars; but was met by Ormuzd and defeated, by the aid of the Ferouers of holy men. Though thrown down again to Duzahk, he remained not there, but with his associates forced a way through the midst of the earth, where he still prevails in common with Ormuzd, according to the will of the Infinite Being, Zerouane Akerene.

Creation of man: introduction of impure animals and plants by Ahriman. — The inroad of Ahriman caused great devastation upon the earth. Amongst other creatures the primitive Bull was destroyed, but in the act of expiring another creation sprung into existence. From his right shoulder came forth Kayomorts, the primitive human being; from his left issued Gosherun, the soul of the Bull, who became the protecting

genius of animated nature; from his body was developed the vegetable world. Ahriman then made noxious, unclean, and fierce animals, in opposition to all the pure animals of Ormuzd; the baneful wolf against the

useful dog, and noxious plants of every variety. He slew Kayomorts, the first human being, who was both man and woman; and from the juices of Kayomorts grew up a plant which bore, instead of fruit, Meshia and Meshiane, the real ancestors of the human race. These two beings were at first innocent and formed for heaven, and honoured Ormuzd as their Creator; but they were seduced by Ahriman, who brought them fruit and prevailed on them to eat it, and thus by their transgression they lost their happiness. Meshiane, the woman, was the first who sacrificed to the Devs. After fifty years two children were born to Meshia and Meshiane, namely, Siahmak and Veshak, who however only attained the age of one hundred years, and then died for their sins, and were doomed to suffer the torments of hell until the resurrection.

Condition of man here and hereafter. — The human race, rendered mortal and unhappy through the sins of their parents, are thus placed in the midst between the world of Ormuzd and the world of Ahriman, and are free to follow their choice of good and evil. Man, having been created by Ormuzd, can and ought to be good and holy, and to support his Maker in the contest against the powers of darkness; but Ahriman and his Devs tempt him day and night to evil. Man would be too weak to resist seduction, had not the Divinity further assisted him by an extraordinary revelation of his holy will, and of the law of light, which is given in the Zendavesta. The sum of this law is, to think, to speak, and to act with purity. All that is pure comes from Ormuzd; all that is impure comes from Ahriman; and purity of body is of equal value with purity of the soul and thought. Hence the particularities of the ceremonial law in the Zendavesta, of which purification is the great object. The souls of men, or Ferouers, as they are called, when first created dwelt in Gorodman, in the vault of heaven, the realm of Ormuzd and of light. When, however, they are compelled to descend from Gorodman, and become embodied in mortal man, and thus go through a state of probation upon earth, they have both gates opened to them; and after death the good are rewarded, and the evil punished. The good, immediately after death, are received by benevolent genii, and led, under the protection of the god Sura or Sirius, to the bridge Tschinevad; and thither also the wicked souls are dragged by the evil Devs. Here Ormuzd judges them, and appoints their doom. Those found good pass over the

bridge to the regions of bliss, where they are welcomed by the heavenly Amshaspands with shouts of joy. Those found wicked are thrown into the dark abyss of Duzahk, to be there tormented by the Devs; thence some are released through the prayers and good works of their relatives and friends, but the greater number remain until the resurrection of the dead at the end of the world.

Conflagration of the world. — At the conclusion of the fourth age, the end of the world is to be brought about by the agency of one of the ministers of Ahriman. The seven Amshaspands are planets; the seven Arch-Devs are comets. The planets of Ormuzd and the comets of Ahriman are in opposition. The Sun, however, overcame the comet Dodidom Muschever, and holds him bound in his path; and the other

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planets hold their respective antagonistic comets in a similar manner. At the appointed time, however, the comet Gurzsher, who is now chained to the moon, shall break loose from his bondage, rush upon the earth, and cause an universal conflagration. But before that catastrophe, Ormuzd will, by the prophet Sosiosh, bring about a general conversion of mankind to his law, and will cause a general resurrection and reëmbodying of the dead. The conflagration of the earth draws, in its results, all the wicked, Ahriman included, into the abyss of Duzakh, where they are at length purified by fire, and restored to light and happiness. From the expiring flames rises a new heaven and a new earth, and Ahriman is to remain thenceforward subject to Ormuzd.

3rd, **Ancient historical traditions in the Zendavesta. —** The historical traditions to which reference has already been made are preserved in the two first chapters, or Fargards, of the Vendidat, the most important and probably the most ancient of all the sacred books which are included in the Zendavesta. These traditions are not wrapped up in allegory, but are so evidently historical as to demand nothing more than the application of geographical knowledge to explain them. Heeren declares that, with the exception of the Mosaical Scriptures, and perhaps of the untranslated Vedas, he is acquainted with nothing which so plainly wears the stamp of remote

antiquity. These legends refer to the race which bore rule in Iran, and which, as comprehending all the inferior races, may be termed in general the Persian or Medo-Persian race. They describe the original seat of the race, as a delicious country named Eriene-Veedjo, which, being created by the power of Ormuzd, enjoyed a climate singularly mild, having seven months summer and five of winter. The author of evil, however, the death-dealing Ahriman, smote it with the plague of cold, so that it came to have ten months of winter and only two of summer. Thus the nation began to desert the Paradise they at first occupied, and Ormuzd successively created for their reception sixteen other places of benediction and abundance, which are faithfully recorded in the Vendidat. I append a translation of these two important chapters.

"**FARGARD I.—**Ormuzd, speaking to Sapetman Zoroaster, said as follows: "I have created, O Sapetman Zoroaster, a place of delights and abundance, such as no other being besides myself could have formed. It is called Eeriene Veedjô, and is more beautiful than the whole wide world. Nothing, indeed, can be compared to it for pleasantness. I have acted first, but Peetiarê, whose soul is immortal, has exercised his own power after me. The first abode of happiness and abundance which I created without any mixture of impurity was Eeriene Veedjo. Upon this

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came Ahriman, pregnant with death, and prepared in the river which waters Eeriene Veedjo, the great serpent of winter, the offspring of Div. Here there were then ten months of winter and two of summer; whereas formerly the warm weather lasted seven months, and the cold only five. The winter spreads cold all over the water, land, and trees; and is very severe in the middle of Eeriene Veedjô. This scourge, however, is highly beneficial to mankind; for scarcely has winter begun to appear, than all good things shoot forth in abundance. The second place of happiness which I, Ormuzd, created for an habitation was Soghdi, abounding in men and herds. But the pernicious Peetiarê Ahriman produced swarms of flies, which destroyed the herds. The third place of abundance which I fashioned for an abode, was the great and holy Moore; then came Ahriman and introduced evil speeches. The fourth place of delights created by me was the pure Bakhdi, decorated

with lofty standards; thereupon came Peetiarê Ahriman, bringing death, and produced an army of ants. The fifth place of abundance which I, Ormuzd, created was Nesa, between Môore and Bakhdi; then came the deadly Ahriman, and brought forth there reprehensible doubt. The sixth place of plenty created by me was Haroin, celebrated for the number of its inhabitants. Upon this, Ahriman the destructive produced there the highest degree of misery. The seventh country and town of abundance which I created, was Veékéreânte with numerous villages. Here the deadly Ahriman instituted the worship of Peris (Fairies), which inflamed the anger of Gueshap. The eighth country and place of felicity created by me, was Ornan, fertile in pastures. Thereupon came Ahriman breathing death, and poisoned men's hearts. Khneantê, the abode of wolves, was the ninth place of abundance created by me; but the destructive Ahriman there perpetrated an act which rendered the passage of the bridge Tschinevad impossible, which is a sin against nature. The tenth place of felicity which I, Ormuzd, created, was the pure Heerekheeti. Hereupon the deadly Peetiaré Ahriman instigated men to a crime, which obstructs the passage of the bridge; namely, the burial of dead bodies in the earth. The eleventh country and town of abundance created by me, Ormuzd, was Heetomeante, the intelligent and happy; but the pernicious Peetiarê Ahriman introduced there magic, the bad art which produces all manner of illusions and procures all things. Specious as it may seem, it is nevertheless the offspring of the evil principle, the father of all calamity. Far is it from the great one, from him who doeth good! The twelfth place of felicity created by me, Ormuzd, was

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Raghan, the abode of three germs rich in understanding and free from passion. But the deadly Peetiarė Ahriman sowed there the seeds of fatal doubt and presumptuous insolence. The thirteenth country and town of abundance created by me was Tschekhre, the powerful and holy. Here, however, the destructive Peetiarê Ahriman instigated to an action which prevents the passage of the bridge, namely, the practice of burning the dead. The fourteenth place of happiness created by me, who am Ormuzd, was Verene, with four corners, forming a square, and the birth-place of Feridoun the vanquisher of Zohak. But the deadly Peetiarê Ahriman introduced there,

and into all its dependencies, the monthly purgations of women. The fifteenth place of felicity, which I, Ormuzd, created, was Hapte Heando, which rules over the seven Indies. India surpasses all the rest of the world in power and extent. But the destructive Peetiarê Ahriman, the enemy of nature, inflamed (precipitated?) the monthly terms of the women. The sixteenth country and town of happiness and abundance which I created, was the mighty Rengheiao; the abode of numerous cavaliers who acknowledged no superior. But the deadly Peetiarė Ahriman brought hither, and into all its dependent villages, the raw cold of winter, the pernicious gift of Div. These countries and towns were all pure and embellished with fruitful valleys—there was not the least uncleanness among them. Abundance and Bihisht are the reward of him who is upright and pure. He alone is holy and pure who doeth holy and pure actions."

FARGARD II.—Zoroaster asked Ormuzd as follows: "O Ormuzd, surrounded with majesty, thou equitable judge of the universe, who dost exist by thine own power, and who art purity itself; what man has first interrogated thee before myself, O thou who art Ormuzd? To whom hast thou communicated thy law?" Ormuzd replied, "The pure Jemshid, the chief of men and herds, was the first man who inquired of me as thou doest now, O Zoroaster! To him I imparted a knowledge of the law. I am Ormuzd,' was my reply to him; 'be obedient to my law, O pure Jemshid, thou son of Vivengham; meditate upon it and convey it to thy people.' 'But,' answered Jemshid, 'I am not just enough to execute thy law, to meditate upon it, or to convey its blessings to mankind.' Upon this I replied, O Zoroaster, I who am Ormuzd, Cannot Jemshid execute my law; can he not meditate upon and communicate it to mankind? still less then will he be able to make happy the world, my property; to bless it with fertility and abundance, to be its nourisher, its chief, and its sovereign.' In answer to this, O Zoroaster, the pure Jemshid replied, 'Yes, I will make the world thy peculiar possession, both happy, fruitful, and blessed; I will provide for its necessities, will nourish and govern it like a father, so that under my sovereign care there shall be no frosty or scorching wind, no corruption, no death; and the dews shall disappear as soon

as I repeat the words of thy law. The holy zeal of Jemshid was great before me, and therefore he reigned. Whatever his sublime tongue commanded, was done immediately. I gave to him and his people nourishment, intelligence, and a long life; his hand received from me a poniard, the blade and hilt of which were gold. Upon this, King Jemshid traversed three hundred parts of the earth, inhabited by domestic animals as well as savage, by men, dogs, and birds, and filled with ruddy and brilliant fires. Before him there were neither tame nor savage animals, nor men, nor red-flaming fires; the pure Jemshid, the son of Vivengham, produced all. Jemshid arrived in the country of light (the south) and found it beautiful. He clave the ground with the blade of his golden poniard, and said, 'Sapandomad, bless us!' He proceeded still further, and pronounced the holy word, accompanied with prayers for wild and tame animals and for men. Accordingly the expedition of Jemshid through these countries became the source of happiness and prosperity to this third part of the world. The domestic animals and wild beasts as well as men ran together in great crowds. In the same manner did Jemshid traverse the two other parts of the world. Jemshid now built Ver, the vast extent of which was comprehended in a square enclosure. Hither he brought the germ of wild and tame animals, of men, dogs, birds, and the ruddy bright flame of fire. The water burst forth in torrents, and surrounded the grand palace of Ver. Here were fowls of all kinds; and the ever-fruitful golden fields produced everything that was good to eat. Here too the youth were shamefaced, modest, respectful, strong, and well nourished. Into Ver Jemshid brought the seed of men and women. The land was charming and excellent, and as pure as Bihisht. Hither, too, Jemshid conveyed the germ of all kinds of animals, of all trees, and all nourishment. The little hills of this country exhaled agreeable perfumes. Among all the inhabitants of Verefchue, there was no man who commanded with severity; no beggar; no impostor who would seduce people to the worship of Diu; no concealed enemy; no cruel tyrant, the oppressor of mankind; no ravenous tooth. Jemshid caused nine streets to be built in the large towns, six in those of moderate size, and three in the small ones. Jemshid constructed at Ver a palace on an eminence, which was surrounded with a wall, and its interior was divided into several apartments and well lighted. Jemshid endeavoured with all his might to render Ver complete,

according to the commandment which I, Ormuzd, gave to him." Abundance and Bihisht, &c. &c.

Direction of the great migration recorded in the Vendidat: different periods in the composition of the Zendavesta.—In the identification of Eriene Veedjo a similar difficulty occurs as in the identification of the mountain Albordj. Those who contend for the Median origin of the Zend religion are inclined to discover it in the Caucasian district; those who contend for the Bactrian origin would discover it far away in the distant east. The first hypothesis is, however, by no means satisfactory, as it would tend to prove that the direction of the migration was from west to east; whereas in the first Fargard of the Vendidat

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we can trace a gradual migration from east to west, from the frontiers of India to the Caspian gates. The first abode which Ormuzd created for the exiled people was Soghdi, or Sogdiana; next Môore, or Maroo, in Khorassan; then Bakhdi, or Balkh; and so on to Fars itself, and the boundaries of Media and India. The original country of Eriene must therefore lie to the east of Sogd, and thus we are led to the mountainous region of Belur Tagh, or mountains of Kashgar, between the Hindoo Koosh and the Altai chain. This savage and ungenial region enjoys at present only a short summer, at the same time that it contains the reliques of an ancient world, which confirm by positive proof the legend of the Vendidat, that anciently the climate was of a totally different character. When the altered nature of their original seats compelled the race to quit them, Ormuzd prepared for them other places of repose and abundance, within the precincts of that territory, which has preserved to the present day the appellation of Iran; the nation carrying with them the name of Eriene, which is obviously the same with Iran. But before proceeding further with an identification of the line of route, it will be necessary to take a general view of the primeval history of the Asiatic world.

Early history: distinction between Scythic Magism, Semitic idolatry, and Arian Dualism.—If we examine the Greek traditions as distinguished from the heroic myths, we trace everywhere a belief that at the dawn of

history there existed in Asia a widely spread Scythic dominion. This Scythic supremacy was distinguished by a peculiar religion, which, as contrasted with idolatry, probably consisted in the worship of the elements, particularly of fire, and of the heavenly bodies; and with this Scythic religion was especially connected the name of Zoroaster, which the Greeks translated "the fire-worshipper." Subsequently the Scyths, or sons of Ham, were dispossessed of their dominion in western Asia by the Semites, or sons of Shem, and the elemental Scythic worship was superseded by the Semitic idol-worship. But after the Semitic doctrines had been dominant for about 1700 years, the old Zoroastrian faith, or, at any rate, a faith which went by the same name, was restored by the Arian Achæmenidæ, namely, the Medo-Persian sovereigns of the dynasty of Cyrus, who all claimed descent from Achæmenes. Hence has arisen the extraordinary confusion which prevailed amongst the Greeks respecting Zoroaster; and thus we get a glimmering of a primitive Zoroaster, who belongs to the ante-historic period, and of Zoroaster the reformer, who flourished in the days of the Achæmenidæ. The history of the primitive Zoroastrian Scyths belongs to an earlier period than the one now under consideration,

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and I shall probably find occasion to return to the subject in a future volume of the present series. But the history and character of the reformation carried out by the Zoroastrian Arians in the age of the Achæmenidæ, demands our immediate attention. It would seem that after the Scyths were dispossessed by the Semites of their dominion in Western Asia, many of the former extended eastward over Media and Persia as far as Bactria, where they came in contact with pure Arian races. Subsequently a great Arian immigration took place from the east back again to the west, in the direction indicated in the Vendidat; and it is probable that along this line the immigrants came everywhere in collision with the Magian Scyths, whose names are also obscurely indicated by the different calamities and evils which were created by Ahriman to obstruct the Arian progress to the west. An Arian supremacy was finally established over the Scythic Medes, in the reign probably of Cyaxares I.; and a similar supremacy was established over the Persians, apparently by Achæmenes. We thus recognise three

distinct faiths. 1st, Scythic Magism, or the faith of the primitive Zoroaster, which prevailed at Babylon before the establishment of a Semitic supremacy, and which was maintained both in Media and Persia up to the period of the Achæmenian supremacy. 2ndly, Semitic idolatry. 3rdly, Dualism, or the Ormuzdian faith of the Arian Achæmenides. The early Achæmenians abhorred Magism. Cambyses on his death-bed invoked his native gods to prevent the restoration of power to the Magian Medes. The usurpation of Smerdis Magus involved a religious as much as a political revolution; and we learn from the Behistun inscriptions that the first care of Darius Hystaspis, on regaining the crown, was to restore the temples which the

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Magian impostor had destroyed, and reorganize the Ormuzdian priesthood, with their chaunts and ceremonial service. The slaughter of the Magi, which followed the overthrow of Smerdis Magus, was celebrated for long afterwards by the dualistic Persians as a national festival, during which the proscribed race were unable to show themselves in the streets. It is further to be observed, that Herodotus expressly includes the Magi among the tribes of Media; that Zoroaster is also generally designated by the Greeks as a Mede, or a Medo-Assyrian, or Medo-Persian; and lastly, that the popular legends, which almost always have a foundation in truth, are unanimous in ascribing to Adjerbijan, or Northern Media, the origin of the fire-worship, and in regarding it as the chief seat of the Zoroastrian religion: notwithstanding that the historical records preserved in the commencing chapter of the Vendidat distinctly show that the immigrants to whom the records belonged came from the far east, bringing of course their peculiar doctrines with them; and notwithstanding that not only in the Vendidat is the name of Media altogether unnoticed, but also there is perhaps proof afforded that at the time of its compilation the Arians had not come geographically in contact with the western Medes, nor had Dualism been tainted with Magism.

Subsequent amalgamation of Magism and Dualism.—The amalgamation of Magism and Dualism into one faith was undoubtedly the work of many years. Cyaxares I., the leader of the Arian invasion of Media,

appears to have adopted to a great extent the Magism of the country which he conquered. The victorious career of Cyrus appears to have struck the first blow at the Magian faith. The Magian priesthood made a brilliant effort to regain their prestige, by supporting the imposture of Smerdis; but the accession of Darius Hystaspis, and the persecution which followed, extinguished for a time all their hopes. From this period Rawlinson would date the gradual absorption of Magism in Dualism; and we cannot perhaps do better than close the present digression with his learned observations upon the subject. "The Magi," he says, "with their literary preeminence, their sacred character, their hereditary science, and possessing documents of the most venerable antiquity, could have had but little difficulty in moulding the plastic and unlettered Persians to a partial adoption of their tenets. To discriminate the respective elements of the new faith is difficult, but not impossible. The worship of the sun and moon (Mithra and Homa) had been cherished by the Arian colonists since their departure from Kurukhshetra (Eriene Veedjo). The antagonism of Ormuzd and Ahriman, or of light and darkness, was their own peculiar and independent institution. On the other hand, the origin of all things from Zerwan (Zerouane Akerene) was essentially a Magian doctrine; the veneration paid to fire and water came from the same source; and the barsom of the Zendavesta is the Magian divining-rod. The most important Magian modification, however, was the personification of the old heresionym of the Scythic race, and its immediate association with Ormuzd. Under the disguise of Zara-thustra, which was the nearest practical Arian form, Ziru-ishtar (or the seed of Venus) became a prophet and lawgiver, receiving inspiration from Ahuramazda, and reforming the national religion. I further suspect that Osthanes the Magian, who

accompanied Xerxes on his western expedition, and first communicated the Persian doctrines to the Greeks, was a principal agent in compiling the reformed code, which respected the ancient tenets and traditions of the Arians, while it secured the Magi in their hereditary rights and privileges. The entire machinery, however, of the watches of the four quarters of heaven, of the twelve bands of the fixed stars, of the seven Amshaspands,

and the seven Devs, presided over by the two great spirits of light and darkness, was adopted in a great measure, even to the names, from the Semitic inhabitants of Chaldæa, who still retained all the essential parts of the ancient Babylonian mythology."

IV. REIGN OF XERXES, B. C. 485-465. —

High priests of Judah—Jeshua, 536,

Joiakim, 483.

Xerxes confirms all the privileges granted by Darius Hystaspis, 485.—Xerxes, having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Egypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of Samaria for the furnishing of them with sacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worship in the temple of God in that place.

Suppresses the Egyptian revolt, 484.—In the second year of his reign, he marched against the Egyptians, and having thoroughly vanquished and subdued these revolters, he reduced them under a heavier yoke of servitude than they were before: and then, towards the end of the year, after having made Achemenes, one of his brothers, governor of the province, returned again to Susa.

This year Herodotus, the famous historian, was born at Halicarnassus in Caria; for he was fifty-three years old when the Peloponnesian war first began.

Prepares for the invasion of Greece, 483.—Xerxes, being puffed up with his success against the Egyptians, upon the advice and instigation of Mardonius, the son of Gobrias, who had married one of his sisters, resolved upon a war with Greece; and in order thereto made great preparations for three years together throughout all the provinces of the Persian empire.

Jeshua, the high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem, died in the fifty-third year of his high priesthood, and Joiakim his son succeeded him in that office.

Allies with the Carthaginians, 482.—Xerxes, being resolved on the Grecian war, entered into a league with the Carthaginians; whereby it was agreed, that while the Persians invaded Greece, the Carthaginians should fall on all those who were of the Grecian name in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from helping one the other. And the Carthaginians made choice of Hamilcar to be their general in this war, who not only raised what forces he could in Africa, but also with the money sent him by Xerxes hired a great number of mercenaries

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out of Spain, Gallia, and Italy: so that he got together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet proportionable hereto, for the prosecuting of the intent of this league.

Marches from Susa, and winters at Sardis, 481.—And thus Xerxes, according as was foretold by the prophet Daniel, having "by his strength, and through his great riches, stirred up all the then known habitable world against the realm of Grecia," that is, all the west under the command of Hamilcar, and all the east under his own, he did in the fifth year of his reign, which was the tenth after the battle of Marathon, set out from Susa to begin the war, and having marched as far as Sardis, wintered there.

Crosses the Hellespont with an immense army, 480.—Early the next spring, Xerxes did set out for the Hellespont, over which two bridges of boats having been laid, the one for his army and the other for his carriages and beasts of burden, he passed all over in seven days; during all which time they were continually a passing, day and night, before all could get over; so great was the number of them that attended him in this expedition. From thence marching through the Thracian Chersonesus, he arrived at Doriscus, a city at the mouth of the river Hebrus, in Thracia; at which place having encamped his army, and ordered his fleet also to attend him on the adjacent shore, he there took an account of both. His land army, upon the muster, was found to be one million seven hundred thousand foot and

eighty thousand horse, besides his chariots and his camels; for which allowing twenty thousand more, the whole will amount to one million eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of one thousand two hundred and seven ships of the line of battle, besides galleys, transports, victuallers, and other sorts of vessels that attended, which were three thousand more; on board all which were reckoned to be five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of forces, by sea and land, which Xerxes brought with him out of Asia to invade Greece, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. After his passing the Hellespont, the nations on this side that submitted to him, added to his land army three hundred thousand men more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty-four thousand men. So that, putting all together, his forces by sea and land, by that time he came to the Straits of Thermopylæ, made up the number of two millions six hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and ten men: and the servants, eunuchs, women, suttlers, and all such other people as followed the camp, were computed to be no less than as many more. So that the whole number of persons of all sorts that followed Xerxes in this expedition were at least five millions. This is Herodotus's account of them, and Plutarch and Isocrates agree with him herein. But Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, Ælian, and others, do in their computations fall much short of this number, making the army of Xerxes, with which he passed the Hellespont against Greece, to be very little more than

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that with which Darius's father passed the Bosphorus to make war upon the Scythians. It is probable they might have mistaken the one for the other. The verses engraven on the monument of those Grecians who were slain at Thermopylæ best agree with the account of Herodotus; for in them it is said, that they there fought against two millions of men. And he being the ancientest author that hath written of this war, and having lived in the age in which it happened, and treated of it more particularly and with a greater appearance of exactness than any other, his computation seemeth the most likely to be the truest; and that especially since we find it to be the general

opinion of the ancients, both Greeks and Latins, that this was the greatest army that was ever brought into the field.

Statement of Josephus that a corps of Jews served in the Persian army.—Josephus tells us, that a band of Jews was also in this army, and brings for proof of it a passage out of the poet Chœrilus, who, in describing the army of Xerxes, as they passed on by their several nations in their march, hath these verses:—

> Then next did march, in habit and in mien,
> A people wonderful for to be seen;
> Their language is in dialect the same,
> Which men do speak of the Phœnician name.
> They dwell in the high Solymean land,
> On hills, near which there doth a great lake stand.

Jerusalem having also had the name of Solyma, and all the country thereabout being mountainous, and lying near the great lake Asphaltites, commonly called the Lake of Sodom, this description seems plainly to suit the Jews, especially since it is also mentioned that they spake the Phœnician language, the Syriac being then the vulgar language of the Jews. But Scaliger, Cunæus, and Bochartus, understand it of the Solymi in Pisidia. However, Salmasius maintains the contrary opinion, and justifies Josephus in it; and it must be said, that it is not at all likely that, when Xerxes called all the other nations of the Persian empire to follow him to this war, the Jews alone should be excused from it. And therefore, whether these whom Chœrilus speaks of were Jews or not, it must be taken for certain, that they also did bear a part in this expedition.

Heroic resistance of the Greeks at Thermopylæ.—After Xerxes had taken this account of his fleet and army at Doriscus, he marched from thence with his army through Thrace, Macedon, and Thessaly, towards Attica, and ordered his fleet to attend him on the coast all the way, making the same stations by sea that he did by land. All yielded to

him in his march without any opposition, till he came to the Straits of Thermopylæ, where Leonidas, king of the Lacedæmonians, with three hundred Spartans, and as many other Greeks as made up a body of four thousand men, defended the pass against him. For two days he made it good against all the numerous army of the Persians, repulsing them in every assault with a great slaughter of their men. But on the third day, being ready to be surrounded by the Persians, through the treachery of a certain Greek, who led them by a secret way over the mountains, to fall on them in the rear, all retired saving Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans, and some few others that would not desert them, who resolutely abiding by the post they had undertaken to defend, were at length all slain upon the spot. But the Persians paid very dear for this victory, having lost in the gaining of it twenty thousand of their men, and among them two of the brothers of Xerxes.

Xerxes enters Attica: Athenians take refuge on board their fleet.— After this Xerxes entered through Bœotia into Attica, the country of the Athenians, having spent in his march hither, since his passing the Hellespont, four months. The Athenians, not able to defend themselves against so great a force, deserted their city, putting all their men aboard their fleet, and securing their wives and children in Salamis, Ægina, and Træzene, neighbouring cities, which, by the intervention of the sea, were out of the reach of his army; so that, on his coming thither, he became master of the place without any opposition.

Previous successes of the Greek allied fleet at Artemisium.—In the interim, the Persian and Grecian fleets lying near each other, the former at Aphetæ, and the other at Artemisium, above Eubœa, had several encounters with each other, in every one of which the Grecians had the advantage; and though it was not great, yet it served them to show that the enemy, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible; which gave them the heart afterwards, with the greater courage and resolution, to fight against them. However, their ships being much shattered by these several encounters, they found it necessary to retire to some safer place to refit; and for this purpose came into the Straits of Salamis, where they not only refitted, but were also reinforced and augmented by a great many other ships, which from several parts of Greece came thither to them, and there

joined them against the common enemy, till at length they there made up a fleet of upwards of three hundred sail.

Decisive victory gained by the Greeks at Salamis.—It was while the Greek fleet lay there that Xerxes entered Athens; and thereon the Persian fleet came thither also, and anchored at Phalerus, a port on that shore. The Straits of Salamis, where the Greek fleet lay, was the most advantageous place for them to fight the numerous fleet of the enemy in that they could choose; for the Persians, by reason of the narrowness of that sea, not being able to extend their front in it beyond that of the Greeks, could there have no advantage from their numbers; but although their fleet was four times as great, must in that place fight upon equal terms; which Themistocles, the general of the Athenians, having wisely observed, did by his prudence and dexterity bring it to pass, that there it came to a battle between them; wherein the Grecians,

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by the advantage of the place, gained the victory, and gave the enemy such an overthrow, as wholly dashed all the aims and designs of this prodigious expedition, which was one of the greatest, both for expense and number of men, that was ever undertaken. For they, having destroyed two hundred of their ships, besides those which they took, the rest got away to the Asian coast, and having set in at Cyma, a city in *Æ*olia, they there laid up for the winter, and never came again into Greece.

Flight of Xerxes: Mardonius left in Thessaly with 300,000 men.—Xerxes being frightened with an apprehension lest the conquerors should sail to the Hellespont, and there obstruct his return, fled likewise to Cyma with all the haste and precipitation he could; and having left Mardonius with three hundred thousand men to carry on the war in Greece, marched back with the rest to Sardis, and there took up his quarters for the ensuing year. It is remarkable, that at his coming to the Hellespont, finding the bridge of boats which he had left there broken by storms, he who had passed over that sea but a few months before with such pomp and pride, was forced to repass it in a poor fisher-boat.

Utter defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily.—About the same time, his confederates, the Carthaginians, met with as great, or rather a much greater, defeat in Sicily: for Hamilcar, their general, having drawn together his numerous army, of which I have already spoken, and shipped them on board the vast fleet which he had prepared for their transportation, sailed with them for Sicily, and having there landed them at Panormus, a port in that island, laid siege to Himera, a maritime city in the neighbourhood. While he lay there, for his better security, he caused two large camps to be fortified; in the one of which he lodged his land army, and into the other he drew up his ships, placing there all his marines for their defence. At that time Gelo was king of Sicily, a prince of great wisdom, conduct, and valour. As soon as he had an account of this invasion, he drew together an army of fifty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and marched immediately against the enemy for the defence of the country. On his arrival at Himera, he intercepted a courier, carrying letters from the Salinuntines, confederates of the Carthaginians, to Hamilcar, whereby he understood, that the next morning Hamilcar was to celebrate a great sacrifice to Neptune at the camp of the marines, and that he had appointed the Salinuntine horse then to come thither to him. Gelo, taking the advantage of this intelligence, the next morning, at the time appointed, sent thither a party of horse of his own, who being received into the camp for the Salinuntines, first slew Hamilcar, and then set the fleet on fire. As soon as this was done, Gelo, having notice of it by a signal given him from the top of an adjacent hill, where he had placed watchmen for this purpose, drew out his army before the other camp of the enemy, and gave them battle. But the flame ascending from the camp of the marines, soon telling the Carthaginians the fate of their fleet, and a messenger at the same time bringing them an account of the death of their general, this so disheartened and confounded them, that having no longer any courage to stand their ground, they were soon put to the rout, and Gelo slew of them a hundred and fifty

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thousand on the field of battle, and took all the rest prisoners, which were as many more, and sold them all for slaves; so that all Sicily was filled with them. This defeat was so entire, that of all this prodigious fleet and army,

the greatest that was ever set forth in those western parts for any expedition, it is remarked, none returned, save only a few who escaped in a cock-boat to bring this dismal news to Carthage. Herodotus tells us, that this battle was fought on the same day with that of Salamis; but Diodorus Siculus says, it was at the same time when Leonidas was slain at Thermopylæ; which seems to be the truer account of the two: for after this success of Gelo, the Grecians sent to him for his assistance against Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamis. For from thenceforth they thought themselves alone more than sufficient for the enemy, without needing any other force than that of their own to finish the war.

Mardonius vainly tries to detach Athens from the Greek confederacy, 479.—On Xerxes's departure out of Greece, Mardonius wintered his army in Thessaly and Macedonia, and early the next spring marched with it into Bœotia. From hence he sent Alexander, king of Macedonia, to Athens, with proposals of accommodation from the king. Thereby he offered them to rebuild, at the king's charges, whatever had been burned or demolished in Attica the former year, to permit them to live according to their own laws, to reinstate them in all their former possessions, and to add to them whatever other lands they should desire. But the Athenians, not being to be induced to desert the interest of Greece for any advantage whatsoever, would hearken to none of these offers: whereon Mardonius, being enraged by the refusal, marched with all his army into Attica, destroying everything wherever he came, and entering Athens, burned and demolished whatever he there found standing after the former year's devastation: for the Athenians, not being strong enough to resist such a torrent, had the second time withdrawn to Salamis, Ægina, and Trœzene, and left the city empty.

Defeat of the Persian army under Mardonius at Platea.—In the interim, the joint forces of all Greece being drawn together at the isthmus of Corinth, Mardonius thought fit to march back again into Bœotia: for that being an open and level country, was much fitter for him to fight in than Attica, which being rough, craggy, and full of hills and defiles, could scarce anywhere afford him room enough for to draw up his numerous army in, or a ground proper for his cavalry to do any service in. On his return he encamped on the river Æsopus: thither the Greeks marched after him, under

the command of Pausanias, king of Lacedæmon, and Aristides, general of the Athenians. They consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and the Persians of three hundred and fifty thousand, saith Herodotus; of five hundred thousand, saith Diodorus Siculus: and with these forces, near the city of Platea, it came to a decisive battle between them, in which Mardonius was slain, and all the Persian army cut in pieces. Only Artabazus, who was aware of the event, from the ill conduct which he had observed in Mardonius, made an early escape with forty thousand

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men which he commanded, and by his speed out-marching the fame of the defeat, got safe to Byzantium, and there passed over into Asia. Besides these, not four thousand of all the rest escaped the carnage of that day, but were all slain and cut in pieces by the Greeks; and this quite delivered them from all further invasions of that people; for from that time a Persian army was never more seen on this side the Hellespont.

Defeat of the Persian fleet at Mycale.—On the same day that the Greeks fought this battle at Platea, their naval forces got as memorable a victory over the remainder of the Persian fleet in Asia: for at the same time that their land forces rendezvoused at the isthmus of Corinth, their fleets having met together at *Æ*gina under the command of Leotychides, the other king of the Lacedæmonians, and Xanthippus the Athenian, there came thither to them ambassadors from the Ionians to invite them into Asia, to deliver the Greek cities there from the slavery of the Barbarians: whereon they sailed for Delos in their way thither; and while they lay there, other ambassadors came to them from Samos, who having acquainted them that the Persian fleet which wintered at Cyma, having sailed thence, were then at Samos, and might there be easily vanquished and destroyed by them, earnestly solicited them to come thither and fall upon them; whereon they accordingly set sail forthwith for Samos. But the Persians, hearing of their approach, retired to Mycale, a promontory on the continent of Asia, where their land army lay, consisting of one hundred thousand men, which were the remainder of those which Xerxes had brought back out of Greece the former year, and there drew up their ships upon the land, and fortified them with a strong rampart drawn round them. But the Greeks, following them

thither, by the assistance of the Ionians, who revolted to them, vanquished their army at land, took their rampart, and burned all their ships. And here ended all the great designs of Xerxes in a most miserable disappointment, there being after these two battles scarce any of all that prodigious army, with which the year before he marched so proudly over the Hellespont, now left, whom either the famine, the pestilence, or the sword had not absolutely destroyed, excepting those whom Artabazus brought back out of Greece; and of these a great number died on their return into Asia, by their over-glutting themselves with the plenty of that country, after the hardships they had suffered on the other side of the Hellespont. A greater fleet and army was scarce ever set forth in the west for any expedition, than that of Hamilcar's against Sicily, or ever was there a greater army brought together anywhere, than that wherewith Xerxes invaded Greece; yet all these numerous forces were baffled, defeated, and destroyed by those who, in number or power, reckoning all the armies on both sides against each other, could scarce bear the name of an handful of men in comparison of them: and hereby a signal instance was given, that whatsoever the pride of man may design, or the power of man think to effect, it is still the providence of God that governs the world, and turneth all the affairs thereof which way soever he pleaseth.

Explanation of the two battles being fought on the same day, and yet known to the Greeks at both places.—The battle of Platea was fought in the morning, and that of Mycale in the afternoon of the same day;

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and yet it is commonly said by the Greek writers, that they had an account of the victory of Platea at Mycale before they begun the battle there, though the whole Ægean Sea, which was several days' sailing, lay between. But Diodorus Siculus clears this matter: for he tells us, that Leotychides, finding the forces that followed him to be in great pain for the Greeks at Platæa, lest they should be overpowered and vanquished by the numerous army of Mardonius, the better to encourage and enhearten his men for the battle, just before he made the first onset, caused it to be given out through all the army, that the Persians were defeated, though he then knew nothing of the matter. But what he then feigned happened to be true, and also done the

same day; this gave occasion for what is said of that quick intelligence, which was utterly impossible to have come in so short a time from so far distant a place by any human means; and there is no reason to suppose a miracle in this case. And that which is said of the victory of Paulus Æmilius over the Macedonians, being known at Rome on the same day on which it was got, at a greater distance than Platæa was from Mycale, no doubt was from the same cause. That happened to be true, which was only feigned when first reported; and afterwards, when it was found to be true, and done on the same day on which the Romans first had the report, it was made a miracle of, as if there had been some supernatural power that brought the intelligence.

Destruction of the Greek temples by Xerxes, out of zeal for the Magian religion.—Xerxes, on his having received these two great defeats at Platea and Mycale, left Sardis almost with the same precipitation as he did Athens, after the battle of Salamis, making all the haste he could towards Persia, that thereby he might get as far as he could out of the reach of the conquering enemies. However he omitted not, before he left those parts, to give order for the burning and demolishing of all the temples in the Grecian cities in Asia; which was accordingly executed upon all of them, excepting only that of Diana at Ephesus, which alone escaped this general devastation. And this he did, not out of any particular displeasure to the Asiatic Greeks; for he did the same wherever else he came, destroying all idolatrous temples that came in his way, throughout this whole expedition. The true cause of this was his zeal for the Magian religion, in which he had been thoroughly instructed, and made a zealous proselyte to it, by Zoroastres: for that sect expressing a great detestation against worshipping of God by images, were for destroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And to keep Xerxes firm to their party, not only several of the chief doctors of the Magians, but also Ostanes himself, who was then the archimagus, or great patriarch of the whole sect, accompanied him as his chaplains through this whole expedition; and by their instigation, Tully tells us, it was that all these temples were destroyed. This Ostanes

is said to have been grandfather to Zoroastres; but it is most likely that he was his grandson, and that it was by mistake that it hath been said otherwise; for Zoroastres, it is certain, was a very old man at his death. The name of Ostanes was very famous among the Greeks; for from him, they say, they first had the Magian philosophy; he having communicated it unto them while he followed Xerxes in this war; and therefore from him they sometimes call the whole sect Ostaneans, instead of Magians, as if he had been the chief founder of it. One of the temples which by Xerxes's order were thus destroyed was that of Apollo Didumæan near Miletus, from whence he took an immense treasure. This was discovered to the Persians by the Branchidæ, a family of the Milesians, that had the keeping of the temple; who thereon finding themselves, by reason of this treachery and sacrilege, to be become very odious to their countrymen, durst not, on Xerxes going away, stay behind, for fear of their wrath, but followed after him into Persia, and were there planted by him in a small territory, which he gave them on the river Oxus, in the province of Bactria, where Alexander, on his making himself master of that country, finding their posterity still remaining, caused them all to be put to the sword, thereby cruelly and unreasonably revenging on the innocent descendants the crime committed by their ancestors many ages before.

Destruction of the temples at Babylon.—Xerxes, on his return towards Susa, passing through Babylon, made there the same devastation of their temples as he had in Greece and the Lesser Asia, and, as it may be supposed, on the same principle, that is, his zeal for the Magian religion, and his aversion to that of the Sabians, who worshipped God by images, of which the Magians had the utmost detestation: for the Babylonians were all Sabians, and indeed were the first founders of the sect; for they first brought in the worship of the planets, and afterwards that of images, and from thence propagated it to all the other nations where it obtained, as hath been already shown. And for this reason the Magians, having them in abhorrence above all other Sabians, prevailed with Xerxes, out of an especial hatred to them, to take Babylon in his way to Susa, of purpose to destroy all the temples they had there; although perchance to recruit himself with the spoils of these temples, after the vast expenses which he had been at in his Grecian war, might be the most forcible motive that wrought him into this

resolution; for the wealth of their temples was vast and excessive, as having been the collection of a great number of ages. I have already computed how many millions of our money the treasures of the temple of Belus only amounted to, according to the account given us of them by Diodorus Siculus; and if those which he found in the other idol-temples in that city were as great, as no doubt they were, they must more than repay him all that he spent in the Grecian war. And without some such recruit, it is scarce possible to imagine how he could have supported himself at home, after so great a miscarriage and loss. And yet we find, that after his return he was supported through all

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his empire in the same manner as before, without suffering any great damage either in his authority or power therein, after this so great and so extraordinary a disaster; whereas it usually happens, that princes are ruined at home as well as abroad by such misfortunes.

Fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah.—By the pillaging and destroying of all these heathen temples at Babylon, was fully completed what the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah prophesied hereof many years before: "All the graven images of her gods hath he broken unto the ground." "I will punish Bel in Babylon. I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed." "And I will do judgment upon all the graven images of Babylon." "Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces." For when Xerxes destroyed all these temples in Babylon, he took from them all their treasures, which they had been for many ages a swallowing; and pulling down all the images that were in them, broke them all to pieces, and converted the gold and silver, of which they were made, to all those common uses for which he had occasion of them.

Ionian cities in Asia join the confederacy of European Greece.—After the battle of Mycale, the Grecian fleet sailed to the Hellespont, to seize the bridges which Xerxes had laid over those straits, supposing that they had been still whole. But on their coming thither, finding that they had been broken by storms, Leotychides, with the Peloponnesians, sailed home;

but Xanthippus, with the Athenians and allies of Ionia, still staying there, made themselves masters of Sestus and the Thracian Chersonesus, where they took much spoil and a great number of prisoners, and then, on the approach of winter, returned to their respective cities. Xanthippus, finding all the materials of Xerxes's bridge at Cardia, where the Persians had caused them to be brought before his arrival in those parts, he carried them with him to Athens, and there laid them up to be a memorial of that total overthrow which they gave their enemy in this war, by the many victories which they had obtained over them. From this time all the Ionian cities in Asia revolted from the Persians, and entering into confederacy with the Grecians, by their help maintained their liberty for the most part ever after, during the continuance of that empire.

Proceedings of the Greek allied fleet under Pausanias and Aristides, 477.—The Greeks, having resettled their affairs at home, after the great ruffle that was made in them by the late invasion of the Persians, resolved further to prosecute the war against them, for the driving of them out of all the cities abroad that were of the Grecian original. For which purpose they equipped a strong fleet, of which Pausanias, king of the Lacedæmonians, and Aristides the Athenian, having the command, they sailed with it to Cyprus; and there having freed a great many Grecian cities from their Persian garrisons, restored them again to their own liberty.

Xerxes's amour with Artaynta: her mother barbarously mangled by Hamestris.—About this time Xerxes, at Susa, was acting a very cruel and barbarous tragedy in the house of Masistes his brother, which had

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its rise from an incestuous love first begun at Sardis; for Xerxes, after his return thither from his flight out of Greece, fell in love with Masistes's wife, who was then in that city; but she being a very virtuous woman, and very loving and faithful to her husband, could on no solicitations be prevailed with to defile his bed. But Xerxes, thinking to win her at last, heaped all manner of favours and obligations upon her, to engage her to yield to him; and particularly he married a daughter which she had, named Artaynta, to Darius his eldest son, whom he intended for his successor in the throne, and

on his return to Susa, caused the marriage to be consummated: which being the greatest favour he could bestow upon the mother, he expected it would engage her to a compliance with his desires. But finding the lady's virtue to be still impregnable against all his attempts, he at length turned the amour from the mother to the daughter, and fell in love with Artaynta; where he soon found a ready compliance to all he desired. While this was a doing, Hamestris, Xerxes's queen, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the king, who, being very much pleased with it, wore it when he made his next visit to his mistress, and bade her ask what she would of him for her reward, promising her with an oath, that whatsoever it should be, he would give it unto her. Hereon she asked of him the mantle which he then had on him. Xerxes, being aware of the mischief which might follow from his giving of it unto her, did all that he could to divert her from this request, offering her whatever else was in his power to redeem it from her. But nothing else being able to content the lady, and his promise and the oath being urged for the grant, he was forced to give it unto her, and she, out of the vanity and pride of her mind, as soon as she had it, put it on, and, as by way of trophy, wore it publicly; whereby Hamestris, being thoroughly confirmed in what she was afore only jealous of, became enraged to the utmost degree: but instead of turning her wrath against the daughter, who only was faulty in this matter, resolved to be revenged on the mother, as if all this intrigue had been of her contrivance, who was wholly innocent of it. And therefore, waiting the great festival that used annually to be celebrated on the king's birthday, which was then approaching, whereon it was the custom for the king to grant her whatsoever she should then desire, she asked of him the wife of Masistes to be given unto her. The king, perceiving the malice of the woman, and what she intended, abhorred it to the utmost, both for the sake of his brother, and also for what he knew of the innocency of the lady, as to that for which Hamestris was exasperated against her; and therefore at first withstood her in this request all that he could. But her importunity not being to be diverted, nor what was said for the custom to be gainsayed, he was forced to yield to her. Whereon the lady being seized by the king's guards, and delivered to her, she caused her breast, her tongue, nose, ears, and lips to be cut off, and thrown to the dogs, before her face, and then sent her home again thus mangled to her husband's house. In the interim, Xerxes, to mollify the matter as much as he could, sent for

Masistes, and told him, that it was his desire that he must part with his wife, and that instead of her he would give him one of his daughters in marriage. But Masistes, having an entire affection for his wife, could not be induced to consent hereto: whereon Xerxes

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told him, in an angry manner, that since he refused to accept of his daughter, when offered to him, he should neither have her nor his wife neither; and so dismissed him in displeasure. Whereon Masistes, suspecting some mischief was done him, made haste home to see how matters there stood; where finding his wife in that mangled condition as hath been mentioned, and being thereby exasperated to the utmost, as the case deserved, he immediately got together all his family, servants, and dependants, and made all the haste he could towards Bactria, the province of which he was governor; purposing, as soon as he should arrive thither, to raise an army, and make war upon the king, to be revenged of him for this barbarous usage. But Xerxes, hearing of his sudden retreat, and suspecting from thence what he intended, sent a party of horse after him, who, overtaking him on the road, cut him off, with his wife and children, and all that belonged to him. This Masistes was brother of Xerxes by Atossa, the same mother, as well as by the same father, and was a person of great worth and honour, as well as of great fidelity to the king; and he had done him great services in his Grecian war, having been one of his chief generals, who had the leading of his army in that expedition; and he was personally engaged for him in the battle of Mycale, and was in truth the chief honour of his house, and never gave him any just cause to be offended with him. However, all this could not protect him from Xerxes's cruelty; which sufficiently shows, that where there is a vicious prince, with an arbitrary power in the government, there is nothing that can be sufficient to secure any man's safety under him.

Hamestris not to be identified with Esther.—And there is another fact related of Hamestris equally cruel and impious, that is, that she caused fourteen boys of the best families in Persia to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods. And, in the relating of this, as well as her other cruelties above-mentioned, I have been the more particular, because several

having been of opinion, by reason of the similitude that is between the names of Hamestris and Esther, that Xerxes was the Ahasuerus, and Hamestris the Esther, mentioned in Scripture, it may from hence appear how impossible it is, that a woman of so vile and abominable a character, as Hamestris was, could have ever been that queen of Persia, who, by the name of Esther, is so renowned in Holy Writ, and is there recorded as the instrument by whom God was pleased, in so signal a manner, to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them. After the death of Masistes, Xerxes appointed Hystaspes, his second son, to be governor of Bactria in his stead; which obliging him to be absent from court, gave Artaxerxes his younger brother the opportunity of mounting the throne before him, on the death of Xerxes, as will be hereafter related.

Greek affairs: treachery and death of Pausanias, 476.—The Grecian fleet having effected at Cyprus what they went thither for, sailed from thence to the Hellespont, and took in Byzantium: where several Persians of eminent note, and some of them of the kindred of Xerxes, being taken prisoners, Pausanias treacherously released them all, pretending they had made their escape, and by some of them entered into a treaty with Xerxes to betray Greece unto him, upon condition that he would give him one of his daughters in marriage; which being readily agreed to by Xerxes, Pausanias thenceforth took upon him to live after another rate than formerly, affecting the pomp and grandeur of the Persians, and carrying himself haughtily and tyrannically towards the allies: whereon, they being disgusted with his conduct, and not being able any longer to bear it, did put themselves under the Athenians, who thenceforth, by this means, obtained the chief command at sea in all the Grecian affairs, and held it for many years after. The Lacedæmonians, having received an account of these miscarriages of Pausanias, deposed him from his command on the Hellespont, and recalling him home, put him under public censure for them. However, the next year [B. C. 475] he went again to the Hellespont, though without the consent of the state, or any commission from them, sailing thither in a private ship, which he hired on pretence of fighting against the Persians as a volunteer in that war, but in reality to carry on his treasonable designs with them,

Artabazus being appointed governor on the Propontis of purpose to be there at hand to treat with him. But while he was at Byzantium, his behaviour was such that the Athenians drove him thence; whereon he went to the country of Troas, and there tarried some time, the better to carry on his correspondence with Artabazus, of which there being some suspicions, the Lacedæmonians summoned him home by a public officer, and on his return put him in prison; but no evidence appearing of this thing in his trial, he was again discharged. But some time after, the whole of it being brought to light, and discovered by one whom he had made use of to carry on the correspondence, they put him to death for it.

Themistocles charged at Athens by the Lacedæmonians with being implicated in the treason of Pausanias, 472.—Themistocles, by his wisdom and great application, having much advanced the power and interest of the Athenians, hereby drew on him the bitter enmity of the Lacedæmonians: for they seeing their honour eclipsed, and that authority, whereby they had hitherto borne the chief sway among the Greeks, now rivalled and diminished by the growing up of this flourishing state, could not with patience bear it, and therefore, to gratify their revenge, resolved on the ruin of him that had been the author of it. In order whereto, they caused him first to be accused at Athens of being a confederate with Pausanias in his treason against Greece; but nothing being proved of what was laid to his charge, he was there acquitted.

Charged a second time, whilst residing at Argos under sentence of ostracism, 471.—But the next year after, Themistocles being banished Athens, they renewed their design against him. He was not banished for any crime, but by ostracism, which was a way among them whereby, for the better securing of their liberty, they used to suppress those that were grown to too great a power and authority among them, by banishing them the city for a certain term of years. Themistocles, being thus necessitated for a time to leave his country, settled at Argos; of which the Lacedæmonians taking the advantage, prosecuted anew their charge against him before the general council of all Greece, then met at Sparta, and summoned him to appear

before them to answer to it, accusing him there of treason against the whole community of Greece.

Themistocles flies to Persia.—Themistocles, seeing how bitterly the Lacedæmonians were set against him, and knowing that they could carry everything as they pleased in that assembly, durst not trust his cause with them, but fled first to Corcyra, and from thence to Admetus, king of the Molossians, by whose assistance being conveyed to the coasts of the Ægean Sea, he took shipping at Pydna in Macedonia, and from thence passed over to Cyma, a city of Æolia in the Lesser Asia. But Xerxes having put a price of two hundred talents upon his head (which amounted to thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds of our money), several were there upon the hunt after him for the gain of so great a reward. For the avoiding of this danger, he was forced there to lie hid for some time, till at length, by the contrivance and assistance of his friend and host Nicogenes, the richest man of that country, he was conveyed safe to Susa, in one of those close chariots in which the Persians used to carry their women; they that had the conducting of him giving out that they were carrying a young Greek lady to the court for one of the nobility; by which means he got to the Persian court without any danger; where being arrived, he addressed himself to Artabanus, the captain of the guards, to whose office it belonged to bring those to the audience of the king that had any business with him: by him he was introduced into Xerxes's presence; and being there asked who he was, he told him he was Themistocles the Athenian: that though he had done him great hurt in his wars, yet he had in many things much served him, particularly in hindering the Greeks from pursuing him after the battle of Salamis, and obstructing his retreat over the Hellespont; that for these his services to him being driven out of his country, he was now fled to him for refuge, hoping that he would have more regard to what he had done for his interest, than to what, with the rest of his countrymen, he had in the wars acted against it.

Joyfully received by Xerxes.—Xerxes then said nothing to him; though, as soon as he was withdrawn, he expressed a great deal of joy and satisfaction, that so considerable a person was come over to him, wishing that God would always put it into the minds of his enemies thus to drive their best men from them. But the next morning, having assembled the chief

of the Persian nobility about him, and ordered him again to be brought into his presence, he received him with great kindness; telling him, in the first place, that he owed him two hundred

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talents: for he having set that price upon his head, it was due to him who had brought him his head, by thus rendering himself unto him; and accordingly commanded it to be paid him and then ordered him to say what he had concerning the affairs of Greece to impart unto him. But Themistocles being then no otherwise able to deliver himself than by an interpreter, begged leave that he might be permitted first to learn the Persian language, hoping that then he might be in a capacity to communicate to the king what he had to impart to him in a much more perfect manner than he could then promise to do by the interpretation of another; which being granted to him, and he having after a year's time made himself thorough master of that tongue, he was again called in to the king; to whom having communicated all that he thought proper, he grew very much into his favour, so that when Mandana his sister, who had lost several of her sons in the battle of Salamis, had prosecuted an accusation against Themistocles for their death, and was very importunate and clamorous to have him delivered up to her, a sacrifice to her revenge, he not only caused him to be acquitted by the suffrages of all the nobility then attending the court, but conferred many royal bounties upon him; for he gave him a wife of a noble Persian family, with a house, servants, and an equipage in all things suitable hereto, and an annual revenue sufficient to enable him in the best manner to support the same, and on all occasions much caressed him as long as he continued in his court. And it is mentioned as one particular instance of his favour to him, that by his especial command he was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the Magians, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy. But at length it being thought best for the king's interest, that he should reside in some of the maritime towns near Greece, that he might be there ready at hand for such services as the king might have occasion of from him in those parts, he was sent to live at Magnesia, on the river Meander, where he had not only all the revenues of that city (which were fifty talents a year), but also those of Myus and Lampsacus allowed him for his maintenance, amounting altogether to one

hundred and fifty talents a year, which was little less than thirty thousand pounds of our money. And here he lived all the time of Xerxes, and several years after, in the reign of Artaxerxes his son, in a very plentiful and splendid manner, as well he might, on so large a revenue, till at length he ended his days in that city in the manner as shall be hereafter related.

Plutarch's account compared with that of Thucydides.—But according to Thucydides, Xerxes was dead, and Artaxerxes had newly succeeded in the throne, when Themistocles fled out of Greece to the Persian court; and therefore he tells us that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus, and not Xerxes, by whom Themistocles was received with so much favour; and Thucydides being an historian of great credit, and having wrote this not many years after the death of Artaxerxes, the lord primate Usher, moved by so great an authority, follows him in this matter, and to make it accord with the other transactions of those times, takes nine years from the reign of Xerxes and adds them

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to the two following reigns, making Xerxes to end his reign nine years sooner, and Artaxerxes to begin his reign nine years sooner, than any other author says. Hereby the learned primate doth exceedingly help his hypothesis of the computation of the seventy weeks of Daniel's prophecy; and that, no doubt, induced him to prefer the authority of Thucydides before all others in this particular. For if we put the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus (from whence he reckons the beginning of these seventy weeks) nine years higher than others do, the middle of the last week will fall exactly in with the time when Christ was crucified. And therefore, were the authority of Thucydides sufficient to justify him in this matter, the primate's computation would appear much more plausible than now it doth. But the Canon of Ptolemy, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Africanus, Eusebius, and all others that write of these times, being against him herein, it is much more probable that Thucydides was out in this particular; for although he be a very exact historian in the affairs of Greece, of which he professedly writes, yet it is possible he might be mistaken in those of Persia, which he treats of only by the by.

Proceedings of the Greek fleet under Cimon.—In the interim, the Athenians having set out a fleet under the command of Cimon the son of Miltiades, conquered Eione on the river Strymon, and other parts of Thrace, and then took in the islands of Scyrus and Naxus, which had revolted from them; and while they were assaulting the last of these, Themistocles passed by them in his flight into Asia, and difficultly escaped falling into their hands.

Decisive victory over the Persians at the mouth of the Eurymedon, by land and sea, 470.—The next year after, Cimon sailing from Athens with a fleet of two hundred sail, passed over to the coasts of Asia; where having augmented it with one hundred sail more from the allies, he took in all the maritime parts of Caria and Lycia, driving the Persians out of all the cities they were possessed of in those parts; and then hearing that they had a great fleet on the coasts of Pamphylia, and were also drawing down thither as great an army by land for some expedition, he hastened thither with two hundred and fifty of his best ships in quest of them; and finding their fleet, consisting of three hundred and fifty sail, at anchor in the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and their land army encamped on the shore by, he first assaulted their fleet, which being soon put to the rout, and having no other way to flee but up the river, were all taken, every ship of them, and twenty thousand men in them, the rest having either escaped to land, or been slain in the fight. After this, while his forces were thus flushed with success, he put them ashore, and fell upon the land army, and overthrew them also with a great slaughter; whereby he got two great victories in the same day, of which one was equal to that of Salamis, and the other that of Platea. And having gotten information that there were eighty more Phœnician ships coming to join the Persian fleet, he surprised them in harbour, before they had any notice of

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the late defeat, and destroyed every ship of them, and all the men on board were either drowned or slain in the fight. After which success Cimon returned home in great triumph, and very much enriched and adorned Athens with the spoils got in this expedition.

Subsequent successes: clearance of the Ægean from Persian ships, 469.—The next year Cimon sailed to the Hellespont, and falling on the Persians who had taken possession of the Thracian Chersonesus, drove them out thence, and subjected their country again to the Athenians; though in truth (it having been the principality of his father Miltiades) he had the best right to it himself. After this he subdued the Thasians, who had revolted from the Athenians, and then landing his army on the opposite shore of Thrace, he seized all the gold mines on those coasts, and brought under him all that country as far as Macedon, and thereby opened a way for the conquering of that realm also, would he have pursued the opportunity: for the omitting of which he was afterwards, on his return, brought to trial for his life before the Athenians, as if he had been corrupted by the Macedonians to spare them, and hardly escaped being condemned for it.

Xerxes being at last daunted, and wholly discouraged by the continued series of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of any longer carrying on the Grecian war; and therefore from this time no more of his ships were seen in the Ægean Sea, or any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign.

Death of Xerxes, 465.—After this, Xerxes giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, minded nothing but the gratifying of his pleasures and his lusts; whereby growing into contempt with the people, Artabanus, the captain of his guards, and one who had been long in prime favour and authority with him, conspired against him, and having drawn Mithridates, one of his eunuchs that was his chamberlain, into the plot, by his means got into his bedchamber, and there slew him while he slept in his bed; and then going to Artaxerxes, his third son, acquainted him of the murder, and accused Darius his elder brother to be the author of it, telling him that it was done to make his way to the throne, and that it was his design to cut him off next to secure himself in it; and that therefore it behoved him to look to himself. All which Artaxerxes (as being then a very young man) rashly believing, without any further examination, to be true, and being irritated thereby in such a manner as Artabanus intended, went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there, by the assistance of Artabanus and his guards, slew him also. And this he did, as he thought, by way of just revenge for the death of his father, and for the securing of his own safety,

being imposed on and deceived by the craft of the traitor who excited him hereto.

Artaxerxes Longimanus placed on the throne: treasonous designs of Artabanus defeated.—The next heir was Hystaspes, the second son of Xerxes, but he being absent in Bactria, of which province he was governor, Artabanus took Artaxerxes, as being next in hand, and put him on the throne; but with design to let him sit on it no longer than till he had formed a party strong enough to seize it for himself. He having been long in great authority had made many creatures, and he had also

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seven sons, all grown up to be men of robust bodies, and advanced to great dignities in the empire; and his confidence in these was that which put his ambition on this design: but while he was hastening it to a conclusion, Artaxerxes having got a full discovery of the whole plot, by the means of Megabyzus, who had married one of his sisters, was aforehand with him in a counterplot, and cut him off before his treason was fully ripened for execution; whereby having secured himself in thorough possession of the kingdom, he held it forty-one years.

Ahasuerus of Esther identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus.—He is said to have been the handsomest person of the age in which he lived, and to have been a prince of a very mild and generous disposition. He is called by the Greek historians Μακροχεὶρ, or Longimanus (i. e. the long-handed), by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands; for they were so long, that on his standing upright he could touch his knees with them. But in Scripture he hath the name of Ahasuerus as well as that of Artaxerxes, and was the same who had Esther for his queen. I acknowledge there are two very great men whose opinion differs from me herein, Archbishop Usher and Joseph Scaliger.

Identified by Usher with Darius Hystaspis.—The former holdeth that it was Darius Hystaspis that was the king Ahasuerus who married Esther; and that Atossa was the Vashti and Artystona the Esther of the Holy Scriptures. But all that is said of those persons by the historians who have written of them is wholly inconsistent herewith: for Herodotus positively

tells us, that Artystona was the daughter of Cyrus, and therefore she could not be Esther: and that Atossa had four sons by Darius besides daughters, all born to him by her after he was king; and therefore she could not be that queen Vashti who was divorced from the king her husband in the third year of his reign, nor he that Ahasuerus that divorced her. Furthermore, Atossa is said to have had predominant interest with Darius even to the time of his death, that it was by her means that in the last act of his life he was influenced to settle the succession of the crown on Xerxes her son, to the disinheriting of all his elder sons, who were born to him by a former wife: whereas the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther had removed Vashti both from his bed and from his presence by an unalterable decree; and therefore never could admit her again to either all his life after. That which chiefly induced the learned archbishop to be of this opinion was, that whereas it is said of Ahasuerus in the book of Esther, that he laid a tribute upon the land and upon the isles, the same is also said of Darius Hystaspis by Herodotus; and therefore he thought that they were both the same person. But Strabo, who is an author of as good, if not better, credit, attributeth this to Longimanus. It must be acknowledged, that in the printed copies which we now have of that author, it is read Darius Longimanus in the place which I refer to. But the title Longimanus, and the description of the person after in that place added, can belong to none but to the Artaxerxes whom we now speak of; and therefore it is manifest, that there Darius is put instead of Artaxerxes by the corruption of the text.

Identified by Scaliger with Xerxes.—Scaliger's opinion is, that Xerxes was the Ahasuerus, and Hamestris his queen the Esther, of the Holy Scriptures. His main reason for it is, the similitude that is between the names of Hamestris and Esther. But how much more the dissimilitude of their characters proves the contrary has been already shown; and what will be hereafter said of her dealing with Inarus and the Greeks taken with him in Egypt, and her frequent adulteries, will be a further confirmation of it. Furthermore, it appears from Herodotus, that Xerxes had a son by Hamestris that was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and therefore it is impossible she could be Esther; for Esther was not married to

Ahasuerus till the seventh year of his reign, nor could possibly have been taken into his bed sooner than two years before. For according to the sacred history, it was the fourth year of Ahasuerus when the choice of virgins was made for him, and a whole year being employed in the purifications, whereby they were prepared for his bed, she could not be called thither till the fifth year of his reign; and therefore the sixth was the soonest that she could have a son by him. Besides, Artaxerxes, the third son of Hamestris, being grown up to the state of a man at the death of his father (which happened in the twenty-first year of his reign), he must have been born before the sixth year of his reign. All which put together, do sufficiently prove, how much soever the names Esther and Hamestris may be alike, the persons could not be the same.

Decision in favour of Artaxerxes.—But there being no such objections as to Artaxerxes Longimanus, it is most probable that he was the person. The ancientest and best evidences that can be had of this matter are from the Greek version of the sacred text, called the Septuagint, the apocryphal additions to the book of Esther, and Josephus; and all these agree for Artaxerxes Longimanus. For Josephus positively tells us it was he; and the Septuagint, through the whole book of Esther, wherever the Hebrew text hath Ahasuerus, translate Artaxerxes: and the apocryphal additions to that book everywhere call the husband of Esther Artaxerxes, who could be none other than Artaxerxes Longimanus: for there are several circumstances related of him, both in the canonical and apocryphal Esther, which can by no means be applicable to the other Artaxerxes, called Mnemon. And Severus Sulpitius, and many other writers, as well of the ancients as the moderns, come also into this opinion. And the extraordinary favour and kindness which Artaxerxes Longimanus showed the Jews beyond all the other kings that reigned in Persia, first in sending Ezra, and after Nehemiah, for the repairing of the broken affairs of that people in Judah and Jerusalem, and the restoring of them again to their ancient

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prosperity, is what can scarce be accounted for on any other reason, but that they had in his bosom such a powerful advocate as Esther to solicit for

them. But these and the other transactions of this king will be the subject of the next ensuing book.

BOOK V.

JEWISH AND MEDO-PERSIAN HISTORY, FROM THE ACCESSION OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS TO THE CONCLUSION OF THE GOVERNORSHIP OF EZRA, B. C. 464 TO 446.

I. REIGN OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS UNTIL THE CORONATION OF ESTHER AND DEPARTURE OF EZRA FOR JUDEA, B. C. 464—458. —

High priests of Judah—Joiakim, 483.

Establishment of Artaxerxes on the throne: execution of the sons of Artabanus, 464.—ARTAXERXES having by the death of Artabanus removed one grand obstacle to his quiet possessing of the throne, had still two others to struggle with, his brother Hystaspes in Bactria, and Artabanus's party at home. And this last being nearest at hand, gave him the first trouble: for although Artabanus was dead, he had left behind seven sons and many partisans, who immediately gathered together to revenge his death; whereon a fierce conflict ensued between them and those who stood by Artaxerxes, in which many noble Persians were slain; but at length Artaxerxes having prevailed, did cut off all that were concerned in this conspiracy; and especially he took a signal revenge of every one of those who had a hand in the murder of his father, and particularly of the eunuch Mithridates that betrayed him, whom he caused to be boated to death. The manner of this punishment was thus: the person condemned to it, being laid on his back in a boat, and having his hands stretched out, and tied fast to each side of it, had another boat put over him, his head only being left out through a place made fit for it. In this posture they fed him, till the worms

which were bred in the excrements that he voided as he thus lay did eat out his bowels, and so caused his death; which was usually this way twenty days in effecting, the criminal lying all this while in exquisite torments.

Defeat of Hystaspes.—Artaxerxes having mastered this difficulty, was at leisure to send an army into Bactria against his brother. But there he did not meet with so easy success; for a fierce battle ensuing, though Hystaspes did not get the victory, yet he did so well make good his ground, that no advantage was gotten against him: but both armies parted with equal success, and each retired to make better

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preparations for a second encounter. But the next year [B. C. 463], Artaxerxes having drawn together a much stronger army, as having the greatest part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered Hystaspes, and utterly overthrew him in a second battle; whereby having removed all difficulties and oppositions, he now became fully possessed of the whole empire; and the better to secure himself in it, he removed all those governors of cities and provinces of whom he had any suspicion that they had been concerned with, or any way well affected to, either of the parties which he had suppressed, and put into their places only such as he had a thorough confidence in. After this he did set himself to reform all the abuses and disorders of the government, whereby he gained to himself much credit and authority throughout all the provinces of the empire, and thoroughly established himself in the affections of the people, wherein lieth the surest interest of princes.

Grand rejoicings at Shushan: Artaxerxes puts away his queen Vashti, 462.—After Artaxerxes had obtained these successes, and thereby firmly settled himself in the peaceable possession of the whole Persian empire, he appointed a solemn rejoicing on this account, and caused it to be celebrated in the city of Shushan, or Susa, in feastings and shows, for the term of a hundred and eighty days, on the conclusion of which he made a great feast for all the princes and people that were in Shushan for seven days. And Vashti the queen, at the same time, made a like feast in her

apartment for the women. On the seventh day, the king's heart being merry with wine, he commanded his seven chamberlains to bring queen Vashti before him with the crown royal on her head, that he might show to the princes and people her beauty; for she was exceeding fair. But for her thus to show herself in such an assembly, being contrary to the usage of the Persians, and appearing to her (as indeed it was) very indecent, and much unbecoming the modesty of a lady, as well as the dignity of her station, she refused to comply herewith, and would not come: whereon the king, being very much incensed, called his seven counsellors to take advice with them about it, who fearing this might be of ill example through the whole empire, in encouraging women to contemn and disobey their husbands, advised that the king should put Vashti away for ever from him, and give her royal state to another that should be better than she, and by his royal edict give command throughout the whole empire, that all wives should pay honour and obedience to their husbands, and that every man should bear rule in his own house. Which advice pleasing the king, he commanded it accordingly to be put in execution, and Vashti never more after that came again into the king's presence; for the decree whereby she was removed from him was registered among the laws of the Medes and Persians, and therefore it could never again be altered. After this, orders were given out through the whole empire for the gathering together to the palace at Shushan all the fair virgins in every province, that out of them one might be chosen whom the king should best like, to be made queen in her place.

Esther obtains the royal favour, 461.—At the time when this collection of virgins was made, there lived in Shushan a certain Jew named

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Mordecai, who was of the descendants of those who had been carried captive to Babylon with Jeconiah king of Judah, and, by his attendance at the king's gate, seems to have been one of the porters of the royal palace. He having no children, did breed up Hadassah, his uncle's daughter, and adopted her for his own. This young woman being very beautiful and fair, was made choice of among other virgins on this occasion, and was carried to the king's palace, and there committed to the care of Hegai, the king's chamberlain, who was appointed to have the custody of these virgins;

whom she pleased so well by her good carriage, that he showed her favour before all the other virgins under his care, and therefore he assigned her the best apartment of the house, and provided her of the first with those things that were requisite for her purification. For the custom was, that every virgin thus taken into the palace for the king's use, was to go through a course of purification by sweet oils and perfumes for a whole year; and therefore Hadassah having been, by the favour of the chamberlain, of the earliest provided with these things, was one of the first that was prepared and made ready for the king's bed, and therefore was one of the soonest that was called to it. The next year, [B. C. 460,] the term of her purification being accomplished, her turn came to go in unto the king, who was so well pleased with her, that he often again called for her by name; which he used not to do, but to those only of his women whom he was much delighted with. From this time she seems to have had the name of **Esther**, for it is of a Persian original; the signification of it is not now known.

Egyptians revolt under Inarus, assisted by the Athenians, 460.—The Egyptians being very impatient of a foreign yoke, in order to deliver themselves from it, rebelled against Artaxerxes, and making Inarus prince of the Libyans their king, called in the Athenians to their assistance, who having then a fleet of two hundred sail at Cyprus, gladly laid hold of the invitation, and forthwith sailed for Egypt, looking on this as a favourable opportunity for the crushing of the Persian power by driving them out of that country.

Persian expedition under Achæmenides defeated by the Egyptians and Athenians.—Artaxerxes, on the hearing of this revolt, made ready an army of three hundred thousand men for the suppressing of it, proposing himself to march into Egypt at the head of them; but being dissuaded from hazarding his person in this expedition, he committed it to the care of Achæmenides, one of his brothers. Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say, that it was Achæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, and uncle of Artaxerxes, the same who before had the government of Egypt in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, that had the conduct of this war: but herein they were deceived by the similitude of the names; for it appears by Ctesias, that he was the son of Hamestris, whom Artaxerxes sent with this army into Egypt. [The next year, B. C. 459], Achæmenides being arrived in Egypt with his numerous

army, encamped on the river Nile. In the interim, the Athenians having beaten the Persian fleet at sea, and destroyed or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the Nile, and having landed their forces, under

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the command of Charitimis, their general, joined Inarus and the Egyptians; whereon falling on Achæmenides with their joint forces, they overthrew him in a great battle, killing one hundred thousand of his men, and among them Achæmenides himself. The remainder fled to Memphis, where the victors pursuing them, took two parts of the town; but the Persians securing themselves in the third, called the White Wall, which was by much the largest and the strongest part, there suffered a siege of near three years; during all which time they valiantly defended themselves against their assailants, till at length they were succoured by those who were sent to their relief.

Projected Persian expedition against Athens under Themistocles: suicide of Themistocles, 458.—Artaxerxes having received an account of the defeat of his army in Egypt, and what part the Athenians bore in the effecting of it, in order to divert their forces from being thus employed against him, he sent an ambassador to the Lacedæmonians, with great sums of money, to induce them to make war upon the Athenians; but they not being by any means to be wrought to it, Artaxerxes resolved to endeavour this diversion another way, by sending himself an army into Attica, with Themistocles at the head of it, which he thought could not fail of making them recall their forces out of Egypt, because then they would need them at home for their own defence. And accordingly orders were sent to Themistocles to prepare for the expedition; and an army and fleet were drawing towards the Ionian coast to be committed to his conduct for this purpose. But Themistocles not knowing how to decline the command, by reason of the great benefits he had received from the king, and the promises he had made of serving him on any such occasion, and, on the other hand, abhorring the bringing of a war upon his country, to extricate himself from this difficulty, resolved to put an end to his life; and therefore inviting all his friends together, and having sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of

his blood, and so died. But there are others that say, this was done not so much out of a love to his country, as out of a fear of encountering the valour and good fortune of Cimon, who being then general of the Athenians, carried victory with him wherever he went. But had this been all the matter, so wise and valiant a man would have seen enough in this case not to have run upon so fatal a resolution. It is possible he might have beaten Cimon: if not, it would have been time enough for him to have salved his credit this way, by dying in battle when vanquished; and therefore he needed not to have anticipated it by a poisonous draught.

Preparation for a Persian expedition into Egypt under Artabazus and Megabyzus.—In the interim, Artabazus, governor of Cilicia, and Megabyzus, governor of Syria, were ordered to get ready an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the White Wall, and for the carrying on of the Egyptian war. This Megabyzus was the son of Zopyrus, and had been one of the generals that commanded in the army which Xerxes led into Greece, whose daughter Amytis he had married; but she having very much abused his bed, by her frequent

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adulteries, which she was very infamously addicted to, he grew very much disgusted at it; and that not only with her, but also with the whole royal family, where perchance she found too much countenance in her crime, especially from her mother, who was as infamously guilty of it as herself. This induced Artabanus to communicate to him the plot which he had contrived against the life of Artaxerxes after the murder of his father, hoping while he was under this discontent to draw him into his party. But Megabyzus, abhorring the treason, made discovery of the whole to Artaxerxes, and gave him that counsel which put him in the way to get rid of this danger. And after the death of Artabanus, he headed the king's forces against the partisans of the traitor; and it was chiefly by his valour and conduct that they were suppressed, and Artaxerxes secured on the throne; and, in the accomplishing of this, he received a dangerous wound, of which he very difficultly recovered. By all which merit he very deservedly obtained the first place in the king's favour, and therefore was chiefly confided on in this important commission for the reduction of Egypt.

Ezra obtains a commission from Artaxerxes: second caravan of Jews return to Judea under his leadership.—In the beginning of this year [B. C. 458] Ezra obtained of king Artaxerxes and his seven chief counsellors a very ample commission for his return to Jerusalem, with all of his nation that were willing to accompany him thither, giving him full authority there to restore and settle the state, and reform the church of the Jews, and to regulate and govern both according to their own laws. This extraordinary favour not being likely to have been obtained but by some more than ordinary means, it seems to have been granted at the solicitation of Esther, who was now become the best beloved of all the king's concubines, though not yet advanced to the dignity of queen. For it was usual for the kings of Persia, on some particular days and occasions, to allow their women to ask what boons they pleased; and upon some such time or occasion it is most likely Esther, by the direction of Mordecai, though she had not yet discovered her kindred and nation, asked this of the king. This Ezra was of the descendants of Seraiah the high priest, who was slain by Nebuchadnezzar, when he burned the temple and city of Jerusalem. That he was the immediate son of Seraiah is wholly improbable; for supposing him to have been but one year old at the death of this Seraiah, he must now have been one hundred and thirty-two, and yet we find him alive in the time of Nehemiah, fifteen years after, when, according to this account, he must have been one hundred and forty-seven years old, though he was then of that vigour as to bear the fatigue of reading the law for a whole forenoon together to all the people of the Jews, which is a thing wholly unlikely in those days. And therefore, where he is said to be the son of Seraiah, it must be understood in that large sense wherein commonly in Scripture any descendant is said to be the son of any ancestor from whom he was derived; and we need seek no further for an instance of this than the very text, where Ezra is said to be the son of Seraiah; for in the same place Azariah is said to be the son of Meraioth, though there were six between. As Ezra was a very holy, so also was he a very learned man, and especially he was very excellently

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skilled in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; and therefore he is said to have been a very ready scribe in the law of God: which he was so eminent for, that Artaxerxes takes particular notice of it in his commission. He began his journey from Babylon on the first day of the first month, called Nisan (which might fall about the middle of our March), and having halted at the river of Ahava till the rest of his company was come up to him, he there in a solemn fast recommended himself and all that were with him to the divine protection, and then, on the twelfth day, set forward for Jerusalem, where they all safely arrived on the first day of the fifth month, having spent four whole months in their journey from Babylon thither. On his arrival he delivered up to the temple the offerings which had been made to it by the king and his nobles, and the rest of the people of Israel that stayed behind, which amounted to one hundred talents of gold, with twenty basons of gold of the value of one thousand darics, and six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver of the weight of one hundred talents more. And then having communicated his commission to the king's lieutenants and governors throughout all Syria and Palestine, he betook himself to the executing of the contents of it; whereby he was fully empowered to settle both the church and the state of the Jews according to the law of Moses, and to appoint magistrates and judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and not become obedient to it, and that not only by imprisonment and confiscation of goods, but also with banishment and death, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this power Ezra was invested with, and continued faithfully to execute it for the space of thirteen years, till Nehemiah arrived with a new commission from the Persian court for the same work.

Esther crowned queen. —Esther growing further still in the king's favour, and gaining his affection beyond all the rest of his women, he advanced her to higher honour, and on the tenth day of the tenth month, which falls about the end of our year, did put the royal diadem upon her head, and declared her queen in the stead of Vashti; and thereon made a solemn feast for his princes and servants, which was called Esther's feast; and in honour of her, at the same time, made a release of taxes to the provinces, and gave donatives and presents to all that then attended him, according to the grandeur and dignity of his royal estate; which gave Ezra

the greater encouragement, under her protection and patronage, to go on with the work of reforming and settling the Jewish church and state in Judæa and Jerusalem, which he had there undertaken.

II. COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS, AND HISTORICAL EXPLANATION OF DANIEL'S PROPHECY CONCERNING THEM. B. C. 458.

Beginning of the seventy weeks: words of Daniel's prophecy.—[From the commencement of Ezra's great work of reforming and settling the Jewish church and state,] is to be computed the beginning of the seventy weeks of the famous prophecy which is delivered to us in the

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ninth chapter of Daniel, concerning the coming of the Messiah. The words of the prophecy in our English translation are as followeth:—

(Ver. 24.) "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy. (Ver. 25.) Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. (Ver. 26.) And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself; and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. (Ver. 27.) And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate."

Points to be observed in reference to the prophecy. And it being of great moment for the conviction of Jews and other infidels who reject the faith of Christ, to have this prophecy well cleared and made out, in order hereto it is to be observed,—

I. That the prophecy relates primarily and especially to the Jews.— For it expresseth the time that was determined upon the people of Daniel, that is, the Jews, and upon the holy city, that is, Jerusalem, the whole of which was seventy weeks; that is, that this was the time which God had fore-ordained and determined upon the Jews for their being his peculiar people, and upon Jerusalem for its being his holy city; after the expiration of which, an end being to be put to the Mosaic economy, they should be no longer God's peculiar people, and the worship which he had established at Jerusalem being to be abolished, that city should be no longer a city holy unto him.

II. That the seventy weeks are weeks of years, viz. 490 years.—For among the Jews, as there were sabbatical days, whereby their days were divided into weeks of days; so there were sabbatical years, whereby their years were divided into weeks of years; and this last sort of weeks is that which is here mentioned: so that every one of the weeks of this prophecy contains seven years, and the whole number of seventy weeks contain four hundred and ninety years, at the end whereof this determined time expired; after which the Jews were no more to be the peculiar people of God, nor Jerusalem his holy city, because then the economy which he had established among them was to cease, and the worship which he had appointed at Jerusalem was wholly to be abolished.

III. That the seventy weeks, or 490 years, were completed at the death of Christ. —For then the Jewish church, and the Jewish worship at Jerusalem, were wholly abolished, and the Christian church and the Christian worship succeeded in their stead: then the time, which was determined upon the Jews for their being God's peculiar people, and upon Jerusalem for its being his holy city, being fully expired, thenceforth

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began the kingdom of the Messiah; and instead of the Jews, all the nations of the world were called thereunto; and instead of Jerusalem, every place through the whole earth, where God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth, was made holy unto him. And therefore then the seventy weeks of this prophecy must have their ending; for they were determined and decreed for this purpose; and therefore in this they must have their conclusion. And this all the events which are in this prophecy predicted to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, do necessarily prove. In the twenty-fourth verse, we have six of them, for the accomplishing of which these seventy weeks are there said to be determined; and therefore at the accomplishing of them these weeks must have their ending. They are these following. 1st, To finish (or restrain) transgression; 2nd, To make an end of sins; 3rd, To make (expiation, or) reconciliation for iniquity; 4th, To bring in everlasting righteousness; 5th, To seal up (or complete and fulfil) vision and prophecy; and 6th, To anoint the most Holy. And all these were accomplished in that great work of our salvation, which Christ our Lord undertook for us, and fully completed by his death and passion, and his resurrection from the dead; for being born without original sin, and having lived without actual sin, he was truly the most holy of all that bore our nature. And being thereby fully fitted for this great work, he was anointed with the Holy Ghost, and with power, to be our King, and our Priest, and our Prophet, for the effecting and accomplishing of it. And having, as our Priest, offered up himself a sacrifice upon the cross, to make expiation and atonement for all our sins, he did thereby make an end of them, by taking away their guilt; and, in so doing, he did work reconciliation for us with our God. And having, as our Prophet, given unto us his gospel, the law of everlasting righteousness, which was not a temporary law, as was that of Moses, but to last for ever, and to be our guide into all righteousness, as long as the world should last; and also having, as our King, sent his Holy Spirit into our hearts, to influence and govern us according to this law, he hath done all for us that is necessary, thereby to restrain and extinguish in us all manner of transgressions, and fully deliver us from the power of them. And in doing all this, he hath sealed up, that is, fulfilled and thoroughly finished, all that which by visions and prophecies had been before revealed concerning him. And therefore all these events being thus brought to pass and accomplished

at the time of Christ's death, this necessarily determines us there to fix the end of these weeks, which were appointed for the accomplishing of them.

IV. That the seventy weeks commenced at the decree granted to Ezra in the 7th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. —The end of these weeks being thus fixed at the death of Christ, it doth necessarily determine us where to place the beginning of them, that is, four hundred and ninety years before. And therefore the death of Christ, as most learned men agree, falling in the year of the Julian period 4746 [A. D. 33], and in the Jewish month Nisan, if we reckon four hundred and ninety years backward, this will lead us up to the month Nisan, in the year of the Julian period 4256 [B. C. 458], which was the very year and month in which Ezra had his commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, for his return to Jerusalem, there to restore the church and state of the Jews; for that year of the Julian period, according to Ptolemy's Canon, was the seventh year of that king's reign, in which the Scriptures tell us his commission was granted. The beginning therefore of the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, of this prophecy, was in the month Nisan of the Jewish year, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, and in the four thousand two hundred and fifty-sixth year of the Julian period, when Ezra had his commission [viz. B. C. 458]; and the end of them fell in the very same month of Nisan, in the four thousand seven hundred and forty-sixth year of the Julian period [viz. A. D. 33], in which very year and very month Christ our Lord suffered for us, and thereby completed the whole work of our salvation, there being just seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years, from the one to the other.

V. Date of the commencement of the seventy weeks proved to have accorded with the decree of the 7th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. —It is evident from the prophecy itself, that these [seventy] weeks must have this beginning, that is, from the date of the commission granted Ezra. For 1st, They are pinned down thereto by an express character in the text; and 2ndly, They cannot, agreeably to that and other Scriptures, and the authentic histories of the times to which they relate, have it anywhere else.

1st, The seventy weeks are expressly stated in the text to begin "at the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem."—These [seventy] weeks must have their beginning from the date of the commission granted Ezra, because they are pinned down thereto by an express character in the text, and that character is "the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem;" for that from thence the seventy weeks must have their beginning, the text is very express; and to excite us the more to observe it, introduceth it with this remarkable preface, "Know therefore and understand." But this commandment or decree was that which was granted to Ezra in that commission with which he was sent into Judæa, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, and therefore from thence the beginning of these weeks must commence.

The words figurative; referring, not to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, but to the reestablishment of the Jewish church and state, which was effected by Ezra only. —For the words in the text, "to restore and build Jerusalem," are not to be understood literally, but figuratively, for the restoring of the state of the Jews, as well the political as the ecclesiastical, and the resettling of both according to the law of Moses. And what is more usual in prophecies, than to be given out in figurative expressions? and what is more common in Scripture, than by Jerusalem to mean the whole political and ecclesiastical state of that people? and for the reestablishing of both these, and the settling of them again upon the former basis, from whence they had been overthrown by the Babylonians, and were not as yet but very imperfectly restored, the commission granted to Ezra was very full: for it gave him thorough power to restore the law of Moses, and fully reëstablish the observance of it both in church and state, and to appoint magistrates and judges to govern the people according to it, and to punish all such as should be disobedient thereto, either with death, banishment, imprisonment, or confiscation of goods, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this Ezra accordingly executed in manner as will hereafter be related. Before his coming to Jerusalem with his commission, the Scriptures were in a manner lost, the people in a profound ignorance of

the law, and the worship of God neglected, and everything else, both in church and state, in great disorder and confusion. But on his coming he restored the Scriptures, instructed the people in the law, brought the worship of God into due order, and proceeded, as long as his commission lasted, to work a full reformation in all things else. And after his commission was at an end, he gave not over his endeavours herein, but as a priest, as a skilful scribe in the law of God, and as president of the Sanhedrim, he still carried on the same work; and having a successor equally zealous in the same design, he did as much in it under his authority as formerly he did by his own; so that he hath been esteemed as another Moses, and deservedly reckoned as the second founder of the Jewish church and state. And therefore the beginning of this work is a noble epocha from whence to begin the calculation of these weeks, and doth most agreeably accord with the intent and purpose of this prophecy in which they are predicted: for the whole intent and purpose of it is, to foreshow and set forth the age of the restored church of the Jews, how long it was to continue, and when to cease and be abolished; and from whence is it more proper to reckon this, than from the time when the thorough restoration of it began? and this was then only begun, when Ezra, by virtue of the commission granted to him by Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, in the seventh year of his reign, did set about this work; and therefore from hence the computation of these weeks, according to the prophecy that predicts them, must begin.

The words applied literally would only refer to the decree of Cyrus —568 years before the death of Christ. —And that this figurative interpretation of the words, and none other, must be the true meaning of them, appears from hence, that they cannot be understood in a literal sense; for if they are so to be understood, they can be applicable to no other restoring and rebuilding of Jerusalem, than that which was

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decreed and commanded by Cyrus at the release of the captivity; for this prophecy was revealed to Daniel before this release; and therefore, when it is said therein, that the epocha of these weeks was to begin from the going forth of the command or decree to restore and build Jerusalem, of what decree can it be more properly understood, than of that which should first

be granted next after this prophecy for that purpose, and by virtue whereof this city was accordingly rebuilt after its having been destroyed by the Babylonians, and was again repeopled and inhabited by the same people who had been its former inhabitants? And that this was done by virtue of Cyrus's decree, appears from many places of Scripture. We are told in Isaiah xliv. 28, that "it was Cyrus that should say to Jerusalem, Be thou built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid." And again (ch. xlv. 13), it is said of the same Cyrus, that "God would raise him up and direct him, that he should build his city, and release his captives;" where it is to observed, that he that released God's captives, and laid the foundation of the temple, was to be the person that was to rebuild Jerusalem; so that he is not only by name, but also by this character and description, plainly pointed out to be the person that was to do this work. For that Cyrus did release the captive Jews who were God's people, and that he did no more than lay the foundation of the temple (for it was not perfected till in an after-reign), is well known. And therefore, according to these passages of Holy Scripture, it must be he only that did restore and rebuild Jerusalem. And so accordingly it was done by virtue of the decree which he granted for the return of the Jews thither: for can it be imagined that Cyrus should grant license for the Jews to return to Jerusalem, and rebuild the temple there, without allowing them to rebuild that city also? Ezra plainly tells us, that as soon as the Jews were returned into Judæa, by virtue of Cyrus's decree, they dispersed themselves into the several cities to which they belonged, and again dwelt in them; and can it be thought that they did not then again rebuild them? for without rebuilding of them how could they dwell in them? And if those who belonged to the other cities of Judah rebuilt and dwelt in them again, how can we think that those who belonged to Jerusalem did not do the same, and that especially since it was the metropolis of the whole nation, the place where the temple stood, where all went up continually to worship, and where three times a year every male appeared before the Lord at the solemn festivals, and where also the governor dwelt, where the council sat, and all matters of judgment were ultimately decided? The matter is beyond all dispute: when the Jews on their return rebuilt their other cities, they must then most certainly have rebuilt Jerusalem also. The great concourse which the reasons I have mentioned constantly drew thither must have necessitated this had there

been no other inducement for it. It is easier to suppose all the rest of the cities of Judah to have been left still in their rubbish, after the return of the Jews from their captivity, than that this city alone should remain unbuilt. The rebuilding of it is not indeed expressly included in the commission of Cyrus. As we have it recorded in the first chapter of Ezra, that only give license "to the Jews to return into Judæa, and

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there rebuild the house of God, which is in Jerusalem." But the license to rebuild the house of God, which is in Jerusalem, must either imply a license to rebuild Jerusalem also, or else (which seems most probable) Ezra gives us, in the place mentioned, only an abstract of the chief things granted by that license, and not a recital of the whole, in which most likely many other things, and among them the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and the other cities of Judah, might be fully and expressly mentioned; for it is certain, by virtue of that license, they had power so to do; and accordingly executed it. For the complaint of the neighbouring nations to the Persian court against them that were returned was, that "they builded Jerusalem, that rebellious and bad city, and had set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations of it;" and the order from king Artaxerxes (so the Magian who then reigned, it seems, called himself) was "to cause the Jews to cease, that this city be not builded." However, from the first of Cyrus till the time of this order, fourteen years having elapsed, the rebuilding of Jerusalem had by that time gone a great way; for within two years after, we find the prophet Haggai complaining of the Jews at Jerusalem, "that they dwelt in ceiled houses, while they let the house of God lie waste." From all this it plainly appears, that Jerusalem, after its having been destroyed by the Babylonians, was again rebuilt by virtue of the decree which Cyrus granted, in the first year of his reign, for the release and restoration of the Jews. And therefore if these words of the prophecy, "to restore and build Jerusalem," are to be understood in a literal sense, they can be understood of no other restoring and building of that city, than that which was accomplished by virtue of that decree; and the computation of the seventy weeks must begin from the granting and going forth thereof. But if the computation be begun so high,

the four hundred and ninety years of the said seventy weeks cannot come low enough to reach any of those events which are predicted by this prophecy. For from the first of Cyrus to the death of Christ were five hundred and sixty-eight years; and therefore, if the said four hundred and ninety years be computed from thence, they will be expired a great many years either before the cutting off or the coming of the Messiah, which ought both to fall within the compass of them, according to the express words of this prophecy. It evidently therefore follows from hence, that the words of this prophecy, "to restore and build Jerusalem," cannot be understood in a literal sense: for the sum of the whole argument is thus:—If the words are to be understood in a literal sense, they must be understood of that rebuilding of Jerusalem which was accomplished by virtue of Cyrus's decree, and the computation of the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years thereof, must begin from the going forth or issuing out of that decree. But it cannot begin from thence for the reason mentioned; and therefore these words cannot be understood in a literal sense, but must be interpreted to mean figuratively the restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem. And this Ezra effected by virtue of the command or decree which was granted to him for this purpose, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus; and therefore here the beginning of these weeks must be placed. And this will be further proved if we consider,

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2ndly, **Commencement of the seventy weeks can be fixed at no other date: examination of the three other decrees granted to the Jews.—**The commencement of the seventy weeks can be placed nowhere else than at the date of the decree granted to Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, so as to make the ending comport with the intent and purpose of the prophecy, and the accomplishing of the events predicted by it. For there were four commandments or decrees issued out by the kings of Persia in favour of the Jews, from one of which, according to the express words of the prophecy, the computation of these weeks is to be begun; the first granted by Cyrus, in the first year of his reign [B. C. 536]; the second by Darius, about the fourth year of his reign; the third by Artaxerxes to Ezra, in

the seventh year of his reign; and the fourth by the same Artaxerxes to Nehemiah, in the twentieth year of his reign. But this computation could not begin from that of Cyrus, nor from that of Darius, nor from that of the twentieth of Artaxerxes, and therefore it must begin from this of the seventh of Artaxerxes granted to Ezra. That it could not begin from any of the other three I shall show in their order.

(1.) **Decree of Cyrus—too early for the completion of the seventy weeks to have accorded with the death of the Messiah.** —As to the decree of Cyrus, the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks cannot be computed from thence, for the reason already said, that is, because if they begin from thence, they cannot, by a great many years, reach the events predicted by this prophecy; and therefore none who understand this prophecy to relate either to the cutting off or the coming of the Messiah, do begin them from hence; for, according to this computation, no chronology can ever reconcile them to either of them.

(2.) **Decree of Darius: question whether the Darius referred to was Darius Nothus or Darius Hystaspis.—**Neither can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted by Darius; but there having been three Darius's that reigned in Persia, Darius Hystaspis, Darius Nothus, and Darius Codomannus, it is to be first inquired, which of these three it was that granted this decree; and then, secondly, it shall be shown, that the computation of these weeks cannot be begun from it. And first of these three Darius's, it is certain it could not be Darius Codomannus; for if the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks be reckoned from any part of his reign, they will overshoot all the events predicted by this prophecy by many more years than they will fall short of them, if reckoned from the first of Cyrus, and therefore no one hath ever said that he was the Darius that granted this decree.

Proved to be Darius Hystaspis: (a.) Because the Darius who granted the decree is the same Darius who is mentioned by Haggai and Zechariah. —But Scaliger and many others, following his authority, have referred the decree to Darius Nothus. But there are invincible arguments against it, which unanswerably demonstrate that it could not be Darius Nothus; but it must necessarily be Darius Hystaspis, the first of these three

that reigned in Persia, and none other, by whom this decree was issued out: for he who according to Ezra granted this decree is the same Darius of whom mention is made in Haggai and Zechariah;

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but that Darius could not be Darius Nothus, but must necessarily be Darius Hystaspis. For first, from the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans to the reign of Darius Nothus were one hundred and sixty-five years: but from the destruction of it to the time of the second decree, by virtue of which the rebuilding of it was finished, were no more than seventy years, according to the prophet Zechariah. For we find in the book of his prophecies, that in the fourth year of the same Darius who granted this decree to the Jews (which was also the year in which it was published at Jerusalem) the fast of the fifth month, in which they had mourned for the destruction of the temple, and the fast of the seventh month, in which they had mourned for the utter desolation of the land, which had been brought upon it by the death of Gedaliah, had been observed just seventy years; and no one can doubt, who thoroughly considers that text, but that their mourning for these calamities had been from the very time that they had suffered them; and that therefore it could not be Darius Nothus, but it must be some other Darius then reigning in Persia, within the reach of the said seventy years, who granted this decree; and that since the fourth year of Darius Hystaspis was just seventy years from the time in which the city and temple of Jerusalem were destroyed by the Chaldeans (as hath been before observed), this other Darius must necessarily be Darius Hystaspis. It must be acknowledged that the same prophet speaks also in another place of the like number of seventy years in the second of Darius, two years before. But these were not the seventy years of mourning for the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem, but "the seventy years in which God had expressed his indignation against Jerusalem and the cities of Judah," which are to be computed from the time that Nebuchadnezzar came up against Judah, and besieged Jerusalem, for which the Jews fasted in the tenth month: and this was two years before that city was taken and destroyed by him. For the taking and destroying of Jerusalem was in the eleventh year of

Zedekiah: but the first besieging of it was in the ninth year of Zedekiah, and in the tenth month of that year. But Scaliger, instead of being convinced by this argument, turns it to speak for him; and his reasonings upon it for this purpose are, that these fasts, which are spoken of in Zechariah to have been observed on the fourth and fifth month, and on the seventh month, and the tenth month, could not be appointed but by the church of the Jews (by which I suppose he meaneth the Sanhedrim, or some other convention of priests and elders representing that church). But neither the Sanhedrim, nor any other convention representing that church, could come together, or make any such constitution, after the calamities which these fasts commemorated, till the Jews were returned from their captivity, and

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again settled in Judah and Jerusalem; and therefore these fasts could not begin to be observed, nor the seventy years' observing of them, which Zechariah speaks of, commence, till after that time. But seventy years from any time after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity will carry us much beyond the reign of Darius Hystaspis; and therefore it could not be the fourth year of Darius Hystaspis, but it must be the fourth year of the Darius, the next of that name reigning after him in Persia (and that was Darius Nothus), in which these fasts were spoken of by that prophet. But the answer to all this is, that there was no need of any such formal constitution of the whole Jewish church for the observing of these fasts. The calamities which they commemorated, while fresh in memory, might be reason enough to introduce the use of them by common consent; and if not, yet what should hinder but that the priests and elders might meet together in Babylon, while there in captivity, and in that place, as well as if they had been at Jerusalem, hold conventions for the making of such a constitution? If the book of Baruch be to be credited in anything, that tells us of such a convention in Babylon, held there in the time of the captivity, and of a fast appointed by it. And we find in the book of Ezekiel, which is of undoubted, because of divine, authority, that the elders of Israel in Babylon met more than once to ask counsel of God from the mouth of the prophet. And when Sherezer and Regem-Melech came to Jerusalem to ask counsel of the prophets and priests there, in the name and behalf of the Jews of Babylon,

about these fasts, can we think that they were sent by any other than a convention of the priests and elders in that place met together for this purpose? It is certain that most of the constitutions that are now observed by the Jews were made in the land of Babylon, by conventions of their elders, after the last destruction of Jerusalem (for all that are in the Babylonish Gemara were there made). And why then might not a constitution for these fasts be made there also by a like convention, after the first destruction of that city? And why there might not be a Sanhedrim in Babylon, during the captivity of the Jews, I cannot see. The temple service was indeed confined to Jerusalem; but the Sanhedrim was no part of it. That was a national council which might be assembled wherever the nation was. And therefore when the whole nation of the Jews was removed into the land of Babylon, who can give a reason why this national council should not be there also, and there meet and consult together for the common interest of the nation in that land, as well as they did when they were in their own? We are told by the Jewish writers, that from the time of Alexander the Great there was a Sanhedrim in Alexandria in Egypt, for the sake only of a colony of the Jews that was there planted, even while Judæa and Jerusalem were

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fully inhabited. And how much more then might there have been one at Babylon, when the whole nation was removed thither during their captivity in that land? It is plain from hence, that in every part of this argument Scaliger begs his principles, and therefore they can be of no force for the proof of anything that he would infer from them.

(b.) **Because Jeshua and Zerubbabel took a part in the execution of the decree.** —That the Darius who granted this second decree could not be Darius Nothus, but must necessarily be Darius Hystaspis, will further appear from the part which Jeshua the high priest and Zerubbabel the governor acted in it; for they were the persons who were sent to Jerusalem with the first decree, that which was granted by Cyrus, and they also executed the second decree, that which was granted by Darius. But if this Darius were Darius Nothus, supposing Jeshua to have been forty years old at the granting of Cyrus's decree (and less at that time he could not be, he

having then sons in the work of the temple of twenty years old and upward), and supposing Zerubbabel to be thirty years old (and a less age could not comport with his office), the former must have been one hundred and fifty-seven and the other one hundred and forty-seven years old, when this second decree granted by Darius was executed by them, which is utterly improbable. Scaliger, to make out the probability of it, brings instances of several long-livers. I deny not, it is possible one in a century may be found, who may have reached the first of these ages, that is, that of one hundred and fifty-seven. For we have had a Parr who hath come nigh it, and a Jenkinson who hath out-lived it. But that two together, and colleagues in the same work and business, should live so long, is not likely. The improbability of this will appear much further, if we consider the words spoken by God himself in the second year of this Darius, which we have in the second chapter of Haggai, ver. 3: "Who is left among you that saw this house in its first glory? And how do you see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?" For this text doth plainly express, that some were then alive who had seen the first temple, and well remembered the beauty and glory of it; and therefore if this Darius were Darius Nothus, they must have been of an age much more beyond belief than either that of Jeshua or that of Zerubbabel above mentioned. For from the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in which the temple was destroyed, to the second of Darius Nothus, had passed one hundred and sixty-six years; and therefore supposing these persons, who are here said to have seen the first temple, and remembered the glory of it, had been then seventy years old (which is the lowest that can be allowed for such a remembering), they must have been of the age of one hundred and seventy-three in the second year of Darius Nothus. And who can think it likely, that many (as the text seems to express), or any at all among the people, should then be found of so great an age? Scaliger himself thinks this improbable; and therefore to evade the strength of the argument, which is from hence brought against him,

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he would turn the words of the sacred text to speak thus, "Oh! if any among you had seen the glory of the first house," &c. But the text will not bear this interpretation.

(c.) **Because the Darius who granted the decree is mentioned by Ezra as the fourth king of the Medo-Persian empire.** —The series of the kings of Persia, as mentioned in Ezra, plainly makes the Darius, who granted this second decree in favour of the Jews, to be the fourth that reigned in that empire, and the fourth king therein, all agree, was Darius Hystaspis; for after Cyrus, who was the first, succeeded Cambyses the second, and after him was the Magian the third, and then was Darius Hystaspis the fourth. And in the same order are these kings mentioned in Ezra in respect to the temple and the rebuilding of it; for he tells us, that during the reign of Cyrus, though he had granted a decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, yet the work was discouraged all his reign through the fraud of his officers, corrupted by the bribes of the Samaritans; that in the beginning of the reign of Ahasuerus, who next succeeded (i. e. Cambyses), the king himself, being wrote to, discouraged the work, but made no decree against it, out of respect, it is supposed, to his father's decree, which was for it. But Artaxerxes, the next that reigned (i. e. the Magian), having no such regard to what Cyrus had ordered, made a decree against the work; whereon it wholly ceased (which it had not done before) for the space of two years, until the second year of Darius. This Darius therefore must be Darius Hystaspis, and none other; for he it was that was the fourth of those kings that reigned over the Persian empire. And the prophecy of Daniel (ch. xi.) helps to make this out: for there (ver. 2) the words are, "There shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all, and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia." By which it appears, that the four kings here spoken of were those who were to reign in Persia after him that was then reigning: and he that was king of Persia at that time was Cyrus. And it is from the same words most manifest, that the fourth was Xerxes; and therefore, according to this place of Scripture, there were between Cyrus and Xerxes three kings in Persia: and Herodotus and other historians say the same, and thus name them; 1. Cambyses, 2. Smerdis the Magian, and 3. Darius Hystaspis; and therefore since the Scripture doth name in the same order, after Cyrus, these three as kings of Persia, 1. Ahasuerus, 2. Artaxerxes, and 3. Darius, no doubt they were the same persons; and this Darius, the third of them, was he that granted the second decree for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem.

Answer to the objection upon the shortness of the interval between the decree of Cyrus and the decree of Darius Hystaspis.—But against all this, the short time that was between the granting of the first decree

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by Cyrus, and the second year of Darius Hystaspis, is made an objection; and they being men of great name who have thought it of weight, it must not be passed over without an answer, although otherwise it seems not worthy of any. They urge it thus:—From the time of the granting of Cyrus's decree to the second of Darius Hystaspis, were no more than sixteen years; and therefore, if it were then that the resuming of the work of the temple gave occasion for the searching of the records for this decree, and it were that Darius who, on the finding of the decree, granted a confirmation of it, there would then have been no reason for any such search to have been made at all; for, say they, what need was there of searching of the records for this decree, before its confirmation, after so short a time as that of sixteen years? the thing might then have been well enough remembered, without going to the records for the proof of it. Darius Hystaspis was himself (they proceed to argue) bred in Cyrus's court, and therefore might himself well enough have remembered this thing, without ordering the records to be searched for it; and if not, yet many of his counsellors and courtiers might. And therefore, from hence they infer that it could not be Darius Hystaspis that granted this decree, but it must necessarily have been another Darius reigning after him, in whose time the granting of Cyrus's decree was grown to be a thing past the memory of man; and that could be none other than Darius Nothus. The whole therefore of this argument goes upon this supposition, that public records are never to be appealed to, but for things past the memory of man; than which what can be more absurd? Can any that attend the Chancery here in England remember all the grants and decrees that have passed the seals for sixteen years past? can the chancellor himself do this, if he hath been so long in office? Or if any decree be to be made upon the foundation of a former decree, though passed but sixteen days before, will any chancellor, upon memory only, seal that latter decree, or pass anything in it, without having the former first laid

before him? Although some may have a confused remembrance in general of some things there transacted, even for sixteen years past, yet amidst the variety and multiplicity of business which pass in such a court, and where the quick succession of new matters frequently crowd out of the mind all thoughts of those that preceded, whose memory can be sufficient to be depended upon for an exact account of anything there decreed, without having recourse to the records, where all is exactly set down and registered? and how can anything be there rightly settled without it? And if this cannot be done for so small a realm as this of England, how could it be done for so large and vast an empire as that of Persia, which was above forty times as large, and therefore must have afforded occasion for grants and decrees forty times as many? It is scarce possible to conceive how such a multitude of things as must in this case have been decreed and granted for all that empire could have been all distinctly remembered by any one after a week past; and how much less after sixteen years! As to the memory of Darius himself, Herodotus

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tells us, he was but twenty years old when Cyrus died, and therefore could not have been above fourteen when his decree was granted for the return of the Jews; and what could he know or observe of it at that age? And as to the courtiers of Darius, the argument is not at all stronger. For is every courtier called to be witness of all the public acts and decrees of the kingdom? Do all such know whatever passeth the royal signature; or rather, are they not the fewest of all that observe or take notice of such matters? And if otherwise, yet doth not sixteen years usually make great revolutions in kings' courts, especially in those of arbitrary princes, where not only men's places, but also their lives, depend wholly upon will and pleasure, as was most notoriously the case of the Persian court at that time? Cambyses, who succeeded Cyrus, cruelly and wantonly, upon freak, humour and very trivial occasions only, destroyed a great many of his father's officers. And after him reigned the Magian, who no doubt, upon that usurpation, provided himself with such a new set of officers and attendants as would best serve to support him in it, and conceal the imposture by which he reigned. And on his death, there being a new revolution and a new king chosen, most likely

this produced another change of officers and ministers at the court, and by that time many must have gone off the stage by natural death: so that, whether any at all that had been officers in Cyrus's court, when he granted his decree in favour of the Jews, were in Darius's court in the second year of his reign, then to remember it, and give evidence thereof, is at best very uncertain; but it is most likely that none of them were. And therefore nothing that is said from this head, for the proving that it could not be Darius Hystaspis that granted the decree above mentioned, can amount to as much as an argument of the lowest probability for it. But on the contrary, they who for the sake of this argument put the granting of this decree as low as the time of Darius Nothus, do thereby afford a much stronger argument against themselves than this can be for them: for this will put the finishing of the second temple at the distance of one hundred and eighteen years from the beginning of it. Whereon it may be asked, when it was that the decree of Artaxerxes made it cease? If they allow this Artaxerxes to be the third Persian king, as he is reckoned in Scripture, that is, the Magian who reigned next after Cambyses, then from the ceasing of the work to the resuming of it again will be full one hundred years: and in so long a time of intermission, how could they so preserve the beams from being rotten, and the whole building from being so damaged and decayed, as not to be forced to begin all again anew from the very foundation? which it is certain they did not; for after the granting of the decree for the proceeding of the work, all was finished in a little more than three years' time. But if they say it was not the Magian who was the Artaxerxes in the Scriptures, that caused the work to cease, but he that is first named in the catalogue which we have of the Persian kings in profane historians, that is, Artaxerxes Longimanus, then from the beginning of the work to that ceasing of it will be seventy-one years. And in this case it may be asked, how came it to pass, if they had so long been permitted to have gone on with the work, that

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in all that time it had not been finished? Neither of the questions can be answered; and therefore, taking either of these ways, the argument worketh strong against them, and further proves that it could not be Darius Nothus,

but that it must necessarily be Darius Hystaspis, who granted the decree, whereby the rebuilding of the second temple was finished. And upon this supposition all will be easy and free of difficulty, and the whole proceeding of the matter will be thus: Cyrus, in the first year of his reign over the whole Persian empire, granted his decree to the Jews for the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem; the next year after they began the work, and went on with it for about thirteen years, till the Magian caused it to cease. But two years after, in the second year of Darius Hystaspis, who slew the Magian, and succeeded him in the throne, it was, on the preaching of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, again resumed, and about a year and a half after they obtained a decree from Darius to authorize them therein; and then, in a little more than three years' time after they finished the whole work. And thus far having shown, that the Darius who granted the second decree in favour of the Jews, by virtue of which the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem was finished, could be none other than Darius Hystaspis, the remaining part of the argument is, that therefore the seventy weeks of this prophecy could not have their beginning from this decree, which is demonstrated by the same reason, whereby it hath been above shown, that they could not begin from the decree of Cyrus, that is, because the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks, reckoned from the granting of this decree, cannot reach the chief events which are by this prophecy predicted to fall within the compass of them, that is, the coming and the cutting off of the Messiah: for this decree, I reckon, was brought to Jerusalem in the fourth year of Darius. The Jews indeed began again with the rebuilding of the temple in the latter end of the second year of Darius; but they had no decree to warrant them herein till the beginning of the fourth year of his reign. But from the fourth year of Darius Hystaspis to the death of Christ, were five hundred and fifty years; and therefore, reckoning the seventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years, from thence, they will expire sixty years before the death of Christ, and twenty-four years before the birth of Christ; and therefore can reach neither the cutting off of the Messiah nor the coming of the Messiah, in any sense whatsoever that his coming can be taken in: and these two are the grand events predicted by this prophecy, and it can never be rightly interpreted but in the accomplishing of them. And it may be further added on this head, that this decree of Darius seems not to accord or agree with the description of that commandment or decree which is mentioned in the

prophecy: for the words of the text are, "From the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem," which plainly imply an original decree, which this of Darius was not; for it was no more than an exemplification and confirmation of that which was before granted by Cyrus. And if it be not such a decree as the prophecy intended, it is certain the seventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years, cannot begin from thence.

(3.) **Decree of Artaxerxes in the 20th year of his reign to Nehemiah: proved to be neither Artaxerxes Mnemon, nor Artaxerxes Ochus, but Artaxerxes Longimanus.**—Neither can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign. And in the clearing of this particular, I must take the same method as in the former for as there were three Darius's, so also were there three Artaxerxes's, which, according to ancient historians, reigned over the empire of the Persians, Artaxerxes Longimanus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Artaxerxes Ochus. And therefore, first, it must be inquired which of these three it was that granted this decree; and then, secondly, it shall be shown that the computation of these weeks cannot begin from it. And first, as to which of these three Artaxerxes's it was that granted this decree to Nehemiah, it is certain it must be Artaxerxes Longimanus, who reigned immediately after Xerxes over the Persian empire. For it was that Artaxerxes who was contemporary with Eliashib the high priest of the Jews, he being high priest at the time when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem with this decree, which was in the twentieth year of that king; but no other Artaxerxes, but he that was called Longimanus, could be contemporary with Eliashib; and therefore none other but he could be the Artaxerxes that granted this decree. For the age which Joiakim the father of Eliashib must then have been at the time of his death, makes it utterly improbable that it should be Artaxerxes Mnemon; and it would make it much more so as to Artaxerxes Ochus who succeeded him: for supposing Eliashib, who was high priest in the twentieth year of that Artaxerxes who granted this decree to Nehemiah, had then been twenty years in that office, his father Joiakim, if this Artaxerxes were Artaxerxes Mnemon, must then, upon this

supposition, have died in the last year of Darius Nothus, at which time Joiakim must have been at least one hundred and fifty-one years old, which is utterly improbable. For we find in Ezra, that Jeshua the father of Joiakim, at the first return of the Jews to Jerusalem after the Babylonish captivity, had sons of twenty years old and upward employed in the work of the temple; and since the high priesthood among the Jews went by succession according to the primogeniture, and Joiakim succeeded Jeshua in it, it cannot be doubted but that Joiakim was one of those his sons who were thus employed, and the eldest of them; and if he were twenty years old at this time, he must then have been one hundred and fifty-one in the last of Darius Nothus, for from the first of Cyrus to the last of Darius Nothus were one hundred and thirty-one years. The improbability of this sufficiently proves that it could not be Artaxerxes Mnemon who granted this decree to Nehemiah. And the improbability would be much greater, if we should suppose it to be Artaxerxes Ochus who succeeded him; because then Joiakim must have been forty-six years older. Besides, there is this further argument that Artaxerxes Ochus could not be the person; because in Scripture there is mention made of the thirty-second year of that Artaxerxes who granted this decree to Nehemiah, but Artaxerxes Ochus reigned only twenty-one years in all. And if it were not Artaxerxes Mnemon, nor Artaxerxes Ochus, it must then

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necessarily follow that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus, and none other, that granted the decree to Nehemiah in the twentieth year of his reign.

The seventy weeks could not have commenced with the decree granted to Nehemiah, or they would have overshot the death of Christ by thirteen years.—And thus far the first part of the argument being cleared, the second is, that the computation of the seventy weeks cannot be begun from this decree, which will fully be manifested by the calculation of the years: for reckoning from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the death of Christ, there will be no more than four hundred and seventy-seven years; and therefore if the four hundred and ninety years of the seventy weeks be computed from thence, they will overshoot the death of

Christ thirteen years; which being the grand event to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, it is certain they can never there have their beginning, from whence they cannot be brought to this ending.

Efforts made to remove the foregoing objection.—But several great and learned men having a particular fancy to begin the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, notwithstanding this objection, they have devised several ways and methods for the removal of it, and the reconciling the ending of these weeks, as calculated from this beginning, with the time of the events predicted.

Attempt to resolve the seventy weeks into lunar years refuted.—The first way which hath been proposed for this purpose is, to reckon the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years, of this prophecy, by lunar years; and this hath been of a very ancient date, for it hath Africanus for its author, who flourished in the beginning of the third century; and he is followed by Theodoret, Beda, Zonaras, Rupertus, and others; and the generality of the Romish doctors strike in with this opinion, into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar Latin translation, which they have decreed in their Trentine Council to be authentic. For instead of what we read in the beginning of the prophecy, "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people," &c., this translation renders it, "Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatæ sunt super populum tuum, i. e. Seventy weeks are abbreviated upon thy people;" from whence they argue this abbreviation of the years must be either in their number or their quality. It cannot be in their number; for the text absolutely determines that to seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years; and therefore it must be in their quality or form, that is, they must be lunar years, which are short years, and not solar years, which are longer years. But the Hebrew word *nechtac* in the text will not bear this interpretation; for the true meaning or signification of it in that place is, are decided or determined, as in our English version; and in this sense it is used in the Chaldee Paraphrase, and nowhere in any other. I confess the word doth not occur anywhere else in the whole Hebrew Bible, or any other word of that root; and in the Septuagint it is rendered συνετμήθησαν. But this is not sufficient to justify either the meaning which they would put upon the word, or the inference which they would deduce

from it; and if it could, the difficulty would not be removed by it; for lunar years would carry us beyond the mark, as well as solar years fall short

of it. For whereas the four hundred and seventy-seven solar years, which were from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the death of Christ, fall thirteen years short of the four hundred and ninety years, at the end of which this prophecy doth put it; the same four hundred and seventy-seven years, when converted into lunar years, making four hundred and ninety-one years, and two hundred and forty-six days over, do carry us one year and two hundred and forty-six days (which is a great part of another year) beyond the said four hundred and ninety years: and therefore this way of computation doth by no means adjust the difference, but still leaves it wide of an agreement, although not so wide as it was before.

Besides, when Daniel had this prophecy revealed unto him by the angel Gabriel, there was not any form of a year purely lunar then anywhere in use. The Chaldean year at that time was most certainly the Nabonassarean year, consisting of three hundred and sixty-five days, and the Egyptian year was the same, and so was also the Persian. The Jews indeed had their common years purely lunar, consisting of twelve lunar months, and so had the Greeks, only with this difference, that whereas the Jews' lunar months were strictly lunar, as being observed by the phasis, the Greeks, mistaking a lunar month to consist exactly of thirty days, in compounding of their year of twelve of them, made it amount to three hundred and sixty days, which exceeded its true astronomical measure almost six days. But besides the common years, they had also intercalated years intermixed with the common years, which reduced all to the solar form: for what was defective of it in the common years was restored in the intercalated years. And this the Jews as well as the Greeks were necessitated to by their festivals: for the Nisan of the Jewish year, which began their ecclesiastical year, being pinned down by their Passover (which was always celebrated in the middle of it) to the time of the beginning of their harvest; and the month of Tisri, which began their civil year, being likewise pinned down by the feast of tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to the time of the ending of their vintage, this necessitated them to fling in an

intercalary month, whenever their year fell short of these seasons. And the Greeks were likewise necessitated to do the same thing for the sake of their festivals, especially for the sake of their Olympiads. For the fixed time for their celebrating of those games, being the first full

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moon after the summer solstice, it always fell within the compass of one lunar month, either sooner or later in the solar year; and there being just four years between Olympiad and Olympiad, this necessarily made these years to be solar years, and cycles and rules of intercalation were invented of purpose to bring them to it; and the same is to be said of all other nations which used the like form. Although they might measure their months by the motion of the moon, they always regulated their years according to that of the sun. The Arabs indeed, from the time of Mahomet, have used a year purely lunar, and the Turks do the same in imitation of them, and so do all others of their sect; but of the ancients we find none that followed this form. All among them that had lunar years had also intercalated years to make amends for their defects; and therefore, whatsoever any of their years might be in their singular numbers, they were always solar in their collective sums. And who can think then that in the collective sum of seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of them, the angel should intend a computation which was then nowhere in practice the whole world over? This prophecy concerning principally the Jews, and being written to them (for it is in the Hebrew, which was the Jews' language, and not in the Chaldee, as some other parts of Daniel are), it is most likely that the computation of the time mentioned therein should be according to the Jewish form, and none other; and there is one argument which I think undeniably proves it to be so. The weeks of years by which the time of this prophecy is computed are plainly and manifestly the same with the sabbaths of years mentioned, Leviticus xxv. 8, and therefore must be reckoned by the same sort of years: but it is certain that those sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years, and therefore these weeks of years must be so too. That these sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years is manifest; for they all began from the first of Tisri, which was pinned down by the feast of

tabernacles (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to a certain season of the year (as hath been already observed), and from that season in one year, to the same season in another, can only be measured by the course of the sun: and all this put together sufficiently shows that lunar years are not the years which this prophecy is to be computed by.

Attempt made to date the commencement of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus nine years earlier.—Another way taken for the reconciling of this difference is, by beginning the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus nine years sooner than where it is above placed, and ending the said seventy weeks three years and a half later, that is, by putting the death of Christ into the middle of the last week, and continuing the remainder of that week beyond it. For according to this account, the first year of Artaxerxes Longimanus will fall in the year of the Julian period 4241 [B. C. 473], and his twentieth year in the year of the Julian period 4260 [B. C. 454]; from which numbering sixty-nine weeks and a half, it will carry down the computation to the year of the Julian period 4746 [A. D. 33], which was the very year in which Christ suffered. And thus far Petavius and Archbishop Usher agree, as to the time both of the beginning and ending of the prophecy; but they differ in one circumstance about the beginning, that is, whether this twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, from whence they both reckon this beginning,

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and which they both put in the same year of the Julian period, were his twentieth from the death of Xerxes his father, or his twentieth from the time when it is supposed he was admitted to reign in copartnership with him nine years before.

Theory of Petavius, that Xerxes, nine years before his death, admitted Artaxerxes to a share in the sovereignty, refuted.—For Petavius supposeth that Xerxes, nine years before his death, admitted his son Artaxerxes to reign in copartnership with him, and that from this admission is to be computed the twentieth year of his reign, in which he issued out the decree from whence the first year of this prophecy did commence. And he builds this supposition chiefly upon the authority of

Thucydides, who tells us that Themistocles, in his flight into Persia, addressed himself to Artaxerxes, then newly reigning. But Diodorus Siculus tells us that Themistocles fled into Persia in the second year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, several years before the death of Xerxes; and therefore, to reconcile these two authors, Petavius infers that Artaxerxes must have been admitted to reign with his father several years before his death, and these years he determines to nine, because this will best serve his purpose; and to support this supposition, he insists on the usage anciently in practice among the Persian kings, of naming their successors before they went to any dangerous war, and will have it, that when Xerxes again renewed the war against the Greeks, after the death of Pausanias, he then named Artaxerxes according to this usage, in the same manner as his father had named him on the like occasion, and took him into copartnership with him in the government of the empire. But there is nothing in the history of those times that can give any countenance to this conjecture. Herodotus, indeed, tells us of such a usage among the Persians as is above mentioned; but this was only to name a successor, not to take a partner into the government; and this, according to that usage, was then only to be done when there was a controversy about the succession, as was the case when Darius named Xerxes his successor in his lifetime; but we are told of no such controversy about the succession in Xerxes's time. And it is plain from the passage in Thucydides, where the words are on which the main stress of Petavius's opinion is laid, that he there speaks of Artaxerxes as then newly reigning after his father's death; and till his father's death, he could scarce be of an age proper for the receiving of such an address as Themistocles is said then to have made unto him; for he was but a lad when his father died, and therefore must have been a mere child when, according to this reckoning, Themistocles came into Persia. And if he were admitted to be successor, and also partner in the empire before his elder brother Darius, upon the same reason that Xerxes was before his elder brother Artabasanes, that is, because he was born after his father came to be king, and the other before, it must follow then, that in the second year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad, when Diodorus Siculus tells us Themistocles came to the Persian court, he could be at the most but fourteen

years old; for Xerxes began his reign but fourteen years before. And there are besides many other inconsistencies in this opinion; but what hath been said is sufficient to show that it can afford no sure foundation for the solution of any part of this prophecy upon it.

Theory of Usher, that Artaxerxes commenced reigning nine years earlier than is usually supposed, refuted.

And therefore Archbishop Usher takes the other way; and although he placeth the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus in the same year that Petavius doth, in order to the solution of this prophecy, yet he doth not compute it any otherwise than from the death of Xerxes his father; so that he anticipates the true twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus in the same manner as Petavius doth, though not by joining him in copartnership with his father, but by putting him in due succession after him, nine years sooner than either Ptolemy or any other author doth; and the same testimony of Thucydides which is above mentioned is the ground which he goes upon for it. And therefore, to reconcile this testimony with the time assigned by Diodorus Siculus for the flight of Themistocles which is above mentioned, he puts the death of Xerxes, and the succession of his son Artaxerxes, nine years higher up than any other writer doth: and to patch this up, takes nine years from the reign of Xerxes, and adds them to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus his son, contracting the former to twelve years, and enlarging the latter with that of his son Xerxes to fifty. In allowing no other beginning to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus than from the death of his father, the most learned archbishop is most certainly in the right. For all those among the ancients who put the flight of Themistocles in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, suppose it to be after the death of his father, but in no other particular can this opinion be justified: for, first, in contracting the reign of Xerxes to twelve years, and enlarging that of Artaxerxes Longimanus and his son Xerxes to fifty, he goes contrary to all that have wrote of those times, whether ancients or moderns; and especially to Ptolemy, who, in his Canon, assigns twenty-one years to Xerxes, and no more than forty-one to Artaxerxes, including the short reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus his sons in the last of them. And although the authority of Thucydides be great, and

Plutarch tells us that he hath Charon of Lampsacus also on his side, yet the same Plutarch, from a great number of other ancient writers, and of as good authority, concludes the contrary. But, 2ndly, although the authority of Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus should be allowed to be incontestable, and all other authorities must be set aside to make place for theirs; yet this will not infer that the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus must therefore be put nine years higher than all others have put it, since the matter may be as well adjusted by bringing the flight of Themistocles nine years lower: and this way Mr. Dodwell hath followed, and it is much

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the better of the two. For this only lays aside the authority of Diodorus Siculus, who fixeth the flight of Themistocles to the year above mentioned; whereas the other runs counter to that of all others that have wrote of the matter which it relates to. But that which looks hardest in this opinion is, for the sake of any historical writer, to lay aside the authority of Ptolemy's Canon, which is built upon astronomical demonstrations. Although Thucydides be a grave author and of incontestable authority in those matters of the Peloponnesian war which he writes of (for they were done in his time, and he was near at hand to be well informed of them, and he himself was an accurate observer), yet it is possible he might be mistaken in what he tells us of the Persian affairs, which were done at a distance (as this was) and before his time: for he was just born when this flight of Themistocles happened. But Ptolemy's Canon being fixed by the eclipses, the truth of it may at any time be demonstrated by astronomical calculations, and no one hath ever calculated those eclipses but hath found them fall right in the times where placed; and therefore, this being the surest guide which we have in chronology, and it being also verified by its agreement everywhere with the Holy Scriptures, it is not, for the authority of any other human writer whatsoever, to be receded from.

Error of both Petavius and Usher in placing the death of Christ in the middle of the last week. —And as these two great men have been thus far out in placing the beginning of these seventy weeks, so have they been no less mistaken in fixing the end of them: for to make up the thirteen years

which this reckoning fell short of, they have not only anticipated the beginning of these weeks nine years, but have also cut them short three years and a half in the ending, by placing the death of Christ in the middle of the last week, and there concluding this part of the prophecy three years and a half before these seventy weeks are fully completed; which hath this great objection against it, that it drops the latter half part of the last week as void and of no significancy. But no word of God is given in vain; every part of it hath its significancy, and every word of prophecy therein contained must have its completion. For what our Saviour saith of the law is also true of the prophets; and as not one jot or tittle of the former was to pass without being fulfilled, so neither can any one jot or tittle of the latter ever pass away without being accomplished. And therefore every part of the last week of this prophecy, that is, the last half part as well as the first half part, must have its significancy, and also its completion; and accordingly every part of it had, as well as all the rest, as shall be hereafter shown.

Further refutation of the idea that the date of the commencement of the seventy weeks agrees best with the date of the decree granted to Nehemiah. —By all this it appears that none of those ways which have been taken for the computing of these seventy weeks from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus can make it agree with the prophecy, and therefore it cannot be begun from thence. That which hath made

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so many fond of beginning the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of this king, and the issuing out of the commission then granted by him to Nehemiah, is the agreeableness which they think is between the prophecy and this commission, beyond what they find in any of the three other grants or commissions above mentioned; for the prophecy placeth the beginning of the seventy weeks at the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, and afterwards makes mention of the building of the streets and the walls thereof: and both these, say they, were rebuilt by Nehemiah by virtue of the grant made to him in the twentieth year of this Artaxerxes. To this I answer, 1st, That Ezra, thirteen years before this grant made to Nehemiah, speaks of a wall in

Jerusalem given to the Jews by the favour of the king of Persia; and therefore this, if literally taken, may imply that the grant made to Ezra included a license or commission to build such a wall, as well as that made to Nehemiah. But if it be said that the wall mentioned by Ezra, in the place which I refer to, is to be taken figuratively (as I acknowledge it is), my reply hereto is:—And why may not then the word wall in the prophecy be taken figuratively also, there being as much reason for it in the one place as there is in the other? But, 2ndly, There is no such word as the wall to be found in the original text of the prophecy; for what we there render in our English translation the wall is in the Hebrew original the ditch. 3rdly, That though Nehemiah did much enlarge Jerusalem, by bringing new colonies of the Jews thither out of the country, and obliging them to build themselves houses and dwell there, yet this enlarging of the city cannot be called the restoring and rebuilding of it; for it was restored and rebuilt long before, and had many streets and ceiled houses again erected in it, by virtue of the decree granted by Cyrus, as hath been above shown. And after that from time to time many more were added to them by virtue of the same decree, confirmed by Darius Hystaspis many years before Nehemiah came to be governor of Judæa. 4thly, The rebuilding or repairing of the walls of Jerusalem, accomplished by Nehemiah, was a work but of fifty-two days, and the enlarging of Jerusalem with new colonies was within a year after; but the restoring and rebuilding of Jerusalem, predicted by the prophecy, was to be a work of seven weeks, or forty-nine years, and so long first Ezra, and after Nehemiah, laboured successively in the work of restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem, as will hereafter be shown; and therefore of this restoring and rebuilding only can the prophecy be understood.

Summing up of the argument: the seventy weeks must have commenced with the decree granted to Ezra by Artaxerxes Longimanus in the 7th year of his reign. —And thus far having shown that the commandment or decree mentioned in the prophecy, for the restoring and rebuilding of Jerusalem, cannot be understood either of the decree of Cyrus, or of that of Darius, or of that granted to Nehemiah in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, it remains that it must then be understood of that granted to Ezra by the same Artaxerxes, in the seventh year of his

reign, and of none other. For besides the three commandments or decrees above mentioned, there was no other commandment or decree ever granted by any of the kings of Persia for the restoration of the

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Jews in Judah and Jerusalem, after the Babylonish captivity, but this only that was granted to Ezra. And therefore, if it cannot be understood of any of the other three, it must then necessarily be this fourth and none other. And from thence to the death of Christ are exactly four hundred and ninety years to a month; for in the month Nisan was the decree granted to Ezra, and in the middle of the same month Nisan Christ suffered just four hundred and ninety years after.

VI. Separation of the prophecy into three branches.—And thus much being said for the fixing of the beginning and ending of these seventy weeks, it remains that, for the fuller explication of all other particulars that are in this prophecy contained, I further observe, that the whole of it, as delivered to us in Daniel ix. 24—27, contains three branches or parts: the first foretells events to be accomplished within seventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them; the second, events to be accomplished precisely at the end of three particular periods, into which the said general number of seventy weeks is divided; and the third, events to be brought to pass after the expiration of the said seventy weeks, in the times immediately following thereupon.

1st branch: events to be accomplished at the completion of the seventy weeks. —The first branch or part of this prophecy is that which is contained in the twenty-fourth verse, and foretells the six events above-mentioned, which were to be accomplished within the said seventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them, [viz. 1st, to finish (or restrain) transgression; 2nd, to make an end of sins; 3rd, to make (expiation, or) reconciliation for iniquity; 4th, to bring in everlasting righteousness; 5th, to seal up (or complete and fulfil) vision and prophecy; and 6th, to anoint the most Holy. See p. 232.]

2nd branch: division of the seventy weeks into three periods, with particular events to be accomplished at the end of each. —The second

branch or part of this prophecy is that which is contained in the twenty-fifth verse, and in the former part of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses. This divides the general number of seventy weeks into three particular periods, and assigns particular events to be precisely accomplished at the end of each of them. These three particular periods are seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week; that is, forty-nine years, four hundred and thirty-four years, and seven years; and the particular events to be accomplished at the end of each of them are, 1st, the restoring and building of the street and ditch of Jerusalem in troublous times; 2ndly, the coming of the Messiah; and 3rdly, his confirming of the covenant of the gospel with many of the Jews for one week, his causing sacrifice and oblation to cease in the half of that week, and his being cut off at the end thereof. And therefore applying these particular events to their proper periods, the prophecy will be clearly thus: That numbering the said seventy weeks from the going forth of the commandment or decree to restore and build Jerusalem (that is, to restore and establish the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem), there should be first seven weeks of that number, that is, forty-nine years, and then the said church and state (here

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figuratively expressed by the streets of the city) should be thoroughly reformed and restored, and all such good constitutions and establishments (here figuratively expressed by the ditch) should be made and settled, as should be necessary for the fortifying and preserving of the same; and that all this should be done in troublous times, and amidst great opposition from enemies. That after sixty-two weeks from the end of the said seven weeks, that is, four hundred and thirty-four years, the Messiah should come; and that after this, having for one week, the last of the said seventy weeks (that is, for the space of seven years), confirmed the covenant of the gospel with many of the Jews, he should in the half part of that week (that is, in the latter half part of it) cause the sacrifices and oblations of the temple to cease, and in the conclusion of the whole, that is, in the precise ending of the said seventy weeks, be cut off and die. And accordingly all this was exactly fulfilled and brought to pass.

(1.) Period of seven weeks or 49 years: restoration and settling of the church and state of the Jews. —As to the period of seven weeks, it must be acknowledged, that the particular event of restoring and building of Jerusalem, with its streets and ditch, in troublous times (by which I understand the restoring and settling of the church and state of the Jews), is not distinctly applied thereto in the prophecy; for in the end of the twenty-fifth verse, both the two first periods being mentioned together, i. e. that of the seven weeks and that of the sixty-two weeks, the event of restoring and building of Jerusalem, with its street and ditch, is subjoined to both of them, without any distinct application to either; but the words immediately following in the next verse, appropriating the time of the Messiah to the period of sixty-two weeks, this necessarily leaves the other, that is, the restoring and building of Jerusalem, with its streets and ditch, to be appropriated to the period of seven weeks. And accordingly, within the compass of the said period of seven weeks, or forty-nine years, this event was accomplished in the full restoring and establishing of the church and state of the Jews in Judah and Jerusalem after the Babylonish captivity: for this was begun by Ezra, by virtue of that commandment or decree which was granted to him for it, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, king of Persia, and afterwards carried on by Nehemiah, by virtue of another decree granted to him for this purpose, by the same Artaxerxes, in the twentieth year of his reign. And from the beginning of this restoration of the church and state of the Jews by Ezra, to the ending and perfecting of it by Nehemiah, in that last act of this reformation which is spoken of in the thirteenth of Nehemiah (that is, from the twenty-third verse to the end of the chapter), were forty-nine years, as will be clearly made out in its proper place, in the sequel of this history. For during all that time this work was a carrying on, and the great opposition which these two good men met with herein, not only from the Samaritans and other enemies abroad, but also from false brethren and wicked men at home, who hated all reformation, was the true cause that it was so long

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a doing; and that there were such oppositions in the doing of it, this sufficiently verifieth the prophecy in its prediction that it was to be done in

troublous times. And it is observable, that at the same juncture of time where the restoration of the Jewish church and state ended, there the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament do end also; for this last reformation of Nehemiah which I have mentioned, and where I place the full completion of the said restoration, is the last act which is recorded therein; and therefore this ending of the period is of sufficient remark for this reason, as well as the other, to be taken notice of in the prophecy; which can scarce be said of any other that is assigned for it. And,

(2.) Period of sixty-two weeks, or 434 years: first appearance of Christ as the Messiah by his forerunner John the Baptist. — From these seven weeks, or forty-nine years, reckoning sixty-two weeks, or four hundred and thirty-four years more (which is the term of the second period), this will lead us down to the coming of Christ the Messiah, who is here in the prophecy predicted to come at the end of the said sixty-two weeks. For the words of the prophecy are, "From the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks;" that is, there shall be seven weeks for the completing and finishing of the work for which that commandment or decree was granted, and from thence sixty-two weeks more to the coming of Christ the Messiah here intended, that is, to the time of his first appearance on the ministry of the gospel. For his coming, here predicted, must be interpreted either of his coming at his birth or of his coming on his ministry. No one saith it of the former, neither will the term of years predicted of it ever meet it there: and therefore it must be understood of the latter, that is, his coming and first appearing in his ministry; and here the years predicted in the prophecy will exactly find it. For the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, from whence these weeks do begin, being coïncident with the year of the Julian period 4256, if we reckon from thence seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, that is, sixty-nine weeks, or four hundred and eighty-three years, this will lead us down to the year of the Julian period 4739, which was the very year in which the ministry of the gospel first began. This Christ executed at first, and therein made his appearance as the Messiah, by his forerunner John the Baptist, for the space of three years and a half, and after that by himself, in his own person, for three years and a half more. And these two being put together make up the last week of this

prophecy, which began exactly at the ending of the said sixty-two weeks. And therefore here this prophecy concerning the coming of the Messiah had its completion. St. Luke tells us, "The word of God first came to John in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar," emperor of Rome. And from the coming of that word to John, and his preaching of it to the Jews, was the beginning of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the first appearance of his kingdom here on earth. And this Christ himself tells us; for his words are (Luke xvi. 16), "The law and the prophets were until John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached." That is, the Jewish economy, under the law and the prophets,

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lasted until the coming of John, and his preaching of the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. But from the time of his coming on this ministry, which was the ministry of the gospel, the kingdom of the Messiah began. For as in the Gospel of St. Matthew by the kingdom of heaven, so here by the kingdom of God, is meant the kingdom of the Messiah, the church of Christ, which he hath here established among us. And therefore, this kingdom thus beginning with the preaching of John, there must we necessarily place the first coming of that King, Christ our Lord, who founded this his kingdom here among us. And this was, as hath been said, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. But here it is to be observed, that this fifteenth year of Tiberius could not be his fifteenth year from the death of Augustus, his predecessor; for then there would have been but four years for the ministry of John the Baptist and the personal ministry of Jesus Christ put both together, which time would have been too narrow a space for the actings which are recorded of them in the Gospel. Besides, in so short a time as must be allowed to the ministry of John in this case, it is not likely that he could have acquired that great fame, as appears not only by the Gospels, but also from the writings of Josephus the historian, that he had obtained, not only in Judæa and Galilee, but also through all the circumjacent regions before his death. The fifteenth year therefore of the reign of Tiberius, in which John the Baptist began to preach, must be reckoned from that time when he began to reign jointly

with Augustus, and was, according to Velleius Paterculus and Suetonius, admitted by him into copartnership with him in the empire; and by a law (which Augustus caused to be proposed and enacted by the consuls) had conferred on him an equal power in the government of the provinces with Augustus himself: for from that time the public acts went in his name, as well as in that of Augustus, especially in the imperial provinces, of which Syria was one: and therefore from that time the years of his reign were reckoned in those provinces. And this happened, as the most learned Archbishop Usher observes, in the year of the Julian period 4725 [A. D. 12]; and the fifteenth year from thence brings us to the year of the Julian period 4739 [A. D. 26], in which (as is above noted) the word of God came to John the Baptist, and the preaching of the gospel first began. And then it was that Christ, by this his forerunner, manifested his coming, and made his first appearance in that great work of our salvation on which he was sent. And from the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when the commandment went forth from that king for the restoring of the church and state of the Jews, to this time, were just seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, that is, sixty-nine weeks, or four hundred and eighty-three years in all, exactly as this prophecy predicted.

(3.) Period of one week, or 7 years: 3 years of the preaching of John the Baptist and 3 years of the ministry of Christ. —From this coming of our Saviour began the third period of these seventy weeks, that is, the one week which is spoken of in the twenty-seventh verse: the events whereof, as there predicted, are, that "for that week the Messiah should confirm the covenant with many, and in the half part thereof (for thus it ought to be rendered, where in our English translation we read the midst) should cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease." And so accordingly it came to pass; for during these seven years of his evangelical ministry, he did first by his forerunner, the messenger whom he had sent before him, and then by himself in his personal ministry, confirm the covenant of the gospel with many of the Jews, who were converted, and admitted thereto; and then in the half part of the said week, that is, in the last half part thereof, when he appeared in his own person in the same ministry on which John was sent

before him, he caused the sacrifices and the oblations of the temple to cease: that is, first, by his preaching of the gospel, which was to supersede them; and then, lastly, by that great sacrifice of himself, which he once offered for all in his death upon the cross, at the end of this week, whereby they were all absolutely and finally extinguished for ever. For all other sacrifices and oblations till then being only antitypes and figurative representations of this great sacrifice after to be offered, and of no virtue or efficacy but as they referred to it; when this was offered, all others vanished of course, as the representative doth at the appearance of the principal, or the type or figure at the presence of the thing that is typified or expressed by it; and the virtue and propitiation of this one sacrifice hath sufficed for all ever since. The whole latter part of the last week being the time of Christ's personal ministry here on earth, as the whole of it was employed in the preaching of the gospel, which was to cause the law to cease; so the whole of it may very properly be said to be employed in causing all those sacrifices and oblations to cease which the law enjoined, though the whole was not completed till at the end of this half part by his death and passion. For then, at the offering up of this great sacrifice, the virtue and efficacy of all others ceased for ever. But here it may be objected, that my placing the death of Christ at the end of this last period is against the express words of the prophecy; for that placeth the cutting off of the Messiah at the end of the second period, that is, of the sixty-two weeks: for the words of it are (ver. 26), "After threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off." To this I answer, the word after in this place cannot be understood to mean strictly the time immediately after, but in a large and indefinite sense to denote the whole next week which after followed; for otherwise his coming and his cutting off must have happened at the same time both together, and no intermediate space would have been left for his ministry: for in the verse preceding it is positively said, "That from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, should be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks;" and therefore, if at the end of the same sixty-two weeks he should be

cut off also, then his coming and his cutting off must have happened both together at the same time; and the consequence which I have mentioned must necessarily follow, i. e. that no intermediate space would have then been left for his ministry, which cannot be said. The word after must therefore mean the whole week after, at the end of which Christ, the Messiah named in that prophecy, was cut off by his death on the cross. And there is no need of expressing it otherwise in that place, because the cutting off and death of the Messiah had been exactly determined to that time by what was said before in the twenty-fourth verse. For it is manifest, that according to the true intent and meaning of that part of the prophecy, his death must be there placed; for according to that, it must be there placed where it placeth the events that were to be accomplished and brought to pass by it; but the events which were to be accomplished and brought to pass by the cutting off of the Messiah are by that part of the said prophecy (ver. 24) placed at the end of the seventy weeks, and consequently at the end of the last of them; and therefore the cutting off of the Messiah must there be placed also. And there it accordingly happened in the death and passion of Christ our Saviour; and this part of the prophecy was exactly fulfilled by it.

Summing up the second branch of the prophecy.—The whole therefore of this second part or branch of the prophecy is thus: the seventy weeks being divided into three periods, that is, into seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week, the first reacheth from the time of the going forth of the commandment to Ezra for the restoring of the church and state of the Jews, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, to the finishing of that work by Nehemiah, forty-nine years after; the second from the end of that period to the coming of the Messiah, four hundred and thirty-four years after; and the last from that of his coming to his cutting off by his death on the cross, which was one week or seven years after. And all these put together fully make up the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years, of this prophecy; and according to this computation every particular of it hath been fully verified in a completion exactly agreeable thereto, and the whole number of years pointed out thereby exactly answered to a month. For as the going out of the commandment to Ezra, from whence

they began, was in the month of Nisan, so the crucifixion of Christ was also in the same month, just four hundred and ninety years after.

3rd branch: events to be accomplished after the expiration of the seventy weeks—destruction of the city and sanctuary. —After what is predicted of these three periods follows the third branch or part of the prophecy, which is contained in the latter end of the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh verses, and foretells events to be brought to pass after the expiration of the said seventy weeks, in the times immediately following thereupon, that is, "the destruction of the city and sanctuary by the people of the prince that was to come," who with their armies and desolating abominations should invade Judea as with a flood, and by a terrible and consuming war bring utter ruin and desolation upon it, and all the people of the Jews that should dwell therein, and consummate the same upon them in an absolute destruction. All which accordingly came to pass, and did, in a very signal manner, verify the prophecy in a full completion of every particular hereof. For on the

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end of these seventy weeks, which were determined upon that people, and their holy city, they having slain the Lord of life, they were thereon cast off by God from being his peculiar people, and the Gentiles were called in their stead; so that thenceforth they were no more his people, nor their city Jerusalem any longer holy unto him, but both were given up and destined to utter ruin and destruction; for immediately on their having executed the sentence of death upon Christ our Lord, this sentence of condemnation passed upon them; and from that time all second causes operated towards the hastening the execution of it, till at length the Roman armies, the people that were to come, under the command of Titus their prince, invaded them as with a torrent, and begirt Jerusalem with their ensigns, "the abomination of desolation," which our Saviour from this prophecy forewarns his disciples of. For they were idolatrous images, abominated by the Jews, under which those people marched against them, invaded their land, besieged their holy city, and by a most calamitous war brought utter desolation upon both, which, according to the relations of Josephus (who was an historian of their own nation, and present in all the actions of the

war), they executed in the most terrible and tragical manner of destruction that was ever brought upon any nation, and consummated it to such a degree upon them, that they have never been able to recover themselves ever since, even to this day, though now one thousand six hundred and forty-five years have passed since these judgments were, by the just hand of God, thus executed upon them.

One great objection to the foregoing explanation: that the same Artaxerxes could not have granted decrees both to Ezra and Nehemiah. —But for the full clearing of all that hath hitherto been said in the explication of this prophecy, there still remains one great objection to be answered. For it is urged, that the Artaxerxes who granted this commission to Ezra in the seventh year of his reign, from whence we begin the computation of the seventy weeks, was the same Artaxerxes who in the twentieth year of his reign granted another commission to Nehemiah; for the Scriptures, making Ezra and Nehemiah contemporary, render this beyond dispute.

The reference in Nehemiah to Jaddua and Darius Codomannus, and the date to which Josephus carries Sanballat, would have made both Nehemiah and Sanballat 150 years of age. —But that this Artaxerxes should be Artaxerxes Longimanus, the age which Nehemiah and Sanballat

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must then have lived to, makes it, they say, wholly improbable: for Nehemiah, in the book of Holy Scriptures called by his name (which all acknowledge to have been written by him), speaking of the reign of Darius Codomannus, king of Persia, and of the days of Jaddua the high priest of the Jews, as of times past, he must have been alive after the death of both of them; but Jaddua not dying till two years after the death of Alexander the Great, in the year of the Julian period 4392 [B. C. 322], from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus to that time had passed one hundred and twenty-three years, to which if we add thirty years more for the age of Nehemiah, when he came to be governor of Judæa (which is the least that can be allowed to qualify him for such a trust), he must have been at the

least one hundred and fifty-three years old when he wrote that book, if the Artaxerxes from whom he had his commission were Artaxerxes Longimanus. And though we suppose the writing of this book to have been while Darius Codomannus and Jaddua were both alive, and put it up as high as we can, that is, into the first year of the reign of that Darius, yet this will not much mend the matter. For on this supposition Nehemiah must have been one hundred and forty years old when he wrote that book, which is still a very improbable age in those times, and consequently infers the supposal on which it is built (i. e. that it was Artaxerxes Longimanus from whom he had his commission) to be very improbable also. And the age of Sanballat, upon the same supposal, will not only be as improbable, but also much more so; for when Nehemiah came into Judea, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, he found him governor of Samaria, under the king of Persia, and he was alive, as Josephus tells us, till the besieging of Gaza by Alexander the Great, in the fourth year of Darius Codomannus, at which time he died. And therefore if that Artaxerxes were Artaxerxes Longimanus, Sanballat at the time of that siege could not be less than one hundred and forty-eight years old; for from the twentieth of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the fourth of Darius Codomannus, according to Ptolemy's Canon, were one hundred and thirteen years; and when Nehemiah came to Jerusalem, Sanballat having been for some time, perchance for several years, fixed in the government of Samaria, he cannot be well supposed to have been less than thirty-five years old at that time; and putting both these numbers together, they make one hundred and forty-eight years; and both these ages, that is, that of Nehemiah and this of Sanballat, it must be acknowledged, seem very improbable, and most especially that of the latter. For as to Nehemiah, an extraordinary blessing upon that good man may be alleged for such an extraordinary age in him; but this cannot be said of the other. Each of these instances apart look very improbable, but coming both together are much more so. And therefore, as we have argued above, that the Darius who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple could not be Darius Nothus, because of the great and improbable age which Jeshua and Zerubbabel must have been of at the executing of that decree: so it is argued here, in the same manner, that the Artaxerxes from whom Ezra and Nehemiah had their commissions could not be Artaxerxes Longimanus,

because of the great and improbable age which Nehemiah and Sanballat must

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then have been of at the time of their death: and therefore, as we have said of the former difficulty, that it can be in no otherwise solved but by making the Darius who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple to be another Darius, that is, Darius Hystaspis, who reigned ninety-eight years before that Darius who was called Nothus; so, in like manner, it is said of this latter difficulty, that it can be no otherwise cleared but by making the Artaxerxes who in the seventh and in the twentieth years of his reign granted his commissions to Ezra and Nehemiah to have been another Artaxerxes, that is, Artaxerxes Mnemon, whose seventh year and whose twentieth year of his reign were just sixty years after the seventh year and the twentieth year of the reign of the other Artaxerxes that was called Longimanus. Thus far the objection; and if it holds good, I must acknowledge it overthrows the computation on which hath been built all which I have hitherto said for the explication of this prophecy.

Previous answers to this objection insufficient. —In answer hereto it hath been said by some, 1st, As to Nehemiah, that in that passage of his book (ch. xii. 22) where the reign of Darius the Persian and the days of Jaddua the high priest of the Jews are mentioned, that reign of Darius was the reign of Darius Nothus, and those days of Jaddua were his days from his birth, which might very well have happened in the reign of the said Darius Nothus. And, 2ndly, As to Sanballat, that there were two of that name, the first of which was the Sanballat spoken of by Nehemiah, and the second the Sanballat spoken of by Josephus. But neither of these answers can possibly hold good.

1st, **The answer, that the passage in Nehemiah referred to the birth of Jaddua and to Darius Nothus, refuted.** —It is manifest that the text of Nehemiah (ch. xii. 22), where the Levites are spoken of that were in the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, cannot be understood to mean any other days than those wherein they were high priests. For the high priest among the Jews was the head of the priests and Levites; and after the

captivity, when there was no king in Judah, he had the absolute supremacy over them in all affairs relating to their office. And therefore it was then as proper for them to reckon all such affairs by the times of their high priests, as it is now with us to reckon all actions in the state by the times of our kings; and consequently, when anything is said to have been done in such a high priest's time, it is altogether as improper to understand it of any other time than that of his high priesthood, as it would be, when anything is said to have been in such a king's time, to understand it of any other time than that of his reign; and therefore to refer what is here said of the days of Jaddua, as far back as to his days from his birth, is a very forced sense, which the text cannot naturally bear. When such a thing is said to have been in the time of king Henry VIII., will any one understand it of the time before his reign, or think it any other than an absurdity so to construe it? And is it altogether as absurd to understand what is here said of the Levites to have been in the days of Jaddua, of any other days than of those wherein he was high priest? And it is to be here observed, that the

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text joins with the days of Jaddua the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan; for it is said, "In the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua," &c. And therefore if it should be here asked, whether the days of Eliashib, Joiada, and Johanan are to be understood of the days of their high priesthood, or of the days of their life from their birth, no doubt it will be answered by everybody, of the days of their high priesthood. And why then must not the days of Jaddua be understood so too? It may further be added, what need is there in this case to name Jaddua's days at all? Because if they be understood of those before he was high priest, they were coincident with the days of Joiada and Johanan, which were named before. And therefore if we understand those days of Jaddua in the text, of any other days than of those wherein he was high priest, they must have been named twice in the same text, which would be such a faulty repetition as it must not be charged with. Nothing seems more plain than that the text speaks of the days of these four men as in succession one after another; and therefore we must not run the days of one into the days of the other. Besides, the whole design

of interpreting the days of Jaddua, in this text, of the days before he was high priest, is to support a notion that the said text was written before he was high priest, and so far back as the time immediately after his birth, about the latter end of the reign of Darius Nothus, they who are the patrons of this notion having no other way to make them contemporary. But then to name his days with the days of the other high priests, so many years before he came to be high priest, and when it must be on many respects uncertain whether he would ever be so or no, is what all the writings in the world besides cannot give us an instance of. From all this it plainly follows, that those days of Jaddua in the text above mentioned can be meant of no other days than the days of his high priesthood, and that therefore he must have been in that office before this text was written. And also it is as evident, that the Darius in the same text mentioned can be none other than Darius Codomannus, in whose reign Jaddua was high priest. For the text, bringing down the reckoning through the succession of several high priests, terminates the whole in the days of Jaddua and the reign of Darius the Persian, which clearly makes them contemporary. And therefore Darius the Persian, in that text mentioned, could be none other than Darius Codomannus, because no other Darius but he was king of Persia while Jaddua was high priest at Jerusalem. And if so, it must be in the reign of this Darius, of the soonest, that this text was written; and consequently Nehemiah, if he were the writer of it, must then have been living. And supposing it to have been in the reign of this Darius, and in the first year of it, Nehemiah, if then living, must have been a hundred and forty years old; but if it were after the death both of Darius and Jaddua, as the obvious sense of the text seems to imply, he must then have been much older, that is, one hundred and fifty-three at the least, as I have above said. But neither of these is likely; and therefore it must be acknowledged that this answer doth not remove the difficulty.

2ndly, **The answer, that the Sanballat of Nehemiah and the Sanballat of Josephus were different persons, refuted. —** Can the other answer remove that which ariseth from the age of Sanballat. For to solve that objection by making two Sanballats is plainly giving up the cause, it being

only a shift, which can never go down with any one that duly considers the matter. For it is not to be doubted but that the Sanballat who is said in the last chapter of Nehemiah to have married his daughter to one of the sons of Joiada the high priest, is the same Sanballat who is mentioned so often in the former part of that book, as the great opposer of Nehemiah in all his undertakings for the welfare of the children of Israel: for he is in this last place called by the same proper name of Sanballat, as in the former places of that book, and hath there also given unto him the same additional name of the Horonite, taken from the name of Horonain, a city of Moab, whereof it is supposed he was a native. And it is not likely that both these names should concur in any other within the time of the same governor of Judæa, but in the same person only. And that this same Sanballat the Horonite is the same Sanballat which Josephus treateth of is as evident; for the Sanballat of Nehemiah was governor of Samaria, and so was the Sanballat of Josephus: the Sanballat of Nehemiah was a great enemy of the Jews, and so was the Sanballat of Josephus: the Sanballat of Nehemiah married his daughter to one of the sons of a high priest of the Jews; and so did the Sanballat of Josephus; and who then is there that will not from hence conclude that they were both the same person?

Real removal of the objection. —And thus far I have shown that neither part of the objection above mentioned is removed by either of these answers. And I have been the longer herein, because they have been men of great name and great learning who have been the authors of them, and others as great have acquiesced in them as sufficient. But to come to the truth of the matter, I answer as follows:

1st, **The reference in Nehemiah to Jaddua and Darius Codomannus is an interpolation by a later hand.** —As to the age of Nehemiah, that the text from whence this objection is made doth not infer it. For notwithstanding what is said therein, Nehemiah might have been dead, as no doubt he was, a great number of years before it was written; for all that is contained in the said twelfth chapter of Nehemiah, from the beginning of it to the twenty-seventh verse of the same, was never written by Nehemiah, but is an interpolation there inserted long after his death, by those who received this book into the canon of Scripture. For as Ezra, as far as he went in that collection which he made of the Holy Scriptures, inserted in several

places such interpolations as he thought necessary for the clearer understanding of them; so they who laboured after him in the perfecting of the said collection did the same in the books which they afterwards added to it, till they had completed the whole about the time of Simon the Just: for he being the last of those whose labours were employed in the settling of the canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and this book being the last that was received into it, as being the last that was written, it is justly reckoned

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to have been in his time that it was first thus received into the number of the sacred books; and then this interpolation was added by him, and those who were assisting to him in this work. Of all which particulars a fuller account will be hereafter given in their proper places. And that this is an interpolation, the interruption which is made thereby in the sense and connexion of that part of the book doth sufficiently show; and most learned men that have considered this matter are now convinced that it is so.

2ndly, **The date to which Josephus carries Sanballat is a mistake of that author.** —As to the other objection which is drawn from the age of Sanballat, the answer is much easier; for here there is no opposition between Scripture and Scripture, but only between Scripture and the writings of a profane author. Nehemiah placeth Sanballat the Horonite in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus; Josephus makes him live down to the time of Alexander the Great, above a hundred years after. Here there is no necessity of reconciling one with the other: for if both cannot consist together (as the great age which Sanballat in this case must have lived to doth sufficiently prove they cannot), the profane writer must give place to the sacred. And therefore the true answer to this matter is, Josephus was mistaken. The sacred writ, as being dictated by the Holy Spirit of God, must ever be of infallible truth, which cannot be said of the writings of Josephus, for they have in them many great and manifest mistakes; and no part of them more than the eleventh book of Antiquities, in which is written what gives the ground for this objection.

Other mistakes of Josephus in the eleventh Book of his Antiquities. — For therein he frequently varies from Scripture, history, and common sense; which manifestly proves it to have been the least considered, and the worst digested, of all that he has written. Therein he makes Cambyses, who was the first that reigned after Cyrus, to have been the Persian king that by his decree forbade the going on with the rebuilding of the temple; whereas the Scripture plainly tells us it was Artaxerxes, who is there named in the third place after Cyrus. He inserts into this book, out of the apocryphal Esdras, the fabulous and absurd story of the three chamberlains contending before Darius Hystaspis about what was strongest, and making Zerubbabel to be one of them, and to obtain the victory in this contest, he introduceth Darius giving him for the reward of this victory a decree for another return of the captive Israelites to Judæa, which is neither spoken of in Scripture nor consisting with it; and placeth at the head of those who he saith then returned, Zerubbabel the governor and Jeshua the high priest; whereas it is certain from Ezra, Haggai, and Zechariah, that they were then both at Jerusalem, and there, on the exhortations of the two prophets last mentioned, setting forward the rebuilding of the temple. And then he goes on, out of the same romance, to relate as consequential to this second return (which is wholly fictitious) all that which the Scriptures tell us was done after the first, and in some particulars

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very much exceeds the fictions of the romancer himself; for he makes those who came from Babylon to Judæa, in this fictitious return, to be four millions eight thousand six hundred and eighty-four men, a monstrous number! and the women and children that belonged to them to be no more than forty thousand seven hundred and forty-two, a disproportion which is utterly incredible, especially among those who had plurality of wives. And he makes Xerxes who succeeded Darius Hystaspis to have been that Artaxerxes of the Holy Scriptures who sent Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem; whereas the thirty-second year of that Artaxerxes is mentioned in Scripture, and it is certain the reign of Xerxes did not exceed twenty-one years. He brings not Nehemiah to Jerusalem till the twenty-fifth year of that Artaxerxes, whereas the Scriptures tell us he came thither in the twentieth;

and he makes him to be employed there three years and a half in the building of the walls of the city, whereas we read in the sacred text it was done in fifty-two days.

That Sanballat built the temple on Mount Gerizim by license of Alexander the Great is inconsistent with Josephus's own narrative. — And since Josephus hath in this book made all these mistakes, besides many more which it would be too long to relate, I hope it will not be thought strange that I assert what he saith in this same book, in reference to Sanballat, is a mistake also: for therein he tells us of him, "That being made governor of Samaria for the last Darius, he married his daughter to one whose father had been high priest of the Jews, and that this son-in-law having, for this marriage, as being contrary to the Jewish law, been deprived of his priesthood, and driven out of Jerusalem, he obtained from Alexander (to whom he revolted while at the siege of Tyre) license to build on Mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple like that at Jerusalem, and to make his son-in-law high priest of it; and that after having attended Alexander at this siege of Tyre, and also at that of Gaza, with eight thousand men, about the time of the taking of the last of these he died." Thus far this historian. That Sanballat thus married his daughter to a son of a high priest of the Jews, and built a temple on Mount Gerizim for him, I readily acknowledge; but that he built this temple by license from Alexander, or lived down to those times, is as great a mistake in the relater as any that I have above mentioned. That he should build this temple by license from Alexander is inconsistent with what Josephus himself tells us of the matter. For according to him Sanballat did not revolt to Alexander till he was set down before Tyre, and that siege and the siege of Gaza, both together, lasted only nine months. And therefore if we suppose Sanballat to have obtained this license from Alexander in the very beginning of these nine months, he could have had but nine months wherein to build a temple like that at Jerusalem, which cost the labour of many years and the work of a multitude of hands to erect it. And how is it possible such a structure could be built in so short a time, and that especially since all that while neither Sanballat himself could be present to attend it, nor those by whose hands and help the work was to be effected? for during all that time, Josephus

tells us, Sanballat attended Alexander in the camp, and had eight thousand of his Samaritans there with him, who being the main strength and flower of that people, it is wholly improbable that in their absence those who were left behind should have capacity enough to undertake, or hands enough to go through with, such a work, especially when the chief projector, Sanballat himself, by whose direction all was to be done, was absent also. It being therefore utterly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that this temple could have been built by a license from Alexander in the lifetime of Sanballat, it must follow, that if it were built at all by virtue of such a license from Alexander, it must have been built by the Samaritans after Sanballat was dead. But the ill circumstances on which the Samaritans were with Alexander immediately after the time when Josephus saith Sanballat died, and the great misfortunes which they thereon fell into, make this as improbable as the former. For Alexander was no sooner gone into Egypt, where he immediately marched after his taking of Gaza, but the Samaritans, rising in mutiny against Andromachus, a favourite of his, whom he had left governor of Syria, set fire to the house where he was, and burned him to death; which justly provoked Alexander to so severe a revenge against them, that on his return he put a great number of them to death, expelled all the rest of them out of their city, and gave it to be inhabited by a colony of his Macedonians, and added their country to that of the Jews. And as to the eight thousand men which had followed his camp, he sent them into Thebais, the remotest province of Egypt, and there settled them on such lands as he caused to be distributed among them in that province, without suffering them any more to return into their own country. The remainder that survived this ruin were permitted to dwell in Sechem, a small village near Samaria, which hath from that time been the head seat of that people: and there they have remained ever since, even unto this day. And whether a people who had in so high a degree provoked Alexander should be allowed to build such a temple by his favour, or, if they had, could at all be in a capacity, when thus broken and ruined, to accomplish it, is an easy question to answer. Whoever shall consider this in both its branches will no doubt think it in each of them improbable; and that, with a license from

Alexander, neither before the death of Sanballat nor after it could any such temple have been built by the Samaritans. However, I deny not but that, as hath been already said, such a temple was built by Sanballat upon Mount Gerizim, and upon the occasion mentioned, that is, of the marriage of his daughter with a son of the high priest of the Jews. But this was done long before the time of the last Darius, who was called Codomannus, in the time of a former Darius, surnamed Nothus, who was king of Persia eighty-eight years before him; for it appears from Scripture, that this marriage was consummated while Joiada the son of Eliashib was high priest of the Jews, and he entered on his office in the eleventh year of this Darius; and four years afterwards (that is, in the fifth year of the high priesthood of the said Joiada, and in the fifteenth

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year of Darius Nothus) was it that his son was thus married to the daughter of Sanballat, as will be hereafter shown in its proper place. And upon this marriage followed all the rest which Josephus relates of the building of the temple upon Mount Gerizim by Sanballat, and the making of his son-in-law high priest of it. So that all this was done, not in the time of Darius Codomannus, in the last year of his reign, or by license from Alexander, but in the time of Darius Nothus, and by license from him only granted in the fifteenth year of his reign to Sanballat for this purpose. And this clears the whole objection; for Darius Nothus in Ptolemy's Canon immediately succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus, in whose twentieth year Sanballat is first made mention of; and supposing him to have been then thirty-five years old, he would in the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus be no more than seventy-one, which is an age that more than the tenth part of mankind commonly arrive unto, if we may make a judgment hereof from the bills of mortality in London, where commonly the aged make a tenth part of the burials; and none that die there used to be put into those bills under that title unless they outlive seventy.

Origin of Josephus's error: conjecture of Vossius founded upon the insufficient authority of the Latin version of Ruffinus. — That which led Josephus into this error, I take it, was the common notion, which hath long obtained among his countrymen, that the Darius whom Alexander

conquered was the son of Ahasuerus by Esther; and therefore on his making Artaxerxes Longimanus to be Ahasuerus, he makes the Darius that succeeds him, that is, Darius Nothus, to be the last Darius, who was subdued by that conqueror. And that this was his opinion appears plainly from his history: for having therein given us an account of all the kings of Persia, from Cyrus to Artaxerxes Longimanus, in that exact series of succession in which they reigned one after the other, without omitting so much as the Magian usurper, though he reigned only seven months; after Artaxerxes Longimanus he names none other but that last Darius, in whom the Persian empire ended: which is a plain argument that he took that last Darius to have been the Darius that succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus; and if so, the age of Sanballat will then put no difficulty upon us. But Isaac Vossius, by an emendation of the text of Josephus, introduceth thereinto another Artaxerxes, as mentioned by him to reign in Persia between Artaxerxes Longimanus and the last Darius. For whereas in the seventh chapter of the eleventh book of his Antiquities, in all the printed copies, we read of Bagoses, that he was general τοῦ λαοῦ Ἀρταξέρξου, that is, of the people of Artaxerxes, he would have it to be του ἄλλου Ἀρταξέρξου, which may be rendered in English, either of the other Artaxerxes, or of another Artaxerxes: and to justify the emendation, he brings the authority of Ruffinus, who, in his version of Josephus, translates this place as if the copy which he used had it τοῦ ἄλλου Ἀρταξέρξου. But Ruffinus's Latin version is no sufficient standard whereby to judge of the original, since in many places he fantastically varies from it. And since there were two Artaxerxes's that reigned in Persia after Artaxerxes Longimanus,

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that is, Artaxerxes Mnemon and Artaxerxes Ochus, whether by this ἄλλος Ἀρταξέρξης we understand the other Artaxerxes, or another Artaxerxes, the true propriety of speech will bear neither of them in that place; and, if it would, a long-received reading ought in no ancient author to be varied from, without the authority of some good manuscript to justify the emendation; and there is none alleged in this case. So that all that Vossius saith about it can amount to no more than a conjecture, which we can build

nothing certain upon: and to alter old authors upon conjectures only is never to be allowed, especially where the context will bear the one reading as well as the other: for since the various fancies of men may lead to various conjectures, if there should be such a liberty allowed, whole books may be thus altered away, and utterly defaced, by such conjectural emendations; and many good authors have already too much suffered by it.

Satisfactory fulfilment of every portion of Daniel's prophecy. —And thus far I have explained this important prophecy in all its parts and branches, and fully shown all those events in which every particular of it had its completion. That there are several difficulties in it must be acknowledged. The perplexities which many learned men have been led into in their explications of it do sufficiently prove it and the understanding in a literal sense what is there meant in a figurative hath not been the least cause hereof. Not to be delivered in plain terms is what is common to all prophecies, there being none of them without their difficulties and obscurities. There is too great an itch in mankind to look into futurities, which belong to God only to know. And although God hath been pleased so far to gratify our curiosity herein, as to give us prophecies for the magnifying of his omniscience among us, yet they are most of them delivered in such dark and obscure terms as not to be thoroughly understood till after they are fulfilled. Then the events become sure comments upon the text. And I hope, when the reader hath fully considered all that is above proposed concerning this very important prophecy, he will be thoroughly satisfied how every particular of it hath had its completion.

III. CONTINUATION OF THE REIGN OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS DURING THE GOVERNORSHIP OF EZRA, B. C. 458-446.

High priests of Judah—Joakim, 483, Eliashib, 453.

Ezra's governorship in Judæa: the Jews put away their Gentile wives, 457. — But to return again to our history. Ezra having found, in the second year of his government, that many of the people had taken strange wives, contrary to the law, and that several of the priests and Levites, as well as other chief men of Judah and Benjamin, had transgressed herein, after he had, in fasting and prayer, deprecated God's wrath for it, he caused proclamation to be made for all the people of Israel that had returned from the captivity to gather themselves together at Jerusalem, under the penalty of excommunication and forfeiture of all their goods. And when they were met, he made them sensible of their sin, and engaged them in a promise and covenant

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before God to depart from it, by putting away their strange wives, and all such as were born of them, that the seed of Israel might not be polluted with such an undue commixture; and thereon commissioners were appointed to inquire into this matter, and cause every man to do according to the law herein. And they sat down the first day of the tenth month to examine hereinto, and made an end by the first day of the first month; so that in three months' time, that is, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months of the Jewish year, a thorough reformation was made of this transgression; which three months answer to January, February, and March, in our year.

Persian history: conspiracy of Bigthan and Teresh against Artaxerxes Longimanus. — About this time Bigthan and Teresh, two eunuchs of the palace, entered into a conspiracy against the life of king Artaxerxes. Most likely they were of those who had attended queen Vashti; and being now out of their offices by the degrading of their mistress, and the advancing of another into her place, took that disgust thereat, as to resolve to revenge themselves on the king for it; of which Mordecai having gotten the knowledge, he made discovery hereof to queen Esther, and she, in Mordecai's name, to the king; whereon inquiry being made into the matter, and the whole treason laid open and discovered, the two traitors were both crucified for it, and the history of the whole matter was entered on the public registers and annals of the kingdom.

Suppression of the Egyptian revolt: Inarus and his Athenian auxiliaries take refuge in the island of Prosopitis. — Megabyzus and Artabasus, who were appointed generals by Artaxerxes for the Egyptian war, had drawn together into Cilicia and Phœnicia an army of three hundred thousand men for that expedition; but wanting a fleet for the carrying of it on by sea, they were forced to tarry there all this year, while it was preparing for them in Cilicia, Cyprus, and Phœnicia, and other maritime parts of the Persian empire there adjoining; all which time they carefully employed in exercising their soldiers, and practising and instructing them in all military arts for the war, which conduced not a little to the victory which they afterwards obtained. In the interim, Inarus, with his Egyptians and the Athenian auxiliaries, pressed hard their assaults upon the White Wall at Memphis; but the Persians valiantly defending themselves, the siege continued all this year without any success. But the next year after [B. C. 456], the Persian fleet being ready, Artabasus took the command of it, and set sail for the Nile; and at the same time Megabyzus marched the army over land to Memphis; where, on his arrival, having raised the siege and joined the besieged, he gave battle to Inarus and all his forces, and overthrew them with a great slaughter, which fell chiefly upon the Egyptian revolters. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded in the fight by Megabyzus, made his retreat with the Athenian auxiliaries, and as many of the Egyptians as would follow him, to Biblus, a city standing in the island Prosopitis, which being surrounded by the Nile, and the branches of that river encompassing it being both navigable, the Athenians drew up their fleet into one of them, in a station where

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it was safe from the enemy, and endured a siege of a year and a half in that island. In the interim, the rest of the Egyptians, after that blow, all submitted to the conquerors, and returned again to their obedience to king Artaxerxes, excepting Amyrtæus, who still maintained a party against him in the fens, where he reigned many years; the Persians, by reason of the difficulty of access to those parts, having been never able to reduce him.

Surrender of Inarus and 50 Athenians as prisoners of war: the remainder granted a free passage home, 454.—In the mean time the Persian army at Prosopitis pressed on the siege; but finding that they could make no work of it by the usual and common ways of war, by reason of the valour and resolution of the defendants, at length had recourse to craft and stratagem, whereby they soon accomplished what by open force they could not effect; for having, by the making of many channels, drained that branch of the Nile in which the Athenian fleet had its station, they laid it on dry ground, and made a passage open for all their army to pass over into the island; whereon Inarus, seeing his case desperate, with all his Egyptians and about fifty of the Athenian auxiliaries, came to composition with Megabyzus, and yielded to him on terms of safety for their lives. But the rest of the auxiliaries, being in number about six thousand, put themselves on their defence: and therefore, having set their fleet on fire, stood together in battle array, with resolution to die with their swords in their hands, and, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians that fell at Thermopylæ, sell their lives as dear as they could; which the Persians perceiving, and not being willing to engage with men so desperately resolved, offered them peace on terms that they should leave Egypt, and have a free passage home into their own country, which way they should choose for their return thither; which being accepted of, they delivered the island, with the city of Biblus, to the conquerors, and marched to Cyrene, where they took shipping for Greece. But the major part of those that went on this expedition perished in it. And this was not all the loss which the Athenians suffered in this war: for another fleet of fifty sail being sent by them for the relief of those who were besieged in Prosopitis, they arrived at one of the mouths of the Nile, a little after the place was delivered, with intention to sail up the Nile, for the assistance of their countrymen, to the place where they were besieged, not knowing the misfortune that had happened to them. But they were no sooner entered the river, but they were set upon by the Persian fleet from the sea, and assaulted with darts by their land army from the shore; so that they all perished, excepting a very few of their ships, which broke through the enemy and escaped. And here ended this unfortunate war which the Athenians made in Egypt in the sixth year after it was begun. And after this Egypt was again reduced under the Persian yoke, and so continued all the remaining time of the reign of Artaxerxes.

The next year [B. C. 453], Joachim the high priest of the Jews, being dead, was succeeded by Eliashib his son, who bore that office forty years.

Ascendency of Haman in the favour of Artaxerxes: decree granted for the general massacre of the Jews, 453.—Meantime Haman an Amalekite, of the posterity of Agag, who was king of Amalek in the time of Saul, growing to be the chief favourite of king Artaxerxes, all the king's servants were commanded to pay reverence unto him, and bow before him; and all of them obeyed the royal order herein, excepting Mordecai the Jew, who sitting in the king's gate, according to his office, paid not any reverence to Haman at such times as he passed by into the palace, neither bowed he at all to him: of which being told, he was exceeding wroth, but scorning to lay hands on one man only, and being informed that he was a Jew, he resolved in revenge of this affront to destroy not only him, but also his whole nation with him; and to this perchance he was not a little excited by the ancient enmity which was between them and the people of whom he was descended. And there-fore, for the accomplishing of this design, on the first day of the first month, that is, the month Nisan, he called together his diviners, to find out what day would be the most lucky for the putting of it in execution; whereon they having, according to the way of divination then in use among those Eastern people, cast lots, first upon each month, and after upon each day of the month, did thereby determine for the thirteenth day of the twelfth month following, called Adar, as the day which they judged would be the most lucky for the accomplishing of what he purposed; whereon he forthwith went in unto the king, and having insinuated to him that there was a certain people, dispersed all over his empire, who did not keep the king's laws, but followed laws of their own, diverse from the laws of all other people, to the disturbance of the good order of his kingdom, and the breach of that uniformity whereby it ought to be governed, and that therefore it was not for the king's profit that they should be any longer suffered, he proposed and gave counsel that they should be all destroyed and extirpated out of the whole empire of Persia, and urged it as that which was necessary for the establishing of the peace and good order of his government. To which having obtained the king's consent, and an order that

on the thirteenth day of Adar following, according as was determined by the divination of the lots, it should be put in execution, he called the king's scribes together to write the decree. And it being drawn according as he proposed, on the thirteenth day of the same month of Nisan copies thereof were written out and sent into all the provinces of the empire, commanding the king's lieutenants, governors, and all other his officers in every one of them, to destroy, kill, and cause to perish all Jews, both young and old, little children and women, in one day, even on the thirteenth day of Adar following, and to take the spoil of them for a prey; which day being full eleven months after the date of the decree, the lot which pointed out that day seems to have been directed by the special providence of God, that so long a space intervening, there might be time enough to take such measures as might be proper to prevent the mischief intended.

Enormous sum offered by Haman as a compensation for the expected loss of revenue: immense riches of the ancients.—But an objection being like to arise against this from those who had the management of the

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king's treasury, because the destroying of so great a number of the king's subjects, as the Jews through the whole empire amounted to, must necessarily cause a great diminution of the public taxes, he offered ten thousand talents of silver out of his own purse to make the king amends for it; which sum, if computed by Babylonish talents, amounts to two millions one hundred and nineteen thousand pounds of our sterling money; but if by Jewish talents, it will be above twice as much; a prodigious sum for a private man to be owner of! As this shows the greatness of his riches, so doth it also the greatness of his malice towards the Jews, that he could be content to give so great a price for the executing of his revenge upon them. But the king's favour was then so great towards him, that he remitted to him all that sum, and granted him all that he desired without it; although the damage which the king would have suffered by it in his revenue would have been much greater than all that the enemy was able to give could have been sufficient to countervail. We are not to wonder that private men had then

such vast riches. There are instances to be given of much greater sums in the hands of such men in those ancient times. I shall at present make mention only of two of them, Pythius the Lydian and Marcus Crassus the Roman. The former, when Xerxes passed into Greece, was possessed of two thousand talents in silver and four millions of darics in gold, which together amounted to near five millions and a half of our sterling money; and the latter, after he had consecrated the tenth of all that he had to Hercules, feasted all the people of Rome at ten thousand tables, and had given them in a donative of corn to every citizen as much as would last him three months, found the remainder of his estate to be seven thousand one hundred Roman talents, which amounts to above a million and a half of our money. This may seem much to us at present. But the wonder will cease when we consider that from the time of David and Solomon, and for above one thousand five hundred years after, gold and silver was in much greater plenty in the world than either of them is at present. The immense riches which Solomon had in gold and silver, the prodigious quantities of both these which Alexander found in the treasuries of Darius, and the vast loads of them which we find often to have been carried in triumph before Roman generals, when they returned from conquered provinces, and the excessive sums which some of the Roman emperors expended in their luxurious and fantastical enjoyments, and in donatives to their armies, and many other instances in the histories of the times I have mentioned, sufficiently prove this. But at length the mines which

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furnished this plenty, especially those of the Southern Arabia (where we suppose was the Ophir of the ancients), being exhausted, and the burning of cities, and great devastations of countries, which after followed from the eruptions of the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarous nations in the west, and of the Saracens, Turks, and Tartars, in the east, having wasted and destroyed a great part of the gold and silver which the world afore abounded with, this induced that great scarcity of both which afterwards ensued, and which the mines of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil have not as yet been able fully to repair.

Reason of Mordecai's refusal to pay reverence to Haman.—It is hard to find a reason for Mordecai's refusing to pay this respect to Haman, which may be sufficient to excuse him for thus exposing himself and all his nation to that destruction which it had like to have drawn upon them. That which is commonly said is, that it was the same adoration which was paid to the king of Persia; and that consisting in the bowing of the knee, and the prostration of the whole body even to the ground, it was avoided by Mordecai, upon a notion which he had of its being idolatrous. But this being the common compliment which was constantly paid to the kings of Persia by all that were admitted into their presence, it was no doubt paid to this very king by Ezra and Nehemiah, when they had access unto him, and after also by Mordecai himself; for otherwise he could not have obtained that admission into his presence, and that advancement in his palace, which were afterwards there granted unto him. And if it were not idolatrous to pay this adoration to the king, neither could it be idolatrous to pay it to Haman. The Greeks would not pay this respect to the king of Persia out of pride; and excepting Themistocles, and two or three more, none of them could ever be brought to it. I will not say that this was the case of Mordecai in respect of Haman. It seems most probable, that his refusing to pay him this reverence was from a cause that was personal in Haman only. Perchance it was because Haman being of the race of the Amalekites, he looked on him as under the curse which God had denounced against that nation, and therefore thought himself obliged not to give such honour unto him. And if all the rest of the Jews thought the same, this might seem reason enough to him to extend his wrath against the whole

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nation, and to meditate the destruction of them all in revenge hereof. But whatsoever was the cause that induced Mordecai to refuse the payment of this respect to the king's favourite, this provoked that favourite to obtain the decree above mentioned, for the utter extirpation of the whole Jewish nation in revenge for it.

Mordecai communicates with Esther: Haman invited to the royal banquet.—When Mordecai heard of this decree, he made great

lamentation, as did also all the Jews of Shushan with him; and therefore, putting on sackcloth, he sat in this mournful garb without the king's gate (for he might not enter within it in that dress), which being told Esther, she sent to him to know what the matter was; whereon Mordecai acquainted her with the whole state of the case, and sent her a copy of the decree, that thereby she might fully see the mischief that was intended against her people, absolutely to destroy them and root them out from the face of the earth; and therefore commanded her forthwith to go in unto the king, and make supplication for them. At first she excused herself because of the law, whereby it was ordained, that whosoever, whether man or woman, should come in unto the king into the inner court, who was not called for, should be put to death, excepting such only to whom the king should hold out the golden sceptre in his hand, that he might live; and she was afraid of hazarding her life in this case. Whereon Mordecai, sending to her again, told her that the decree extended universally to all of her nation, without any exception; and that if it came to execution, she must not expect to escape more than any other of her people; that Providence seemed to have advanced her of purpose for this work; but if she refused to act her part in it, then deliverance should come some other way, and she and her father's house should perish; for he was fully persuaded, God would not suffer his people to be thus totally destroyed. Whereon Esther, resolving to put her life to hazard for the safety of her people, desired Mordecai, that he and all the Jews then in Shushan should fast three days for her, and offer up prayer and humble supplication to God to prosper her in the undertaking; which being accordingly done, on the third day Esther put on her royal apparel, and went in unto the king, where he was sitting upon his throne, in the inner part of the palace; and as soon as he saw her standing in the court, he showed favour unto her, and held out his golden sceptre towards her; and Esther going near, and touching the top of it, had thereby her life secured unto her. And when the king asked her what her petition was, at first she only desired that he and Haman would come to a banquet which she had prepared for him. And when Haman was called, and the king and he were at the banquet, he asked her again of her petition, promising it should be granted her, even to the half of his kingdom; but then she desired only that the king and Haman would come again the next day to the like banquet, intimating that then she would make known her request unto him. Her

intention in desiring thus to entertain the king twice at her banquets, before she made known her petition unto him, was that thereby she might the more endear herself to him, and dispose him the better to grant the request which she had to make unto him.

Haman causes a gallows to be erected for Mordecai, but is himself hanged thereon.—Haman, being proud of the honour of being thus admitted alone with the king to the queen's banquet, went home to his house much puffed up herewith. But in his returning thither, seeing Mordecai sitting at the gate of the palace, and still refusing to bow unto him, this moved his indignation to such a degree, that on his coming to his house, and calling his friends about him to relate to them the great honour that was done him by the king and queen, and the high advancement which he had obtained in the kingdom, he could not forbear complaining of the disrespect and affront offered him by Mordecai. Whereon they advised him to cause a gallows to be built of fifty cubits height, and next morning to ask the king to have Mordecai to be hanged thereon. And accordingly he ordered the gallows immediately to be made, and went early next morning to the palace for the obtaining of a grant from the king to hang Mordecai on it. But that morning the king awaking sooner than ordinary, and not being able to compose himself again to sleep, he called for the book of the records and chronicles of the kingdom, and caused them to be read unto him; wherein finding an account of the conspiracy of Bigthan and Teresh, and that it was discovered by Mordecai the Jew, the king inquired what honour had been done to him for the same; and being told that nothing had been done for him, he inquired who was in the court; and being told that Haman was standing there (for he intended early to speak to the king for the purpose I have mentioned), he ordered him to be called in, and asked of him, what should be done to the man whom the king delighted to honour. Whereon Haman, thinking this honour was intended for himself, gave advice that the royal apparel should be brought which the king used to wear, and the horse which was kept for his own riding, and the crown which useth to be set upon his head, and that this apparel and horse should be delivered into the hands of one of the king's most noble princes, that he might array therewith

the man whom the king delighted to honour, and bring him on horseback through the whole city, and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour. Whereon the king commanded him forthwith to take the apparel and horse, and do all this to Mordecai the Jew, who sat in the king's gate, in reward for his discovery of the treason of the two eunuchs. All which Haman having been forced to do, in obedience to the king's command, he returned with great sorrow to his house, lamenting the disappointment and great mortification he had met with, in being thus forced to pay so signal an honour to his enemy, whom he intended at the same time to have hanged on the gallows which he had provided for him. And on his relating of this to his friends, they all told him that if this Mordecai were of the seed of the Jews, this bad omen foreboded that he should not prevail against him, but should surely fall before him. While they were thus talking, one of the queen's chamberlains came to Haman's house to hasten him to the banquet, and seeing the gallows which had been set up the night before, fully informed himself of the intent for which it was prepared. On the king and Haman's sitting down to the banquet, the king asked again of

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Esther what was her petition, with like promise as before, of granting of it to her even to the half of his kingdom. Whereon she humbly prayed the king that her life might be given her at her petition, and her people at her request; for a design was laid for the destruction of her and all her kindred and nation: at which the king asking with much anger who it was that durst do this thing, she told him that Haman, then present, was the wicked author of the plot, and laid the whole of it open to the king. Whereon the king rose up in great wrath from the banquet, and walked out into the garden adjoining, which Haman perceiving, fell down before the queen upon the bed on which she was sitting, to supplicate for his life; in which posture the king having found him on his return, spoke out in great passion, What! will he force the queen before me in the house? At which words the servants present immediately covered his face, as was then the usage to condemned persons; and the chamberlain, who had that day called Haman to the

banquet, acquainting the king of the gallows which he saw at his house there prepared for Mordecai, who had saved the king's life in detecting the treason of the two eunuchs, the king ordered that he should be forthwith hanged thereon, which was accordingly done; and all his house, goods, and riches were given to queen Esther, and she appointed Mordecai to be her steward to manage the same. On the same day the queen acquainted the king of the relation which Mordecai had unto her; whereon the king took him into his favour, and advanced him to great power, riches, and dignity in the empire, and made him the keeper of his signet, in the same manner as Haman had been before.

Reversal of the fatal decree.—But still the decree for the destruction of the Jews remaining in its full force, the queen petitioned the king the second time to put away this mischief from them. But according to the laws of the Medes and Persians, nothing being to be reversed which had been decreed and written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's seal, and the decree procured by Haman against the Jews having been thus written and sealed, it could not be recalled. All therefore that the king could do, in compliance with her request, was to give the Jews, by a new decree, such a power to defend themselves against all that should assault them, as might render the former decree ineffectual; and for that end he bade Esther and Mordecai draw such a decree in words as strong as they could devise, that so the former might be hindered from being executed, though it could not be annulled. And therefore the king's scribes being again called, on the twenty-third day of the third month, a new decree was drawn, just two months and ten days after the former; wherein the king granted to the Jews, which were in every city of the Persian empire, full license to gather themselves together, and stand for their lives, and to destroy, slay, and cause to perish all the power of the people and province that should assault them, with their little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. And this decree being written in the king's name, and sealed with his seal, copies hereof were drawn out, and especial messengers were despatched with them into all the provinces of the empire.

Restoration of the Persian authority in Egypt: Inarus and the Athenian prisoners carried to Susa.—In the interim Megabyzus having reduced the whole kingdom of Egypt, except the fenny part held by Amyrtæus, and there settled all matters again under the dominion of king Artaxerxes, he made Sartamas governor of that country, and returned to Susa, carrying with him Inarus and his Grecian prisoners. And having given the king an account of the articles he had granted them of life and safety, he obtained of him a ratification of the same, although with difficulty, because of the king's anger against them for the death of Achæmenides his brother, who was slain in battle against them. But Hamestris, the mother of both these brothers, was so eagerly set for the revenging of the death of her son, that she not only demanded that Inarus and his Greeks should be delivered up to her to be put to death for it, contrary to the articles given them, but also required that Megabyzus himself, though her son-in-law, should undergo the same punishment, for granting them such articles as should exempt them from that just revenge, which in this case she ought to execute upon them. And it was with difficulty that she was for this time put off with a denial.

The Jews revenge themselves on their enemies by the slaughter of 75,000 persons, 452.—The thirteenth day of Adar drawing near, when the decree obtained by Haman for the destruction of the Jews was to be put in execution, their adversaries everywhere prepared to act against them according to the contents of it. And the Jews on the other hand, by virtue of the second decree above mentioned, which was obtained in their favour by Esther and Mordecai, gathered themselves together in every city where they dwelt, throughout all the provinces of king Artaxerxes, to provide for their defence; so that on the said thirteenth of Adar, through the means of these two different and discordant decrees, a war was commenced between the Jews and their enemies throughout the whole Persian empire. But the rulers of the provinces, and the lieutenants, the deputies, and other officers of the king, knowing in what power Esther and Mordecai were then with him, through fear of them, so favoured the Jews, that they prevailed everywhere against all those that rose up against them; and on that day, throughout the whole empire, slew of their enemies seventy-five thousand persons; and in the city of Shushan, on that day and the next, eight hundred more, among

which were the ten sons of Haman, whom, by a special order from the king, they caused all to be hanged, perchance upon the same gallows on which Haman their father had been hanged before.

Institution of the feast of Purim.—The Jews being thus delivered from this dangerous design, which threatened them with no less than utter extirpation, they made great rejoicings for it on the two days following, that is, on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the said month of Adar. And by the order of Esther and Mordecai, these two days, with the thirteenth that preceded them, were set apart and consecrated to be annually observed for ever after in commemoration hereof; the thirteenth as a fast, because of the destruction on that day intended to have been brought upon them, and the other two as a

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feast, because of their deliverance from it. And both this fast and this feast they constantly observe every year on those days, even to this time. The fast they call the fast of Esther, and the feast the feast of Purim, from the Persian word purim (which signifieth lots), because it was by the casting of lots that Haman did set out this time for their destruction. This feast is the Bacchanals of the Jews, which they celebrate with all manner of rejoicing, mirth, and jollity; and therein indulge themselves in all manner of luxurious excesses, especially in drinking wine, even to drunkenness, which they think part of the duty of the solemnity, because it was by the means of the wine banquet (they say) that Esther made the king's heart merry, and brought him into that good humour, which inclined him to grant the request which she made unto him for their deliverance; and therefore they think they ought to make their hearts merry also when they celebrate the commemoration of it. During this festival the book of Esther is solemnly read in all their synagogues from the beginning to the end, at which they are all to be present, men, women, children, and servants; because all these had their parts in this deliverance which Esther obtained for them. And as often as the name of Haman occurs in the reading of this book, the usage is for them all to clap with their hands, and stamp with their feet, and cry out, Let his memory perish. This is the last feast of the year among them for the next

that follows is the Passover, which always falls in the middle of the month which begins the Jewish year.

Successes of the Athenian fleet under Cimon, 450.—The Athenians having provided themselves with another fleet, after the loss of that in Egypt, sent Cimon with two hundred sail again into Cyprus, there to carry on the war against the Persians; where he took Citium and Malum, and several other cities, and sent sixty sail into Egypt, to the assistance of Amyrtœus. At the same time Artabasus was in those seas with a fleet of three hundred sail; and Megabyzus, the other general of king Artaxerxes, had a land army of three hundred thousand men on the coasts of Cilicia; but neither of them had the success in this war which they had in the last. For [in B. C. 449] Cimon, on the return of his ships from Egypt, fell on Artabasus, and having taken a hundred of his ships, and destroyed several others, pursued the remainder to the coasts of Phoenicia; and being flushed with this success, on his return landed upon Megabyzus in Cilicia, and overthrew him also, making a very great slaughter of his numerous army, and then sailed back again to Cyprus with a double triumph.

Peace concluded between Athens and Persia, 449.—Artaxerxes, hearing of these great losses, sustained both at sea and land, became weary of so destructive a war; and therefore, upon thorough advice taken with his counsellors and ministers, came to a resolution of putting an end to the calamities of it, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy; and accordingly sent to his generals and commanders, who had the charge of the Cyprian war, to make peace with the Athenians on the best terms they could. Whereon Megabyzus and Artabasus sending ambassadors to Athens to make the proposal, plenipotentiaries were

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appointed of each side to treat of the matter; and they came to an agreement on these terms: first, That all the Grecian cities in Asia should have their liberty, and be left free to live according to their own laws; secondly, That no Persian ship of war should any more appear on any of those seas which lie from the Cyanean to the Chelidonian islands, that is, from the Euxine Sea to the coasts of Pamphylia; thirdly, That no Persian commander should

come with an army by land within three days' journey of those seas; fourthly, That the Athenians should no more invade any of the territories of king Artaxerxes. Which articles being ratified and sworn to on both sides, peace was concluded. And so this war ended after it had continued, from the time that the Athenians burned Sardis (which was the first beginning of it), full fifty-one years, to the destruction of a vast number of men on both sides. In the interim Cimon died at Citium, and the Athenians returned with his corpse to Athens, and after this came no more into those seas.

Crucifixion of Inarus and beheadal of the Athenian prisoners, 448.— King Artaxerxes being continually solicited by his mother to deliver to her Inarus and the Athenians who were taken with him in Egypt, that she might revenge on them the death of her son Achæmenides, after having for five years resisted her unwearied and restless importunities, was at last tired out by them to yield to her request, and the prisoners were delivered to her; whereon the cruel woman, without having any regard to the public faith which had been plighted for their safety, caused Inarus to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off: at which Megabyzus was exceedingly grieved and offended; for it being on his engagement for their safety that they had rendered themselves, he thought it a great dishonour done him that it was thus violated, and therefore retired in discontent into Syria, the province of which he was governor, and to revenge the wrong, there raised an army, and rebelled against the king.

Rebellion of Megabyzus: story of his after-life, 447.—To repress this rebellion, Artaxerxes sent Osiris, a prime nobleman of his court, with two hundred thousand men into Syria. But Megabyzus, having met him in battle, wounded him, and took him prisoner, and put his whole army to flight. But Artaxerxes having sent a messenger to demand him, Megabyzus forthwith released him, and as soon as his wounds were healed, sent him back again to the king. The next year following [B. C. 446] the king sent another army against him, under the command of Menostanes, son to Artarius, governor of Babylon, and one of his brothers. But he had no better fortune this year than the former general had in the last; for being in the same manner vanquished and put to flight, Megabyzus gained a great victory over him. Whereby Artaxerxes, perceiving that he could not prevail against him by force of arms, sent Artarius his brother, and Amytis his

sister, who was wife to Megabyzus, with several other persons of quality, to reconcile him unto him, and bring him by fair means to return to his duty; by whose interposition the difference being made up, the king granted him his pardon, and he returned again to court. But while the king was in hunting, a lion having raised himself up upon his hinder legs against him, Megabyzus, who was then present, out of his

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zeal to extricate the king from this danger, threw a dart at the lion, and slew him. But Artaxerxes, laying hold of this light pretence to express the bitter rancour which he still retained in his mind against him for his late revolt, ordered his head to be struck off, for presuming to strike at the beast before him; and it was with difficulty that Amytis his wife, and Hamestris her mother, with their joint petitions, prevailed so far in his behalf, that his sentence of death was changed into that of banishment: whereon he was sent to Cyrta, a place on the Red Sea, there to lead the rest of his life under confinement. But after he had lived there five years, having made his escape from thence, and under the habit and disguise of a leper got safe to his own house at Susa, he was there, by the means of his wife and her mother, again restored to the king's favour, and continued in it ever after to the time of his death, which happened some years after, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was then very much lamented by the king and all his court: for he was the ablest man, both in council and war, that was in the whole empire, and to him Artaxerxes owed his life, as well as his crown, at his first accession to the government. But it is a dangerous thing for a subject to have too much obliged his prince; and this was the cause of all the misfortunes that happened unto him.

IV. EZRA'S LABOURS IN RESTORING THE OBSERVANCE OF THE JEWISH LAW, AND COLLECTING AND REVISING THE SCRIPTURES. B. C. 446.

High priests of Judah—Eliashib, 453.

The Great Synagogue. —Ezra continued in the government of Judæa till the end of this year, and by virtue of the commission he had from the king, and the powers granted him thereby, he reformed the whole state of the Jewish church according to the law of Moses, in which he was excellently learned, and settled it upon that bottom upon which it afterwards stood to the time of our Saviour. The two chief things which Ezra had to do were, to restore the observance of the Jewish law, according to the ancient approved usages which had been in practice before the captivity, under the directions of the prophets, and to collect together and set forth a correct edition of the Holy Scriptures; in the performance of both which, the Jews tell us, he had the assistance of what they call the great synagogue, which they tell us was a convention consisting of one hundred and twenty men, who lived all at the same time under the presidency of Ezra, and were assisting to him in both these two works; and among these they name Daniel and his three friends, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, as the first of them, and Simon the Just as the last of them; though from the last mention which we have of Daniel in the Holy Scriptures to the time of Simon the Just, there had passed no less than two hundred and fifty years. But all this they reconcile by that absurd and wretched account which they give of the history of those times; for they tell us that the whole Persian empire lasted only fifty-two years (as hath been afore taken notice of), and that the Darius whom we call Darius Hystaspis was the Darius whom Alexander conquered, and that the same was the Artaxerxes (which they will have to be the common name of

all the kings of Persia in those times) who sent Ezra first, and afterwards Nehemiah, to Jerusalem, to restore the state of the Jews; and that Simon the Just was the same with Jaddua the high priest, who received Alexander at Jerusalem. And according to this account, they might indeed all have lived together in the seventh year of this Darius, or Artaxerxes (as they would call him), when they say Ezra first went to Jerusalem; for that was in the middle of the said fifty-two years, according to their computation, at which time Jaddua might very well have been of an age capable to assist in those councils; and it is not impossible but Daniel might have lived down to it, for the Scriptures give us no account of his death. The truth of this matter seemeth most likely to have been, that these one hundred and twenty men were such principal elders as lived in a continued succession from the first return of the Jews after the Babylonish captivity, to the death of Simon the Just, and laboured in their several times, some after others, in the carrying on of the two great works above mentioned, till both were fully completed in the time of the said Simon the Just (who was made high priest of the Jews in the twenty-fifth year after the death of Alexander the Great), and Ezra had the assistance of such of them as lived in his time. But the whole conduct of the work, and the glory of accomplishing it, is by the Jews chiefly attributed to him, under whose presidency (they tell us) it was done. And therefore they look on him as another Moses: for the law, they say, was given by Moses, but it was revived and restored by Ezra, after it had been in a manner extinguished and lost in the Babylonish captivity. And therefore they reckon him as the second founder of it; and it is a common opinion among them, that he was Malachi the prophet; that he was called Ezra as his proper name, and Malachi (which signifieth an angel or messenger) from his office, because he was sent, as the angel and messenger of God, to restore again the Jewish religion, and establish it in the same manner as it was before the captivity, on the foundation of the law and the prophets. And indeed, by virtue of that ample commission which he had from king Artaxerxes, he had an opportunity of doing more herein than any other of his nation; and he executed all the powers thereof to the utmost he was able, for the resettling both of the ecclesiastical and political state of the Jews, in the best posture they were then capable of; and from hence his name is in so high esteem and veneration among the Jews, that it is a common saying

among their writers, that if the law had not been given by Moses, Ezra was worthy by whom it should have been given.

Nature of Ezra's labours: 1st, Restoration of the observance of the Jewish law. —As to the ancient and approved usages of the Jewish church, which had been in practice before the captivity, they had by Jeshua and Zerubbabel, with the chief elders their contemporaries, and by others that after succeeded them, been a gathering together from their first return to Jerusalem, as they could be recovered from the memories of the ancients of their nation, who had either seen them practised themselves before the captivity, or had been informed concerning them by their parents or others, who had lived before them.

All these, and whatever else was pretended to be of the same nature, Ezra brought under a review: and having, after due examination, allowed such of them as were to be allowed, and settled them by his approbation and authority, they gave birth to what the Jews now call their oral law.

Twofold character of the Jewish law, viz. written law recorded in the Scriptures, and oral law handed down by the tradition of the elders. — For the Jews own a twofold law, the first the written law, which is recorded in the Holy Scriptures; and the second the oral law, which they have only by the tradition of their elders. And both these, they say, were given them by Moses from Mount Sinai, of which the former only was committed to writing, and the other delivered down to them from generation to generation by the tradition of the elders. And therefore holding them to be both of the same authority, as having both of them the same divine original, they think themselves to be bound as much by the latter as the former, or rather much more: for the written law is, they say, in many places, obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule to them without the oral law, which containing, according to them, a full, complete, and perfect interpretation of all that is written in the other, supplies all the defects, and solves all the difficulties of it. And therefore they observe the written law no otherwise than according as it is expounded and interpreted by their oral law. And

hence it is a common saying among them, that the covenant was made with them, not upon the written law, but upon the oral law. And therefore they do in a manner lay aside the former to make room for the latter, and resolve their whole religion into their traditions, in the same manner as the Romanists do theirs, having no further regard to the written word of God than as it agrees with their traditionary explications of it, but always preferring them thereto, though in many particulars they are quite contradictory to it: which is a corruption that had grown to a great height among them even in our Saviour's time; for he chargeth them with it, and tells them (Mark vii. 13) that "they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions." But they have done it much more since, professing a greater regard to the latter than the former. And hence it is that we find it so often said in their writings, that the words of the scribes are lovely above the words of the law; that the words of the law are weighty and light, but the words of the scribes are all weighty; that the words of the elders are weightier than the words of the prophets (where, by the words of the scribes, and the words of the elders, they mean the traditions delivered to them by their scribes and elders): and in other places, that the written text is only as water, but the **Mishnah** and **Talmud** (in which are contained their traditions) are as wine and hippocras. And again, that the written law is only as salt, but the **Mishnah** and **Talmud** as pepper and sweet spices. And in many other sayings, very common among them, do they express the high veneration which they bear towards the oral or traditionary law, and the little regard which they have to the written word of God in comparison of it, making nothing

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of the latter but as expounded by the former, as if the written word were no more than the dead letter, and the traditionary law alone the soul that gives the whole life and essence thereto. And this being what they hold of their traditions, which they call their oral law, the account which they give of its original is as followeth:

Talmudical account of the promulgation of the written law by Moses, and the transmission of the oral law from Moses to Rabbi Hakkadosh, who wrote it in the Mishnah. —For they tell us, that at the same time when God gave unto Moses the law on Mount Sinai, he gave unto him also the interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to writing, but to deliver the other only by word of mouth, to be preserved in the memories of men, and to be transmitted down by them from generation to generation, by tradition only; and from hence the former is called the written, and the other the oral law. And to this day, all the determinations and dictates of the latter are termed by the Jews "constitutions of Moses from Mount Sinai," because they do as firmly believe that he received them all from God, in his forty days' converse with him in that mount, as that he then received the written text itself: that on his return from this converse, he brought both of these laws with him, and delivered them unto the people of Israel in this manner. As soon as he was returned to his tent, he called Aaron thither unto him, and first delivered to him the text which was to be the written law, and after that the interpretation of it, which was the oral law, in the same order as he received both from God in the mount. Then Aaron arising, and seating himself at the right hand of Moses, Eleazar and Ithamar his sons went next in, and being taught both these laws at the feet of the prophet, in the same manner as Aaron had been, they also arose and seated themselves, the one on the left hand of Moses, and the other on the right hand of Aaron; and then the seventy elders, who constituted the Sanhedrim, or great senate of the nation, went in, and being taught by Moses both these laws in the same manner, they also seated themselves in the tent; and then entered all such of the people as were desirous of knowing the law of God, and were taught it in the same manner. After this, Moses withdrawing, Aaron repeated the whole of both laws as he had heard it from him, and also withdrew; and then Eleazar and Ithamar repeated the same; and on their withdrawing, the seventy elders made the same repetition to the people then present; so that each of them having heard both these laws repeated to them four times, they all had it thereby firmly fixed in their memories; and that then they dispersed themselves among the whole congregation and communicated to all the people of Israel what had been thus delivered unto them by the prophet of God; that they did put the text into writing, but the interpretation

of it they delivered down only by word of mouth to the succeeding generations: that the written text contained the six hundred and thirteen precepts into which they divide the law, and the unwritten interpretations, all the manners, ways, and circumstances that were to be observed in the keeping of them: that after this, towards the end of the fortieth year from their coming up out of the land of Egypt, in the beginning of the eleventh month (which fell about the middle of our January), Moses, calling all the people of

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Israel together, acquainted them of the approaching time of his death; and therefore ordered, that if any of them had forgot aught of what he had delivered to them, they should repair to him, and he would repeat to them anew what had slipped their memories, and further explain unto them every difficulty and doubt which might arise in their minds concerning what he had taught them of the law of their God; and that hereon, they applying to him, all the remaining time of his life, that is, from the said beginning of the eleventh month till the sixth day of the twelfth month, was employed in instructing them anew in the text, which they call the written law, and in the interpretations of it, which they call the oral law: and that on the said sixth day, having delivered to them thirteen copies of the written law, all copied out with his own hand, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Deuteronomy, one to each of the twelve tribes, to be kept by them throughout their generations, and the thirteenth to the Levites, to be laid up by them in the tabernacle before the Lord, and having moreover then anew repeated the oral law to Joshua his successor, he went on the seventh day up into Mount Nebo, and there died: that after his death Joshua delivered the said oral law to the elders who after succeeded him, and they delivered it to the prophets, and the prophets transmitted it down from each other till it came to Jeremiah, who delivered it to Baruch, and Baruch to Ezra, by whom it was delivered to the men of the great synagogue, the last of whom was Simon the Just; that by him it was delivered to Antigonus of Socho, and by him to Jose the son of Jochanan, and by him to Jose the son of Joezer, and by him to Nathan the Arbelite and Joshua the son of Perachiah, and by

them to Judah the son of Tabbai and Simeon the son of Shatah, and by them to Shemaiah and Abtalion, and by them to Hillel, and by Hillel to Simeon his son, who is supposed to have been the same that took our Saviour into his arms when he was brought to the temple to be there presented to the Lord at the time of his mother's purification; and by Simeon it was delivered to Gamaliel his son (the same at whose feet Paul was brought up), and by him to Simeon his son, by him to Gamaliel his son, and by him to Simeon his son, and by him to Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh his son, who wrote it into the book which they call the Mishnah.

Fictitious character of the Talmudical writings. —But all this is mere fiction, spun out of the fertile invention of the Talmudists, without the least foundation either in Scripture or in any authentic history for it. But since all this is now made a part of the Jewish creed, and they do as firmly believe their traditions to have thus come from God in the manner I have related, as they do the written word itself, and have now, as it were, wholly resolved their religion into these traditions, there is no understanding what their religion at present is without it. And it is for this reason that I have here inserted it.

Real history of the origin and enlargement of the oral or traditional law. —But the truth of the matter is this. After the death of Simon the Just there arose a sort of men whom they call the Tannaim, or the Mishnical doctors, that made it their business to study and descant upon those traditions which had been received and allowed by Ezra and the men of the great synagogue, and to draw inferences and consequences

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from them, all which they ingrafted into the body of these ancient traditions, as if they had been as authentic as the other; which example being followed by those who after succeeded them in this profession, they continually added their own imaginations to what they had received from those that went before them; whereby these traditions becoming as a snow-ball, the farther they rolled down from one generation to another the more they gathered, and the greater the bulk of them grew.

The traditional law, collected by Rabbi Hakkadosh, and written in the book known as the Mishnah. —And thus it went on to the middle of the second century after Christ, when Antoninus Pius governed the Roman empire, by which time they found it necessary to put all these traditions into writing. For they were then grown to so great a number, and enlarged to so huge a heap, as to exceed the possibility of being any longer preserved by the memory of men. And besides, on the second destruction which their country had undergone from the Romans a little before, in the reign of Adrian, the preceding emperor, most of their learned men having been cut off, and the chiefest of their schools broken up and dissolved, and vast numbers of their people dissipated and driven out of the land, the usual method of preserving their traditions had then in a great measure failed; and therefore there being danger that, under these disadvantages, they might be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing hereof it was resolved that they should be all collected together and put into a book; and Rabbi Judah, the son of Simeon, who from the reputed sanctity of his life was called Hakkadosh, that is, the holy, and was then rector of the school which they had at Tiberias in Galilee, and president of the Sanhedrim that there sat, undertook the work, and compiled it in six books, each consisting of several tracts, which altogether make up the number of sixty-three, in which, under their proper heads, he methodically digested all that hitherto had been delivered to them of their law and their religion by the tradition of their ancestors. And this is the book called the **Mishnah**, which book was forthwith received by the Jews with great veneration throughout all their dispersions, and hath ever since been held in high esteem among them; for their opinion of it is, that all the particulars therein contained were dictated by God himself to Moses from Mount Sinai, as well as the written word itself, and consequently must be of the same divine authority with it, and ought to be as sacredly observed.

The Gemara, or comments on the Mishnah: comparison of the Jerusalem Talmud with the Babylonish Talmud. —As soon as the Mishnah was published, it became the subject of the studies of all their learned men, and the chiefest of them both in Judæa and Babylonia employed themselves to make comments on it, and these with the Mishnah make up both their Talmuds, that is, the Jerusalem Talmud and the

Babylonish Talmud. These comments they call the Gemara, i. e. the complement, because by them the Mishnah is fully explained, and the whole traditionary doctrine of their law and their religion completed. For the Mishnah is the text, and the Gemara the comment, and both together is what they call the Talmud. That made by the Jews of Judæa is called the Jerusalem Talmud; and that made by the Jews of Babylonia is called the Babylonish Talmud. The former was completed

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about the year of our Lord 300, and is published in one large folio; the latter was published about two hundred years after, in the beginning of the sixth century, and hath had several editions since the invention of printing; the last published at Amsterdam is in twelve folios. And in these two Talmuds (the law and the prophets being in a manner quite justled out by them) is contained the whole of the Jewish religion that is now professed among them. But the Babylonish Talmud is that which they chiefly follow: for the other, that is, the Jerusalem Talmud, being obscure and hard to be understood, is not now much regarded by them. But this and the Mishnah being the ancientest books which they have (except the Chaldee paraphrases of Onkelos and Jonathan), and both written in the language and style of the Jews of Judæa, our countryman, Dr. Lightfoot, hath made very good use of them in explaining several places of the New Testament, by parallel phrases and sayings out of them. For the one being composed about the one hundred and fiftieth year of our Lord, and the other about the three hundredth, the idioms, proverbial sayings, and phraseologies used in our Saviour's time might very well be preserved in them. But the other Talmud being written in the language and style of Babylonia, and not compiled till about the five hundredth year of our Lord, or, as some will have it, much later, this cannot so well serve for this purpose. However it is now the Alcoran of the Jews, into which they have resolved all their faith and all their religion, although framed (almost with the same imposture as that of Mahomet) out of doctrines falsely pretended to be brought from heaven. And in this book all that now pretend to any learning among them place their studies; and no one can be a master in their schools, or a teacher in

their synagogues, who is not well instructed and versed herein, that is, not only in the text, which is the Mishnah, but also in the comment thereon, which is the Gemara. And this comment they so highly esteem beyond the other, that the name of Gemara is wholly engrossed by it, the Gemara of the Babylonish Talmud being that only which they now usually understand by that word. For this, with the Mishnah to which it is added, they think, doth truly complete and make up the whole of their religion, as fully and perfectly containing all the doctrines, rules, and rites thereof; and therefore it is, in their opinion, the most deserving of that name, which signifieth what completes, fills up, or perfects; for this is the meaning of the word in the Hebrew language.

Maimonides's abstract of the Talmuds entitled Yad Hachazakah.—Out of this Talmud Maimonides hath made an abstract, containing only the resolutions or determinations made therein on every case, without the descants, disputes, fables, and other trash under which they lay buried in that vast load of rubbish. This work is entitled by him Yad Hachazakah, and is one of the completest digests of law that was ever made; I mean not as to the matter, but in respect only of the clearness of the style and method in which it is composed, the filthy mass of dirt from under which he dug it, and the comprehensive manner in which he hath digested the whole. Others among them have attempted the like work, but none have been able to exceed or come nigh him herein. And for this and other of his writings he is deservedly esteemed the best author among them.

Titles and classes of the ancient traditional doctors. —They who professed this sort of learning, that is, taught and propagated these traditionary doctrines among them, have been distinguished by several different titles and appellations, according to the different ages in which they lived. From the time of the men of the great synagogue to the publishing of the Mishnah they were called Tannaim; and they are the Mishnical doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the Mishnah was composed. And from the time of the publishing of the Mishnah to the publishing of the Babylonish Talmud they were called Amoraim; and they are the Gemarical doctors out of whose doctrines and traditions the Gemara

was composed. And for about one hundred years after the publishing of the Talmud, they were called Seburaim, and after that Geonim. And these were the several classes in which their learned men have been ranked, according to the several ages in which they formerly lived. But for these latter times the general name of Rabbi is that only whereby their learned men are called, there being no other title whereby they have been distinguished for near seven hundred years past. For about the year 1040, all their schools in Mesopotamia, where only they enjoyed these high titles, being destroyed, and all their learned men thence expelled and driven out by the Mahometan princes, who then governed in those parts, they have since that, with the great-est number of their people, flocked into these western parts, especially into Spain, France, and England. And from that time, all these pompous titles which they affected in the East being here dropped, they have retained none other for their learned men, from that time, but that of Rabbi, excepting only, that those of them who minister in their synagogues are called Chacams, i. e. wise men.

2ndly, Preparation of a correct edition of the Holy Scriptures. —But the great work of Ezra was his collecting together and setting forth a correct edition of the Holy Scriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. This both Christians and Jews give him the honour of. And many of the ancient Fathers attribute more to him, in this particular, than the Jews themselves; for they hold that all the Scriptures were lost and destroyed in the Babylonish captivity, and that Ezra restored them all again by divine revelation. Thus saith Irenæus, and thus say Tertullian, Clemens Alexandrinus, Basil, and others. But they had no other foundation for it than that fabulous relation which we have of it in the fourteenth chapter of the second apocryphal book of Esdras, a book too absurd for the Romanists

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themselves to receive into their canon. Indeed, in the time of Josiah, through the impiety of the two preceding reigns of Manasseh and Ammon, the book of the law was so destroyed and lost, that besides that copy of it which Hilkiah found in the temple, there was then none other to be had; for

the surprise which Hilkiah is said to be in at the finding of it, and the grief which Josiah expressed at the hearing of it read, do plainly show that neither of them had ever seen it before. And if the king and the high priest, who were both men of eminent piety, were without this part of Holy Scripture, it can scarce be thought that any one else then had it. But so religious a prince as king Josiah could not leave this long unremedied. By his order, copies were forthwith written out from this original; and search being made for all the other parts of Holy Scripture, both in the colleges of the sons of the prophets, and all other places where they could be found, care was taken for transcripts to be made out of these also, and thenceforth copies of the whole became multiplied among the people, all those who were desirous of knowing the law of their God either writing them out themselves, or procuring others to do it for them. So that though within a few years after the holy city and temple were destroyed, and the authentic copy of the law, which was laid up before the Lord, was burnt and consumed with them, yet by this time many copies both of the law and the prophets, and all the other sacred writings, were got into private hands, who carried them with them into their captivity. That Daniel had a copy of the Holy Scriptures with him in Babylon it is certain; for he quotes the law, and also makes mention of the prophecies of the prophet Jeremiah, which he could not do had he never seen them. And in the sixth chapter of Ezra it is said, that on the finishing of the temple in the sixth year of Darius, the priests and the Levites were settled in their respective functions, according as it is written in the law of Moses. But how could they do this according to the written law, if they had not copies of that law then among them? and this was near sixty years before Ezra came to Jerusalem. And further, in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah, when the people called for the law of Moses, to have it read to them, they did not pray Ezra to get it anew dictated unto him, but that he should bring forth the book of the law of Moses, which the Lord had commanded to Israel: which plainly shows that the book was then well known to have been extant, and not to need such a miraculous expedient as that of a divine revelation, for its restoration; and it would with many very much shock the faith of the whole, should it be held that it owed its present being to such a revival, it being obvious for sceptical persons in this case to object, that he who should be said thus to revive it, then forged the whole. All that Ezra did in this matter was to get together as many

copies of the sacred writings as he could, and out of them all set forth a correct edition, in the performance of which he took care of these following particulars:—

(1.) Correction of errors: origin of the Keri Cetib or various readings. — He corrected all the errors that had crept into these copies through the negligence or mistakes of transcribers. For by comparing them one with the other, he found out the true reading, and set all at

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rights. Whether the *Keri Cetib*, that are in our present Hebrew Bibles, were of these corrections, I durst not say; the generality of the Jewish writers tell us that they were; and others among them hold them much ancienter, referring them, with absurdity enough, even as high up as the very times of the first writers of the books in which they are found, as if they themselves had designedly made these various readings for the sake of some mysteries comprised under them. It is most probable that they had their original from the mistakes of the transcribers after the time of Ezra, and the observations and corrections of the Masorites made thereon. If any of them were of those ancient various readings which had been observed by Ezra himself in the comparing of those copies he collated on this occasion, and were by him annexed in the margin as corrections of those errors which he found in the text, it is certain those could not be of that number which are now in those sacred books that were written by himself, or taken into the canon after his time; for there are *Keri Cetibs* in them, as well as in the other books of the Hebrew Scriptures.

(2.) Arrangement of the books and settlement of the canon of Scripture. — He collected together all the books of which the Holy Scripture did then consist, and disposed them in their proper order, and settled the canon of Scripture for his time. These books he divided into three parts; 1st, the Law; 2ndly, the Prophets; and 3rdly, the Cetubim or Hagiographa, i. e. the holy writings; which division our Saviour himself takes notice of, Luke xxiv. 44, where he saith, "These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled, which are written in the law, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms,

concerning me." For there by the Psalms he means the whole third part, called the Hagiographa. For that part beginning with the Psalms, the whole was for that reason then commonly called by that name, as usually with the Jews the particular books are named from the words with which they begin. Thus, with them, Genesis is called Bereshith, Exodus Shemoth, Leviticus Vajikra, &c., because they begin with these Hebrew words. And Josephus makes mention of this same division. For he saith, in his first book against Apion, "We have only two-and-twenty books which are to be believed as of divine authority, of which five are the books of Moses. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes, king of Persia, the prophets, who were the successors of Moses, have written in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the use of men." In which division, according to him, the law contains, 1. Genesis, 2. Exodus, 3. Leviticus, 4. Numbers, 5. Deuteronomy; the writings of the prophets, 1. Joshua, 2. Judges, with Ruth, 3. Samuel, 4. Kings, 5. Isaiah, 6. Jeremiah, with his Lamentations, 7. Ezekiel, 8. Daniel, 9. the twelve minor prophets, 10. Job, 11. Ezra, 12. Nehemiah, 13. Esther; and the Hagiographa,

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1. the Psalms, 2. the Proverbs, 3. Ecclesiastes, 4. the Song of Solomon; which all together make twenty-two books. This division was made for the sake of reducing the books to the number of their alphabet, in which are twenty-two letters. But at present they reckon these books to be twenty-four, and dispose of them in this order: first, the law, which contains, 1. Genesis, 2. Exodus, 3. Leviticus, 4. Numbers, 5. Deuteronomy: secondly, the writings of the prophets, which they divide into the former prophets and the latter prophets; the books of the former prophets are, 6. Joshua, 7. Judges, 8. Samuel, 9. Kings; and the books of the latter prophets are, 10. Isaiah, 11. Jeremiah, 12. Ezekiel, and 13. the twelve minor prophets: thirdly, the Hagiographa, which are, 14. the Psalms, 15. the Proverbs, 16. Job, 17. the Song of Solomon, which they call the Song of Songs, 18. Ruth, 19. the Lamentations, 20. Ecclesiastes, 21. Esther, 22. Daniel, 23. Ezra, and 24. the Chronicles. Under the name of Ezra they comprehend the book of

Nehemiah; for the Hebrews, and also the Greeks, anciently reckoned Ezra and Nehemiah but as one book. But this order hath not been always observed among the Jews, neither is it so now in all places; for there hath been great variety as to this, and that not only among the Jews, but also among the Christians, as well Greeks as Latins. But no variation herein is of any moment; for in what order soever the books are placed, they are still the word of God, and no change as to this can make any change in that divine authority which is stamped upon them. But all these books were not received into the canon of the Holy Scriptures in Ezra's time. For Malachi, it is supposed, lived after him; and in Nehemiah mention is made of Jaddua as high priest, and of Darius Codomannus as king of Persia, who were at least a hundred years after this time; and in the third chapter of the First Book of Chronicles, the genealogy of the sons of Zerubbabel is carried down for so many generations as must necessarily make it reach to the time of Alexander the Great; and therefore this book could not be put into the canon till after his time. It is most likely that the two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, as well as Malachi, were afterwards added in the time of Simon the Just, and that it was not till then that the Jewish canon of the Holy Scriptures was fully completed. And, indeed, these last books seem very much to want the exactness and skill of Ezra in their publication, they falling far short of the correctness which is in the other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Division of the Law and the Prophets into fifty-four sections each.— The five books of the law are divided into fifty-four sections. This division many of the Jews hold to be one of the constitutions of Moses from Mount Sinai. But others, with more likelihood of truth, attribute it to Ezra. It was made for the use of their synagogues, and the better instructing of the people there in the law of God; for every sabbath-day one of these sections was read in their synagogues. And

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this, we are assured in the Acts of the Apostles, was done amongst them "of old time," which may well be interpreted from the time of Ezra. They ended the last section with the last words of Deuteronomy on the sabbath of the feast of tabernacles, and then began anew with the first section from the

beginning of Genesis the next sabbath after, and so went round in this circle every year. The number of these sections was fifty-four, because in their intercalated years (a month being then added) there were fifty-four sabbaths. On other years they reduced them to the number of the sabbaths which were in those years, by joining two short ones several times into one; for they held themselves obliged to have the whole law thus read over in their synagogues every year. Till the time of the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, they read only the law. But then being forbid to read it any more, in the room of the fifty-four sections of the law, they substituted fifty-four sections out of the prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. So that when the reading of the law was again restored by the Maccabees, the section which was read every sabbath out of the law served for their first lesson, and the section out of the prophets for their second lesson; and so it was practised in the time of the apostles. And therefore, when Paul entered into the synagogue at Antiochia in Pisidia, it is said, that "he stood up to preach after the reading of the law and the prophets;" that is, after the reading of the first lesson out of the law, and the second lesson out of the prophets. And in that very sermon which he then preached, he tells them, "that the prophets were read at Jerusalem every sabbath day," that is, in those lessons which were taken out of the prophets.

Division of the sections into verses, called Pesukim.—These sections were divided into verses, which the Jews call Pesukim. They are marked out in the Hebrew Bibles by two great points at the end of them, called from hence Soph-Pasuk, i. e. the end of the verse. If Ezra himself was not the author of this division (as most say), it was not long after him that it was introduced; for certainly it is very ancient. It is most likely it was invented for the sake of the Targumists, or Chaldee interpreters. For after the Hebrew language had ceased to be the mother-tongue of the Jews, and the Chaldee grew up into use among them instead of it (as was their case after their return from the Babylonish captivity), their usage was, that in the public reading of the law to the people, it was read to them first in the original Hebrew, and after that rendered by an interpreter into the Chaldee language, that so all might fully understand the same. And this was done period by period. And therefore, that these periods might be the better distinguished, and the reader more certainly know how much to read at every interval, and

the interpreter how much to interpret at every interval, there was a necessity that some marks should be invented

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for their direction herein. The rule given in their ancient books is, that in the law the reader was to read one verse, and then the interpreter was to render the same into the Chaldee; but that in the prophets the reader was to read three verses together, and then the interpreter to render the same three verses into Chaldee in the same manner: which manifestly proves that the division of the Scriptures into verses must be as ancient as the way of interpreting them into the Chaldee language in their synagogues; which was from the very time that synagogues were erected, and the Scriptures publicly read in them after the Babylonish captivity. This was at first done only in the law (for till the time of the Maccabees the law only was read in their synagogues), but afterwards, in imitation hereof, the same was also done in the prophets and the Hagiographa, especially after that the prophets began also to be publicly read among them, as well as the law; and from hence the division of the Holy Scriptures into verses, it is most likely, was first made, but without any numerical figures annexed to them.

Division of the verses distinguished by the Soph-Pasuk.—The manner whereby they are now distinguished in their common Hebrew Bibles is by the two great points, called Soph-Pasuk, above mentioned. But whether this was the ancient way is by some made a question. The objection raised against it is this: if the distinction of verses was introduced for the sake of the Chaldee interpreters in their synagogues, and must therefore be held as ancient as that way of interpreting the Scriptures in them, it must then have place in their sacred synagogical books; for none other were used either by the readers or their interpreters in their public assemblies. But it hath been anciently held as a rule among them, that any points or accents written into these sacred books pollute and profane them; and therefore no copy, either of the law or the prophets, now used in their synagogues, hath any points or accents written in it. To this I answer, whatever may be the practice of the modern Jews, this is no rule to let us know what was the ancient practice among them, since in many particulars they have varied from the ancient

usages, as they now do from each other, according to the different parts of the world in which they dwell. The division of the law and the prophets into verses among the Jews is certainly very ancient. For mention is made of them in the Mishnah; and that the reason of this division was for the direction of the readers and the Chaldee interpreters, is also there implied. And therefore, supposing such a division for this use, it must necessarily follow, that there must have been some marks to set it out, otherwise it could not have answered the end intended. Those that say these verses were distinguished by a set number of lines of which they consisted, seem not to have considered that a line often ends in an imperfect sense and in the middle of a sentence. And therefore a division into verses this way could not serve the end for which the Mishnah makes mention

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of them, that is, for the direction of the readers and Chaldee interpreters in their synagogues; for there could be no true reading or true interpreting, if the stop were made otherwise than at the end of a full sentence. And therefore, if the distinction of verses in their sacred synagogical books were anciently discernible only by lines, it could be no otherwise, according to the manner in which Maimonides says they were written, than by ending of the last line of the verse in a break. For that author out of the Talmud tells us, that the parchments on which they were written were to be of six hands' breadth, and of as many in length, and the writing of them to be in six columns, each column being of a hand's breadth; and that each line in these columns was to contain thirty of their letters. And therefore, if a break were made where the last line of the verse ended, and the next verse were begun with a new line, this would, I acknowledge, be sufficient to set out the distinction of these verses, and make them fully answer the end intended. But there are two exceptions against it. The first is, that such breaks could not always be made, because sometimes the verse might be run out to the end of the last line, and so leave no space at all for a break; and then there could no distinction at all be made this way between that verse and the next. And the second is, that those who hold this opinion, that the verses were to be reckoned by lines, allow only two of the lines above mentioned to a

verse: but there are many verses which cannot be written in fewer than five or six of those lines.

The verses previously distinguished in the Hebrew Bibles as the stichi afterwards were in the Greek Bibles.—It is most likely, that anciently the writing of those books was in long lines, from one side of the parchment to the other, and that the verses in them were distinguished in the same manner as the stichi afterwards were in the Greek Bibles. For the manner of their writing those stichi at first was, to allow a line to every stichus, and there to end the writing where they ended the stichus, leaving the rest of the line void in the same manner as a line is left at a break. But this losing too much of the parchment, and making the book too bulky, for the avoiding of both these inconveniences, the way afterwards was, to put a point at the end of every stichus, and so continue the writing, without leaving any part of the line void as before. And in the same manner, I conceive, the pesukim, or verses of the Hebrew Bibles, were anciently written. At first they allowed a line to every verse; and a line drawn from one side of the parchment to the other, of the length as above mentioned, was sufficient to contain any verse that is now in the Hebrew Bible. But many verses falling short of this length, they found the same inconveniences that the Greeks after did in the first way of their writing their stichi; and therefore came to the same remedy, that is, they did put the two points above mentioned (which they call Soph-Pasuk) at the place where the former verse ended, and continued the writing of the next verse in the same line, without leaving any void space at all therein. And so their manner hath continued ever since, excepting only that between their sections, as well the smaller as the greater, there is some void space left to make the distinction between them. And I am the more inclined to think

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this to be the truth of the matter, that is, that anciently the verses of the Hebrew Bible were so many lines therein, because among the ancients of other nations, about the same time, the lines in the writings of prose authors, as well as of poets, were termed verses: and hence it is that we are told, that Zoroastres's works contained two millions of verses, and

Aristotle's four hundred and forty-five thousand two hundred and seventy, though neither of them wrote anything but in prose; and so also we find the writings of Tully, of Origen, of Lactantius, and others, who were all prose writers, reckoned by the number of verses, which could be no other than so many lines. And why then might not the Bible verses anciently have been of the same nature also? I mean when written in long lines as aforesaid. But the long lines often occasioning, that in reading to the end of one verse they lost the beginning of the next, and so often did read wrong, either by skipping a line, or beginning the same again; for the avoiding of this, they came to the way of writing in columns and in short lines, as is above mentioned. But all this I mean of their sacred synagogical books. In their common Bibles they are not tied up to such rules, but write and print them so as they may best serve for their instruction and convenience in common use. If the Jews at present in their synagogical books leave out the two points Soph-Pasuk at the end of the verses, it proceeds from their wresting the rule above mentioned, against putting points or accents into their sacred books, to a too rigorous meaning; for by those points therein mentioned, seem to be understood no other points than the vowel points, and such others as affect the text in the reading. But these two points at the end of every verse only terminate the period, without affecting at all either the words or the letters. But it is no new thing for the Jews, out of an over-superstitious interpretation of their traditions, to make innovations in their ancient usages, especially while they had their schools and universities in Mesopotamia, and there held their synedrial and consistorial assemblies of their rabbies, in which they hammered their law, and also their ancient traditions, by a vast number of new constitutions and new determinations, into what form they pleased.

Present division into chapters, of much later date.—But the division of the Holy Scriptures into chapters, as we now have them, is of a much later date. The Psalms, indeed, were always divided as at present: for St. Paul, in his sermon at Antioch in Pisidia, quotes the second Psalm. But as to the rest of the Holy Scriptures, the division of them into such chapters as at present is what the ancients knew nothing of. Some attribute it to Stephen

Langton, who was archbishop of Canterbury in the reigns of king John and king Henry III. his son. But the true author of this invention was Hugo de Sancto Caro, who being from a Dominican monk advanced to the dignity of a cardinal, and the first of that order that was so, is commonly called Hugo Cardinalis. The whole occasion and history of this matter, and the progress of it to the state it is now in, is as followeth:

Latin Bible first divided into chapters by Cardinal Hugo, with such divisions marked by letters.—This cardinal Hugo, who flourished about the year 1240, and died in the year 1262, had laboured much in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and made a comment on the whole of them. The carrying on of this work administered to him the occasion of inventing the first concordance that was made of the Holy Scriptures, that is, that of the vulgar Latin Bible. For conceiving that such an index of all the words and phrases in the Holy Scriptures would be of great use for the attaining of a better understanding of them, he projected a scheme for the making of it; and forthwith set a great number of the monks of his order on the collecting of the words under their proper classes, in every letter of the alphabet, in order to this design, and by the help of so many hands, he soon brought it to what he intended. This work was afterwards much improved by those who followed him, especially by Arlottus Thuscus and Conradus Halberstadius, the former a Franciscan, and the other a Dominican friar, who both lived about the end of the same century. But the whole end and aim of the work being for the easier finding of any word or passage in the Holy Scriptures, to make it answer this purpose, the cardinal found it necessary, in the first place, to divide the books into sections, and the sections into under-divisions, that by these he might the better make the references, and the more exactly point out, in the index, where every word or passage might be found in the text. For till then every book of the Holy Scriptures, in the vulgar Latin Bibles, was without any division at all; and therefore, had the index referred only to the book, the whole book perchance must have been read over, ere that could be found which was sought for; but by referring to it by this division and subdivision, it was immediately had at first sight. And these sections are the chapters which the Bible hath ever since been divided into. For on the publishing of this concordance, the usefulness of it being immediately discerned, all coveted to have it; and

for the sake of the use of it, all divided their Bibles in the same manner as Hugo had done. For the references in the concordance being made by these chapters and the subdivisions of them, unless their Bibles were so divided too, the concordance would be of no use to them. And thus this division of the several books of the Bible into chapters had its original, which hath ever since been made use of in all places and among all people, wherever the Bible itself is used in these western parts of the world. But the subdivision of the chapters was not then by verses as now. Hugo's way of subdividing them was by the letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. placed in the margin at an equal distance from each other, according as the chapters were longer or shorter. In long chapters all these seven letters were used; in others fewer, according as the length which the chapters were of did require. For the subdivision of chapters by verses, which is now in all our Bibles, was not introduced into them till some ages after, and then it was from the Jews that the use hereof, as now among us, first had its original on this occasion.

Application of Hugo's division into chapters to the Hebrew Bible by Rabbi Nathan, with Hebrew numerical letters at every fifth verse.— About A. D. 1430 there lived here among the western Jews a famous rabbi called by some Rabbi Mordecai Nathan, by others Rabbi Isaac Nathan, and by many by both these names, as if he were first called by one of them, and then by a change of it by the other. This rabbi being much conversant with the Christians, and having frequent disputes with their learned men about religion, he thereby came to the knowledge of the great use which they made of the Latin concordance composed by cardinal Hugo, and the benefit which they had thereby, in the ready finding of any place in the Scriptures that they had occasion to consult; which he was so much taken with, that he immediately set about the making of such a concordance to the Hebrew Bible for the use of the Jews. He began this work in the year of our Lord 1438, and finished it in the year 1445; so that he was just seven years in the composing of it. And the first publishing of it happening about the time that printing was first invented, it hath since that time undergone several editions from the press. That which was printed at Basil by Buxtorf the son,

A. D. 1632, is the best of them. For Buxtorf the father had taken great pains about it, to make it more correct and complete; and Buxtorf the son added also his labours to those of his father, for the perfecting of it, and published it with both their improvements in the year I have mentioned; and by reason of the advantages it hath received herefrom, it deservedly hath the reputation of being the perfectest and best book of its kind that is extant, and indeed is so useful for the understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures, that no one who employs his studies this way can well be without it, it being the best dictionary as well as the best concordance to them. In the composing of this book, Rabbi Nathan finding it necessary

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to follow the same division of the Scriptures into chapters, which Hugo had made in them, it had the like effect as to the Hebrew Bibles that Hugo's had as to the Latin, that is, it caused the same division to be made in all the Hebrew Bibles, which were afterwards either written out or printed for common use. For this concordance being found of excellent use among those for whom it was made, they were forced to comply with this division for the sake of having the benefit of it. For the references in Nathan's concordance being everywhere by chapters according to Hugo's division, they could no otherwise have the benefit of finding in their Bibles the places referred to, than by dividing them into the same chapters also. And from thence the division of the Scriptural books into chapters first came into the Hebrew Bibles. But Nathan, though he followed Hugo in the division of the Scriptural books into chapters, yet did not so in the division of the chapters by the letters A. B. C., &c. in the margin, but refined upon him in this matter, by introducing a better usage, that is, by using the division which was made by verses. This division I have shown was very ancient, but it was till now without any numbers put to the verses. This was first done by Rabbi Nathan for the sake of his concordance: for therein all his references being by the chapters and verses, as there was a necessity that those who used this concordance should have their Bibles thus divided into chapters and verses also, so was it, that both should be numbered in them. For it was by the numbers of the chapters and verses that they were to find the places sought for, in the same manner as is now practised in our English

concordances; as in Newman's, which is by much the best and perfectest of all that are extant. The numbering therefore of the verses in the chapters, and the quoting of the passages in every chapter by the verses, instead of doing it by letters at an equal distance in the margin, was Nathan's invention; in all things else he followed the pattern which Hugo had set him. But it is to be observed, that he did not number the verses any otherwise than by affixing the numerical letters in the margin at every fifth verse.

Indian figures first affixed to each verse.—And this hath been the usage of the Jews in all their Hebrew Bibles ever since, till of late Athias, a Jew of Amsterdam, in his two fair and correct editions of the Hebrew Bible printed by him in that city, the first in the year 1661, and the other in the year 1667, hath varied herefrom in two particulars. For, 1st, he hath introduced into these editions the use of the Indian figures; and, 2ndly, hath placed them at every verse, where the numerical Hebrew letters are not; so that continuing the numerical Hebrew letters as formerly, at every fifth verse, he hath put the Indian figures at all the rest. Before this we were to number from every fifth verse, to find any immediate verse between that and the next fifth. Whether the Jews will follow this new way in their future editions I know not; but this I know, that this second edition of Athias's Hebrew Bible is the most correct, as well as the most convenient and best fitted for use, of any that have been as yet set forth. After Rabbi Nathan had brought in this use of numbering the verses, and quoting by them what was in every chapter, this soon appeared to be a much better way than the quoting of what is in them by the letters

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A. B. C. &c. set in the margin. And therefore Vatablus having, from this pattern, published a Latin Bible, with the chapters so divided into verses, and the verses so numbered, this example hath been followed in all other editions that have been since set forth. And all that have published concordances, as well as all other writers, have ever since that time quoted the Scriptures by the number of chapters and verses according to this division. So that as the Jews borrowed the division of the books of the Holy

Scriptures into chapters from the Christians, in like manner the Christians borrowed that of the chapters into verses from the Jews. And thus they have helped each other to make the present editions of the Bible much more convenient for common use than otherwise they would have been.

New Testament similarly divided into chapters and verses by Stephanus.—And Robert Stephanus, taking a hint from hence, made a like division of the chapters of the New Testament into verses also, and for the same reason as Rabbi Nathan had done so before him as to the Old Testament, that is, for the sake of a concordance which he was then composing for the Greek Testament, and which was afterwards printed by Henry Stephanus his son, who gives this account hereof in his preface to that concordance. Since that, this division of the Holy Scriptures by chapters and verses, and the quoting of all passages in them by the numbers of both, hath grown into use everywhere among us in these western parts: so that not only all Latin Bibles, but all Greek Bibles also, and all others that have been printed in any of the modern languages, have followed this division. And the usefulness of it from the first time it was introduced reconciled all men thereto. And thus that division of the Holy Scriptures into chapters and verses, which is now everywhere in use, had its original.

(3.) Insertion of interpolations for the purposes of illustration, connexion, or completion.—The third thing which Ezra did about the Holy Scriptures in his edition of them was, he added in several places throughout the books of this edition what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting, or completing of them; wherein he was assisted by the same Spirit by which they were at first wrote. Of this sort we may reckon the last chapter of Deuteronomy, which giving an account of the death and burial of Moses, and of the succession of Joshua after him, it could not be written by Moses himself, who undoubtedly was the penman of all the rest of that book. It seems most probable that it was added by Ezra at this time. And such also may we reckon the several interpolations which occur in many places of the Holy Scriptures. For that there are such interpolations is undeniable, there being many passages through the whole sacred writ, which create difficulties that can never be solved without the allowing of them. As for instance, Gen. xii. 6, it is remarked, on Abraham's coming into the land of Canaan, that the Canaanites "were then in the land;" which is not

likely to have been said till after the time of Moses, when the Canaanites being extirpated by Joshua were then no more in the land.

And Gen. xxii. 14, we read, "As it is said to this day, In the mount of the Lord it shall be seen." But Mount Moriah (which is the mount there spoken of) was not called the mount of the Lord till the temple was built on it, many hundred years after. And this being here spoken of it as a proverbial saying, that obtained among the Israelites in after-ages, the whole style of the text doth manifestly point at a time after Moses, when they were in possession of the land in which this mountain stood. And therefore both these particulars prove the words cited to have been an interpolation. Gen. xxxvi. 31, it is written, "And these are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the land of Israel." Which could not have been said till after there had been a king in Israel; and therefore they cannot be Moses's words, but must have been interpolated afterwards. Exod. xvi. 35, the words of the text are, "And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, till they came to a land inhabited. They did eat manna, till they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan." But Moses was dead before the manna ceased; and therefore these cannot be his words, but must have been inserted afterwards. Deut. ii. 12, it is said, "The Horims also dwelt in Seir beforetime, but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them before them, and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them. Which could not have been written by Moses, Israel having not till after his death entered into the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them. Deut. iii. 11, it is said, "Only Og, king of Bashan, remained of the remnant of giants; behold, his bedstead was a bedstead of iron. Is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon?" The whole style and strain of which text, especially that of the last clause of it, plainly speaks it to have been written a long while after that king was slain; and therefore it could not be written by Moses, who died within five months after. In the same chapter, ver. 14, it is said, "Jair, the son of Manasseh, took all the country of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maacathi, and called them after his own name, Bashan-Havoth-Jair, unto this day." Where the phrase, "unto this day,"

speaks a much greater distance of time after the fact related, than those few months in which Moses survived after that conquest; and therefore what is there written must have been inserted by some other hand than that of Moses, long after his death. And in the book of Proverbs (which was certainly king Solomon's), in the beginning of the twenty-fifth chapter it is written, "These are the Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." Which must certainly have been added many ages after Solomon; for Hezekiah was of the twelfth generation in descent from him. Many more instances of such interpolated passages might be given. For throughout the whole Scriptures they have been frequently cast in by way of parenthesis, where they have appeared necessary for the explaining, connecting, or illustrating the text, or the supplying what was wanting in it. But those already mentioned are sufficient to prove the thing. Of which interpolations undoubtedly Ezra was the author, in all the books which passed his examination, and Simon the Just in all the rest which were added afterwards; for they all seem to refer to those later times. But these additions do not detract anything from the divine authority of the whole, because they were all

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inserted by the direction of the same Holy Spirit which dictated all the rest. This, as to Ezra, is without dispute, he being himself one of the divine penmen of the Holy Scriptures; for he was most certainly the writer of that book in the Old Testament which bears his name, and is upon good grounds supposed to be the author of two more, that is, of the two books of Chronicles, as perchance also he was of the book of Esther. And if the books written by him be of divine authority, why may not everything else be so which he hath added to any of the rest, since there is all reason for us to suppose that he was as much directed by the Holy Spirit of God in the one as he was in the other? The great importance of the work proves the thing: for as it was necessary for the church of God that this work should be done; so also was it necessary for the work, that the person called thereto should be thus assisted in the completing of it.

(4.) Ancient names of places changed to modern ones. —Ezra changed the old names of several places that were grown obsolete, putting instead of them the new names by which they were at that time called, that the people might the better understand what was written. Thus, Gen. xiv. 14, Abraham is said to have pursued the kings, who carried Lot away captive, as far as Dan; whereas the name of that place was Laish, till the Danites, long after the death of Moses, possessed themselves of it, and called it Dan, after the name of Dan their father: and therefore it could not be called Dan in the original copy of Moses, but that name must have been put in afterwards, instead of that of Laish, on this review. And so in several places in Genesis, and also in Numbers, we find mention made of Hebron, whereas the name of that city was Kiriath Arba, till Caleb, having obtained the possession of it after the division of the land, called it Hebron, after the name of Hebron, one of his sons; and therefore that name could not be in the text, till placed there long after the time of Moses, by way of exchange for that of Kiriath Arba; which it is not to be doubted was done at the time of this review. And many other like examples of this may be given, whereby it appears, that the study of those who governed the church of God in those times was to render the Scripture as plain and intelligible to the people as they could, and not to hide or conceal any of it from them.

(5.) The old Hebrew character changed for the Chaldee. —Ezra wrote out the whole in the Chaldee character. For that having now grown wholly into use among the people after the Babylonish captivity, he changed the whole Hebrew character for it, which hath since that time been retained only by the Samaritans, among whom it is preserved even to this day. This was the old Phoenician character, from which the Greeks borrowed theirs. And the old Ionian alphabet bears some similitude to it, as Scaliger shows in his notes upon Eusebius's Chronicon. In this Moses and the prophets recorded the sacred oracles of God, and in this the finger of God himself wrote the ten commandments on the two tables of stone. There are some, I acknowledge, who strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present Hebrew letters, as if they, and none other, had always been the sacred character in which the Holy Scriptures were written; and that the Samaritan

was never in use for this purpose but only among the Samaritans, who in opposition (say they) to the Jews, on the rise of that enmity which was between them, wrote out the law of Moses (which is the only Scripture they receive) in this character different from them. Were we to judge of sacred things by their external beauty, we should concur with this opinion for the Chaldee character is one of the beautifullest, and the Samaritan the uncouthest and the most incapable of calligraphy, of all that have been used among the different nations of the world. But the opinion of most learned men, and upon good grounds, is on the other side; for there are many old Jewish shekels still in being, and others of the same sort are frequently dug up in Judæa, with this inscription on them in Samaritan letters, Jerusalem Kedoshah, i. e. Jerusalem the holy; which inscription shows, that they could not be the coin either of the Israelites of the ten tribes, or of the Samaritans who after succeeded them in their land; for neither of them would have put the name of Jerusalem upon their coin, or ever have called it the Holy City. These pieces therefore must have been the coin of those of the two tribes before the captivity; and this proves the Samaritan character to be that which was then in use among them. And it cannot be said that these shekels are counterfeited by modern hands; for Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman tells us of several which he met with in his time, that had this inscription upon them in Samaritan letters, who lived above five hundred years since. And therefore it must follow, that the present Hebrew character was introduced among the Jews after the Babylonish captivity; and the general testimony of the ancients is, that it was Ezra that did first put the Holy Scriptures into it, on the review which he made of them on his coming to Jerusalem. Eusebius in his Chronicon tells us so, and St. Jerome doth the same; and so do also both the Talmuds; and the generality of learned men, as well among the Jews as Christians, hold to this opinion. Capellus hath written a tract for it, and Buxtorf the son another against it. They who shall think fit to read them will see all that can be said on either side. But I think the argument which is brought from the shekels cannot be answered. But,

(6.) Question of whether Ezra added the vowel points to the Hebrew Bibles. —Whether Ezra, on this review, did add the vowel points which are now in the Hebrew Bibles is a harder question to be decided. It went

without contradiction in the affirmative till Elias Levita, a German Jew, wrote against it, about the beginning of the reformation. Buxtorf the father endeavoured to refute his arguments. But Capellus, a Protestant divine of the French church, and professor of Hebrew in their university at Saumur, hath in a very elaborate discourse made a thorough reply to all that can be said on this head, and very strenuously asserted the contrary. Buxtorf the son, in vindication of his father's opinion, hath written an answer to it; but not with that satisfaction to the learned world, as to hinder the generality of them from going into the other opinion. I shall here first state the question, and then inquire on which side of it the truth lieth.

State of the question among Jews and Christians compared. —And first, as to the state of the question it is to be observed, that it is upon another foot among us Christians than it is among the Jews. For among them it is a principle agreed on of both sides, and which Elias Levita comes in unto as much as any of the rest, that the reading, as now fixed and settled by the vowel points in all the books of Holy Scripture, is the true, genuine, and authentic reading, as it came from the sacred penmen themselves of the said books, and consequently is as much of divine authority as the letters; only the latter were written, and the other delivered down only by oral tradition. The question therefore between them is only about the time when this reading was first marked and expressed in their Bibles by the present vowel points. This, Elias and his followers say, was not done till after the finishing of the Talmud, about five hundred years after Christ; but that till then the true reading, as to the vowels, was preserved only by oral tradition. But others of them hold (and this is the prevailing opinion among them), that the reading by oral tradition was only till the time of Ezra, and that ever since it hath been written down and expressed by the vowel points affixed to the letters, in the same manner as we now have them. So that the controversy among them is not about the truth and authority of the reading according to the present punctuation (for they all hold this to be the very same which was dictated with the word itself by the Holy Spirit of God from the beginning), but about the antiquity of the figures and points,

whereby it is marked and fixed in their present Bibles. But among us Christians, who have no regard to what the Jews tell us of their oral tradition, and their preserving of the true reading of the Scriptures by it, the question is about the authority of the reading itself; that is, whether the vowel points were affixed by Ezra, and therefore of the same divine authority with the rest of the text, or else invented since by the Jewish critics, called the Masorites; and whether therefore they may not, as being of human authority only, be altered and changed, where the analogy of grammar, the style of the language, or the nature of the context, or anything else, shall give reason for a better reading? And this being the state of the question, as it is now in debate among Christians, that side of it which I have here last mentioned is that which is now generally held for the truth, and these following arguments make strongly for it.

Arguments in favour of the vowel points being first added by the Masorites: (a.) Absence of the vowel points from the synagogical books. —The sacred books made use of among the Jews in their synagogues have ever been, and still are, without the vowel points, which could not have happened had they been placed there by Ezra, and consequently been of the same authority with the letters; for had they been so, they would certainly have been preserved in the synagogues with the same care as the rest of the text. There can scarce any other reason be given why they were not admitted thither, but that when the Holy Scriptures began first to be publicly read to the people in their synagogues, there were no such vowel points then in being; and that when they afterwards came in use, being known to be of a human invention, they were for that reason never thought fit to be added to those sacred copies, which were looked on as the true representatives

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of the original; and therefore they have been ever kept with the same care in the ark or sacred chest of the synagogue, as the original draught of the law of Moses anciently was in the ark or sacred chest of the tabernacle, which was prepared for it; and they are still so kept in the same manner among them, even to this day.

(b.) No reference to the vowel points in the Keri Cetib. —The ancient various readings of the sacred text called Keri Cetib are all about the letters, and none about the vowel points; which seems manifestly to prove that the vowel points were not anciently in being, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the text; for if they had, the variations of these would certainly have been taken notice of, as well as those of the letters.

(c.) No mysteries drawn from the vowel points by the Cabbalists. — The ancient Cabbalists draw none of their mysteries from the vowel points, but all from the letters, which is an argument, either that these vowel points were not in use in their time, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the sacred text; for had they then been so, these triflers would certainly have drawn mysteries from the one as well as from the other, as the latter Cabbalist have done.

(d.) Hebrew Bibles anciently read differently from the present points. —If we compare with the present pointed Hebrew Bibles the version of the Septuagint, the Chaldee paraphrases, the fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, or the Latin version of Jerome, we shall in several places find that they did read the text otherwise than according to the present punctuation, which is a certain argument that the pointed copies, if there were any such in their times, were not then held to be of any authority; for otherwise they would certainly have followed them.

(e.) No mention of the vowel points in ancient writings. —Neither the Mishnah nor the Gemara, either that of Jerusalem or that of Babylon, do make any mention of these vowel points, although in several places there are such special occasions and reasons for them so to have done, that it can scarce be thought possible they could have omitted it, if they had been in being when those books were written; or, if in being, had been looked on by the Jews of those times to be of any authority among them. Neither do we find the least hint of them in Philo-Judæus or Josephus, who are the oldest writers of the Jews, or in any of the ancient Christian writers for several hundred years after Christ. And although among them Origen and Jerome were well skilled in the Hebrew language, yet in none of their writings do they speak the least of them. Origen flourished in the third, and Jerome in the fifth century; and the latter having lived a long while in Judæa, and

there more especially applied himself to the study of the Hebrew learning, and much conversed with the Jewish rabbies for his improvement herein, it is not likely that he could have missed making some mention of them through all his voluminous works, if they had been either in being among the Jews in his time, or in any credit or authority with them, and that especially, since in his Commentaries there were so many necessary occasions for his taking notice of them. And it cannot be denied

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but that this is a very strong argument against them. Many more arguments are urged on this side of the question. But the chief strength of what is said for it lying in these I have mentioned, I shall not trouble the reader with the rest, and that especially since some of them will not hold water. For, to instance in one of them, great stress is laid on this to prove the vowel points to be of late date, that their names are thought to be of late date, they being of the Chaldee and not of the Hebrew dialect. But it is certain the Jews had the present names of their months from the Chaldeans, as well as the names of their vowels; and yet it is as certain, that notwithstanding this, the names of these months were in use in the time of Ezra, for they are named in Scripture, both in the book of Ezra, and also in that of Nehemiah, the former of which was written by him; and why then might not the names of these vowels have been in Ezra's time too, notwithstanding this objection? And this is all which those on the other side contend for. But the other arguments which I have above recited are of much greater weight. If any one would see all at large that hath been said on this head, Capellus's book, which I have already mentioned, will fully furnish him herewith.

Examination of the arguments in favour of the earlier use of the vowel points. —But there have not been wanting learned men of the contrary opinion; and much hath been written for it, especially by the two Buxtorfs, the father and the son. Their arguments, which carry the greatest weight with them, are these which follow:

(**a.) On the mention of vowel points in the books of Bahir and Zohar.** —The ancient books of Bahir and Zohar, which are said to have been

written, the one a little before and the other a little after the time of our Saviour, make express and frequent mention of the vowel points; which argument would be unanswerable against the later invention of them, could we be sure that these books are as ancient as the Jews say they are. But there are reasons sufficient to convince us that both of them are of a much later date. There are many particulars in the books themselves which manifestly prove them to be so; and for above a thousand years after the pretended times of their composure, they were never heard of among the Jews themselves, nor were they ever quoted or made mention of by any other writer during all that interval; which gives abundant reason to conclude, that till after these thousand years they never had any being; but that a false date of antiquity hath been fraudulently put to them, to recommend them to the world with the greater credit. The latter of them hath been printed several times, but the other is still in manuscript. They are both cabbalistical books; and the most they are remarkable for is the obscurity of their style, and the strange, mysterious, and unintelligible stuff contained in them.

(b.) On the supposed invention of the vowel points by the Masorites of Tiberias. —That whereas it is said, on the other side, that the Masorites of Tiberias invented the vowel points about five hundred years

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after Christ, this appears very unlikely. For the schools which the Jews had in Judæa were then wholly dissipated and suppressed, and no learned men there left of sufficient ability for such a performance; for at that time all their learned men were removed into the province of Babylon, where they had their universities of Sora, Naherda, and Pombeditha, and nothing of their learning was then left in Judea that can make it probable that such a work could be done, either at Tiberias or anywhere else in that land, in those times. And besides, were the thing ever so likely, there is no authority for it sufficient to support the assertion. Elias Levita indeed saith it, and Aben Ezra, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, is quoted for it; but higher up it cannot be traced. For there is nothing said in any ancienter writer either of their being invented by the Masorites at Tiberias, or anywhere else after the Talmud; and it is not likely, that if this had been

so late an invention, a matter so remarkable, and of such great moment, could have been wholly passed over in silence, without the least mention made of it by any of the Jewish writers. But to all this it is replied, that in historical matters it is not to be regarded what the Jews write or what they omit concerning them. That of all nations in the world, that have pretended to any sort of learning, they have taken the least care to record past transactions, and have done it very bunglingly, and in a manner that looks more like fable than truth, wherever they have pretended to it. And it is certain there were Jews eminent in their way of learning at Tiberias in St. Jerome's time; for he tells us he made use of them, and he died not till the year of our Lord 420, which was but eighty years before the time assigned; and it must be acknowledged that nothing of this can be gainsaid. And it is farther added by those who thus reply, that they do not positively pin down the invention of these vowel points either to the time or place which Elias Levita assigneth for it, but only say, that it must be after the time of the writings of Jerome, and after the time of the composure of the Talmud, because in neither of these any mention is made of them: and this will necessarily carry it down below the five hundredth year of our Lord; but whether it were then immediately done, or two or three hundred years afterward, or at Tiberias, or elsewhere, they will not take upon them certainly to affirm. That the vowel points were not affixed to the text by Ezra, that they are not of a divine, but only of a human original, and first introduced into use after the writing of the Talmud, is all that they positively assert concerning this matter; and that whatsoever is said beyond this is only guess and conjecture, which doth not at all affect the question, and therefore they will not contend about it.

(c.) On the supposed invention of the vowel points by the authors of the present Masorah. — If by the Masorites, who are said to have invented these vowel points, are meant the authors of the present Masorah, which is printed with the great Bibles of Venice and Basil, it is certain they cannot be the inventors of these points. For a great part of their criticisms is upon the vowel points, which must necessarily

prove them to have been long before fixed and settled; for none use to criticise upon their own works. To which it is replied, that there were Masorites from the time of Ezra and the men of the great synagogue, down to the time of Ben Asher and Ben Naphthali, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1030; that some of these invented the points some time after the making of the Talmud; and that after that, some of those who succeeded them, perchance two or three hundred years after, made these criticisms and remarks upon them. For the Masorah that is now printed in the Bibles above mentioned is a collection and abridgment of all the chief remarks and criticisms which those men did make upon the Hebrew text, from their first beginning to the time I have mentioned. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more at large by and by.

(d.) On the impossibility of teaching Hebrew after the Babylonish captivity without the vowel points. —That when the Hebrew language ceased to be the mother tongue of the Jews (as it is agreed on all hands that it did after the Babylonish captivity), it was scarce possible to teach that language without these vowel points; and this is the best and strongest argument that is urged on this side for their having been always in use from that time.

(e.) On the weakening of the authority of the Scriptures by the weakening of the authority of the vowel points. —That if it be allowed that the present vowel points are not of the same authority with the letters, but are only of a late and human invention, it will weaken the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and leave the sacred text to an arbitrary and uncertain reading and interpretation, which will give too much to the Papists, whose main design is to destroy the authority and certainty of the Holy Scriptures, that thereby they may make room for the traditions of their church, and the decisions of the infallible guide which they pretend to have therein. And to avoid this ill consequence is indeed the most prevailing cause that hath drawn into this opinion most of these learned Protestants that contend for it.

General settlement of the controversy. —But to answer both these last arguments, and settle the whole of this controversy, I shall lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the matter in these following positions:

I. The vowel points were never anciently regarded as an authentic part of Scripture. —That the vowel points having never been received by the Jews into their synagogues, this seems to be a certain evidence that they were never anciently looked on by them as an authentic part of the Holy Scripture of the Old Testament, but reckoned only as a human invention, added for the easier reading of the text, after the Hebrew ceased from being a vulgar language among them. And the Jews having been till the time of Christ the true church of God, and his chosen people, to whom those Scriptures and sacred oracles of God were given and committed, through their hands the church of Christ hath received them, and their evidence is that which is to witness and determine unto us what part of them is authentic Scripture, and what is not.

II. The vowel points were invented by the Masorites shortly after the time of Ezra. —It is most likely that these vowel points were the invention of the Masorites a little after the time of Ezra. That they came into use a little after the time of Ezra seems to be proved by the need, that was then of them for the reading and teaching of the Hebrew text. And that they were invented by the Masorites seems most likely, because of the business and profession which these men employed themselves in.

Distinction between the Masorites, or teachers of the true readings, and the Cabbalists, or teachers of the true interpretations. —These Masorites were a set of men whose profession it was to write out copies of the Hebrew Scriptures, and to criticise upon them, and also to preserve and teach the true readings of them; and what they observed and taught in order hereto is by the Jews called the Masorah. But this tradition reached no further than the readings of the Hebrew Scriptures. For as the Jews held a tradition of the true interpretations of the Holy Scriptures (which I have already spoken of), so also did they hold another of the true readings of them, as in the original Hebrew language. And this last they will have, as to the law, to be a constitution of Moses from Mount Sinai, as well as the former. For their doctrine is, that when God gave unto Moses the law in Mount Sinai, he taught him first the true readings of it, and secondly, the true interpretations of it; and that both these were handed down, from

generation to generation, by oral tradition only, till at length the readings were written by the accents and vowels, in like manner as the interpretations were by the Mishnah and Gemara. The former they call Masorah, which signifieth tradition, and the other they call Cabbala, which signifieth reception; but both of them denote the same thing, that is, a knowledge delivered down from generation to generation; in the doing of which, there being tradition on the one hand, and reception on the other, that which relates to the readings of the Hebrew Scriptures hath its name from the former, and that which relates to the interpretations of them from the latter. And what they say of this, as to the law, they say also of it as to the prophets and the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures; that is, that the true readings of them, as well as the true interpretations of them, were delivered down by oral tradition from those who were the first penmen of them, to whom they say God revealed both at the same time, when he revealed to them the word itself. As those who studied and taught the Cabbala were called the Cabbalists, so those who studied and taught the Masorah were called the Masorites. For although the word Cabbala be now restrained to signify the mystical interpretations of the Scriptures only, and in the common usage of speech now among the Jews they alone are called Cabbalists who give themselves up to these dotages; yet in the true and genuine meaning of the word, the Cabbala extends to all manner of traditions which are of the interpretative part of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Cabbalists is the general name of all those who professed the study and knowledge of them; and they were all those whom, under the names of Tannaim, Amoraim, Seburaim, &c., I have already made mention of. And as these Cabbalists first began a little after the time of Ezra, so

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also did the Masorites; and their whole business and profession being to study the true readings of the Hebrew text, and to preserve and teach the same, they are justly held the most likely to have invented the vowel points, because the whole use of those points is to serve to this purpose.

The Hebrew a dead language after the time of Ezra, and could be no longer learnt without vowel points. —This use of the vowel points being

absolutely necessary from the time that the Hebrew language ceased to be vulgarly spoken (as it certainly did in the time of Ezra), we have sufficient reason from hence to conclude, that soon after that time the use of them must have been introduced. For from this time the Hebrew language being only to be acquired by study and instruction, and that being necessary to be first acquired, before the sacred text could be read, which was written therein; as there was need of such a profession of men to take care hereof, that is, to teach and bring up others to know the language, and also to read the Scriptures as written in it; so was there as much need of these vowels points to help them herein, it being hard to conceive how they could do either without them, or some other such marks that might serve them for the same purpose. What the Jews tell us of preserving the true readings only by tradition and memory is too absurd to be swallowed by any one; for had there been nothing else but tradition and memory in this case to help them, the load would have been too great to have been carried by any one's memory, but all must necessarily have dropped in the way and been lost. But the truth is, there is no need of depending only on memory in this case; for to those who thoroughly know the language, the letters alone, with the context, are sufficient to determine the reading, as now they are in all other Hebrew books; for, excepting the Bible, few other books in that language are pointed. All their rabbinical authors, of which there are a great number, are all unpointed; and yet all that understand the language can read them without points as well as if they had them, yea, and much better too, and not miss the true reading. But the difficulty is as to those who do not understand the language; for how they could be ever taught to read it without vowels, after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, is scarce possible to conceive. When all learnt it from their cradles, it was no hard matter for those who thus understood the language to learn to read it by the letters only, without the vowels. But when the Hebrew became a dead language, the case was altered; for then instead of understanding it first in order to read it, they were first to read it in order to understand it; and therefore, having not the previous knowledge of the language to direct them herein, they must necessarily have had some other helps whereby to know with what vowel every syllable was to be pronounced; and to give them this help the vowel points seem certainly to have been invented and therefore the time of this invention cannot be placed later than the time when they became necessary,

that is, when the Hebrew became a dead language, though perchance it was not perfected and brought to that order in which now it is till some ages after.

Refutation of the opinion that Aleph, He, Vau, and Yod originally served for vowel points. —It is acknowledged on all hands, that the reading of the Hebrew language could never have been learned, after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, without the help of vowels: but they who will not allow the points to have been so ancient tell us, that the letters Aleph, He, Vau, Yod, which they call matres lectionis, then served for vowels. But there are a great number of words in the Hebrew way of writing, both in the Bible and in all other books of that language, in which none of these letters are to be found, and scarce any in which some of the syllables are not without them; and how then can these supply the place of vowels, and everywhere help the reading instead of them, since everywhere they are not to be found? Besides there are none of these letters which have not, according as they are placed in different words, the different sounds of every one of the vowels some time or other annexed to them; and how then can they determine the pronunciation of any one of them? As for example, the letter Aleph hath not always the pronunciation of the vowel a, but sometimes of e, sometimes of i, sometimes of o, and sometimes of u, according as it is found in different words; and the same is to be said of all the rest. And further, all the other Oriental languages have in their alphabets these same letters, which they call matres lectionis, as well as the Hebrew, as, for example, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Turkish, the Persian, the Malayan, &c., and yet they have their vowels too to help the reading: neither can we find that they were ever without them: though such as are well versed in any of these languages read them readily without vowels; and all the books, epistles, orders, and public instruments that are in them are generally so written. And why then should we think the Hebrew had not such vowels also, especially when, after that language had ceased to be vulgarly spoken, there was such necessity for them?

Unpointed Hebrew more impracticable to the tyro than abbreviated Latin. —The unpointed words in Hebrew are the same with abbreviations

in Latin; and if it be impracticable for any novice to learn the Latin language by books, wherein all the words are so abbreviated, that only two or three letters of them stand for the whole, we may justly infer, that it is as impracticable for any who is a stranger to the Hebrew ever to learn it by books, wherein all the words are unpointed; yea, and much more so: for the abbreviations in Latin are certain, such an abbreviation being always put for such a word, and for none other; but it is otherwise in the abbreviations of the unpointed Hebrew; for in them all the vowels being left out, the remaining letters, which are to stand for the whole, may, as pronounced with different vowels, be different words: as for example, there are two conjugations in Hebrew, one called Pihel, and the other Puhal; the former is an active, and the other a passive, and both are written throughout all their moods and tense (except the infinitive) with the same letters, and they as differently pointed may be either the one or the other; and although, in the reading, the context may determine the active from the passive, yet if we do not, by pointed books, first learn what vowels properly belong to the one, and what to the other, how can we know with which to read or pronounce either of them in the unpointed

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books? And abundance of other such instances may be given in the Hebrew language, wherein the same letters, as differently pointed, make different words, and of different significations; and how then can a learner know what different vowels, and what different pronunciations, belong to these different words, if he be not first taught it by the points, or some other such marks of the same signification?

On the absence of vowel points in the Samaritan. —All that can be said against this is, that the Samaritan hath no such vowels; but although it be now grown to be a dead language, as well as the Hebrew, it is taught and learned without them. To this I answer, that it is true that all the books which we have as yet brought us into these western parts, in the Samaritan character, are written only with the letters, and without any such marks as the Hebrew Bibles now have to denote the vowels, or any other instead of them. But this doth not prove that they have no such vowels in use among

them: multitudes of books are brought us out of the East, in Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, all written with the letters only, without any vowel marks. But this doth not prove that they have none; for it is certain that they all have them and use them, where there is need of them and therefore it is no evidence but that the Samaritan may have them also, though all the books which we have hitherto seen in it are without them. The sect of the Samaritans are those only who use this character and language (if we may call it a language, for it is no more than the Hebrew in another character); and they are now dwindled into a very small number, and those dispersed abroad into several parts of the East. And what their practice may be as to the use of vowel figures in their other writings (though none that have as yet come to our hands have any such), we have no account of either pro or con, and therefore we can argue nothing from it. Only we say, that as to this, as well as the Hebrew, and all other such languages, in which books are ordinarily written with the letters only, it seems almost impracticable for any one to learn to read those books, after the languages are become dead languages, without some marks put to the letters to denote the vowels with which they are to be pronounced. Without a previous knowledge of the language, it is impossible to be done; and therefore the only way to make it possible is to learn the language first by rote; and when a perfect knowledge hath been gotten of it this way, then only can it be practicable to learn to read that language by the letters only, without any vowel marks. But this is such a great way about, such a tedious and operose method of learning it, that we must look on those to be a very dull and stupid sort of people, who, being in this case, could find out no other way to help themselves in it; and that especially in the Jews' case, since their neighbours on each side of them (I mean the Syrians and Arabians) had vowel figures, and they might easily from them have either taken the same, or learned to have framed others like them.

Necessity of vowel points to learners of dead languages proved by the adoption of marks and accents in Greek and Latin.—Though the Greeks in their language have the vowels intermixed with the letters, yet it no sooner became a dead language (I mean the learned Greek, from which the modern doth as much differ as the Chaldee from the Hebrew), but they found out accents spirits, and several other marks to help those

who were to learn it, which were never in use among them before. And also there are in the Latin several such marks; as for example, a mark over the a and e at the end of adverbs, to distinguish them from nouns ending in those vowels, and the mark over the a ablative, to distinguish it from the a nominative, &c., none of which marks were ever used while the Latin language was vulgarly spoken, but were invented for the help of those who were to learn it afterwards. And is it possible that the Jews only were so stupid and dull, that they alone should find out no such helps, after their language became a dead language, for the easier learning and reading of it: but, on the contrary, should have continued so many hundred years after, not only without any marks for accents, pauses, or stops, but also without any figures, so much as to denote the vowels with which their letters were to be pronounced? The necessity which was in this case for such vowel figures evidently proves that they must have had them; and that as soon as they needed them, which was as soon as their language became a dead language, and was thenceforth to be learned by books (and not by common converse), as all other dead languages are. And therefore this happening about the time of Ezra (as hath been already shown), it must follow, that about that time, or a little after, the use of such vowel figures must have been introduced into the Hebrew language. Whether they were the same vowel points that are now used, or other such like signs to serve for the same purpose, is not material; and therefore I shall raise no inquiry about it. Only I cannot but say, that since necessity first introduced the use of them, it is most likely that no more were at first used than there was a necessity for; but that the augmenting of them beyond this to the number of fifteen proceeded only from the over-nicety of the after Masorites. Three served the Arabs, and five most other nations; and no doubt at first they exceeded not this number among the Jews.

The Masorites not only the inventors of the vowel points, but the probable authors of the divisions into sections and verses.—And it is most likely that the same profession of men, who thus invented the vowel points, were also the authors of all those other inventions which have been added to the Hebrew text for the easier reading and better understanding of

it. The dividing of the law into sections, and the sections into verses, seems to have been one of the first of their works. Originally every book of the Hebrew Bible was written as in one verse, without any distinction of sections, chapters, verses, or words. But when the public reading of the law was brought into use among the Jews, and some part of it read every sabbath in their synagogues, it became necessary to divide the whole into fifty-four sections, that it might thereby be known what part was to be read on each sabbath, and the whole gone over every year, as hath been afore observed. And when the disuse of the Hebrew language among them made it necessary that it should not only be read to them in the original Hebrew, but also interpreted in the Chaldee, which was then become their vulgar tongue, there was also a necessity of dividing the sections into verses, that they might be a direction both to the reader and the interpreter, where to make their stop at every alternative reading and interpreting, till they had, verse by verse, gone through the whole section.

And in imitation hereof, the like division was afterwards made in all the rest of the Holy Scriptures. And a like necessity about the same time introduced the use of the vowel points, after they were forced to teach the Hebrew language by book, on its ceasing to be any longer vulgarly spoken among the people.

Subsequent invention of accents and pauses. —And some time after, the accents and pauses were invented for the same purpose, that is, for the easier and more distinct reading of the text, for which they are necessary helps, as far as they supply the place of a comma, a colon, or a full stop (which Athnak, Revia, and Silluk do): but as for the musical use for which only the others were added to the Hebrew text, they are now wholly insignificant, it being long since absolutely forgot for what use they served.

III. Punctuation taught in the Masorite schools not adopted in the Rabbinical schools until after the compilation of the Talmud. —These vowel points were for many ages only of private use among the Masorites, whereby they preserved to themselves the true readings of the Holy

Scriptures, and taught them to their scholars. But they were not received into the divinity schools till after the making of the Talmud: for there were two sorts of schools anciently among the Jews, the schools of the Masorites, and the schools of the Rabbis. The former taught only the Hebrew language, and to read the Scriptures in it; the others to understand the Scriptures, and all the interpretations of them, and were the great doctors of divinity among them, to whom the Masorites were as much inferior as the teachers of grammar schools among us are to the professors of divinity in our universities. And therefore, as long as these vowel points went no higher than the schools of these Masorites, they were of no regard among their learned men, or taken any notice of by them. And this is the reason that we find no mention of them either in the Talmud or in the writings of Origen or Jerome. But some time after the making of the Talmud (in what year or age is uncertain), the punctuation of the Masorites having been judged by the Jewish doctors to be as useful and necessary a way for the preserving of the traditionary readings of the Hebrew Scriptures, as the Mishnah and Gemara had been then found to be for the preserving of the traditional rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of their religion, it was taken into their divinity schools; and it having been there reviewed and corrected by the learnedest of their rabbis, and so formed and settled by them, as to be made to contain and mark out all those authentic readings, which they held to have been delivered down unto them by tradition from Moses and the prophets, who were the first penmen of them; ever since that time the points in the Hebrew Scriptures have been by the Jews held of the same authority for the reading of them, as the Mishna and the Gemara for the interpreting of them, and consequently as unalterable as the letters themselves: for they reckon them both of divine original; only with this difference, that the letters, they say, were written by the holy penmen themselves, but the readings, as now marked by the points, were delivered down from them by tradition only. However, they have never received them in their synagogues, but have there still continued the use of the Holy Scriptures in unpointed copies; and so do even to this day, because they so received them from the first holy penmen of them.

IV. Later date of the Masorite criticisms on the vowel points. —All those criticisms in the Masorah that are upon the points were made by such Masorites as lived after the points were received into the divinity schools of the Jews. For this profession of men continued from the time of Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue, to that of Ben Asher and Ben Naphthali, who were two famous Masorites, that lived about A. D. 1030, and were the last of them for they having, after many years' labour spent herein, each of them published a copy of the whole Hebrew text, as correct as they could make it, the eastern Jews have followed that of Ben Naphthali, and the western Jews have followed that of Ben Asher: and all that hath been done ever since is exactly to copy after them, both as to the points and accents, as well as to the letters, without making any more corrections, or Masoritical criticisms or observations upon either. These Masorites, who were the authors of the Masorah that is now extant, were a monstrous trifling sort of men, whose criticisms and observations went no higher than the numbering of the verses, words, and letters of every book in the Hebrew Bible, and the marking out which was the middle verse, word, and letter in each of them, and the making of other such poor and low observations concerning them, as are not worth any man's reading, or taking notice of, whatever Richard Simon the Frenchman may say to the contrary.

V. The vowel points as perfect as possible, though not divinely authentic. —These vowel points having been added to the text with the best care of those who best understood the language, and having undergone the review and corrections of many ages, it may be reckoned that this work hath been done in the perfectest manner that it can be done by man's art, and that none who shall undertake a new punctuation of the whole can do it better. However, since it was done only by man's art, it is no authentic part of the Holy Scriptures; and therefore these points are not so unalterably fixed to the text, but that a change may be made in them, when the nature of the context, or the analogy of grammar, or the style of the language, or anything else, shall give a sufficient reason for it and that especially since, how exactly soever they may have been at any time affixed to the text, they are still liable to the mistakes of transcribers and printers, and by reason of their number, the smallness of their figures, and their position under the

letters, are more likely to suffer by them than any other sort of writing whatsoever.

VI. Genuine readings even of unpointed Hebrew not to be mistaken. —It doth not from hence follow, that the sacred text will therefore be left to an arbitrary and uncertain reading. For the genuine reading is as certain in the unpointed Hebrew books, as the genuine sense is in the pointed: the former indeed may sometimes be mistaken, or perverted, and so may the latter; and therefore, whether the books be pointed or unpointed, this doth not alter the case to one who thoroughly knows the language, and will honestly read the same. Ignorant men may indeed mistake the reading, and ill men may pervert it; but those who are knowing and honest can do neither; for, except the Bible, no

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other Hebrew book is pointed, unless some few of late by modern hands. All their rabbinical authors are unpointed; and all their other books, to which the moderns have in some editions added points, were originally published without them, and so they still are in the best editions: and yet this doth not hinder, but that every one who understands the Hebrew language can rightly read them, and rightly understand them. Were I to make my choice, I would desire to have the Bible with points, and all other Hebrew books without them. I would desire the Bible with points, because they tell us how the Jews did anciently read the text. And I would have all other Hebrew books without them, because in such they rather hinder and clog the reading than help it, to any one that thoroughly knows the language. And all that undertake to point such books may not always do it according to the true and genuine reading: as we have an instance in the pointed edition of the Mishnah, published in octavo by Manasseh Ben Israel at Amsterdam. And therefore it is much better to be left free to our own apprehensions for the genuine reading, than be confined by another man's to that which may not be the genuine reading.

Nature and effect of reading without the vowel points. —Indeed to read without vowels—may look very strange to such who are conversant

only with the modern European languages, in which often several consonants come together without a vowel, and several vowels without a consonant, and several of both often go to make up one syllable: and therefore, if in them the consonants were only written, it would be hard to find out what may be the word. But it is quite otherwise in the Hebrew; for in that language there is never more than one vowel in one syllable, and in most syllables only one consonant, and in none more than two; and therefore, in most words, the consonants confine us to the vowels, and determine how the word is to be read, and if not, at least the context doth. It must be acknowledged, that there are several combinations of the same consonants, which, as placed in the same order, are susceptible of different punctuations, and thereby make different words, and of different significations, and therefore, when put alone, are of an uncertain reading. But it is quite otherwise when they are joined in context with other words; for where the letters joined in the same word do not determine the reading, there the words joined in the same sentence always do. And this is no more than what we find in all other languages, and very often in our own; for we have many equivocal words, which, being put alone, are of an uncertain signification, but are always determined in the context: as, for example, the word let in English, when put alone by itself, hath not only two different, but two quite contrary meanings; for it signifies to permit, and it signifies also to hinder; but it never doth so in the context, but is thereby always so determined, either to the one or to the other, that no one is ever led into a mistake hereby. And the same is to be said of all such words in Hebrew, as having the the same letters are susceptible of various punctuations. The letters here cannot determine to the punctuation, because they, being in each the same, are indifferent to either. But what the letters cannot do when the word is put alone by itself, that the other words always do with which it is joined in the context. And it is want of attention, or want of apprehension, if any one thoroughly skilled in the Hebrew

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language makes a mistake herein; which may happen in the reading of any other books whatsoever. And therefore, though the Hebrew Bibles had never been pointed, we need not be sent either to the church of Rome or

anywhere else for the fixing of the readings of it, the letters alone, with the context, being sufficient, when we thoroughly understand the language, to determine us thereto.

Pretended preservation of the original copy of the Scriptures written by Ezra. —There is in the church of St. Dominic in Banonia a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, kept with a great deal of care, which they pretend to be the original copy written by Ezra himself; and therefore it is there valued at so high a rate, that great sums of money have been borrowed by the Banonians upon the pawn of it, and again repaid for its redemption. It is written in a very fair character, upon a sort of leather, and made up in a roll, according to the ancient manner; but it having the vowel points annexed, and the writing being fresh and fair, without any decay, both these particulars prove the novelty of that copy. But such forgeries are no uncommon things among the papistical sect.

Conclusion of Ezra's labours. —But though Ezra's government over all Judah and Jerusalem expired with this year, yet his labour to serve the church of God did not here end; for still he went on as a preacher of righteousness, and a skilful scribe of the law of God, to perfect the reformation which he had begun, both in preparing for the people correct editions of the Scriptures, and also in bringing all things in church and state to be conformed to the rules thereof. And this he continued to do as long as he lived: and herein he was thoroughly assisted and supported by the next governor, who coming to Jerusalem with the same intention, and the same zeal for promoting the honour of God, and the welfare of his people in Judah and Jerusalem, as Ezra did, he struck in heartily with him in the work; so that Ezra went on still to do the same things by the authority of the new governor which he before did by his own. And by their thus joining together in the same holy undertaking, and their mutual assisting each other therein, it exceedingly prospered in their hands, till at length, notwithstanding all manner of oppositions, both from within and from without, it was brought to full perfection, forty-nine years after it had been begun by Ezra. Whether Ezra lived so long, or not, is uncertain: but what he did not live to do, was completed by the piety and zeal of his successor, with an account of whose transactions I shall begin the next book.

BOOK VI.

JEWISH AND MEDO-PERSIAN HISTORY, DURING THE GOVERNORSHIP OF NEHEMIAH IN THE REIGNS OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS AND DARIUS OCHUS, B. C. 445 TO 409.

I. NEHEMIAH'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION, B. C. 445—433.

High priests—Eliashib, 453.

Nehemiah succeeds Ezra by the commission of the 20th year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, 445.—He who succeeded Ezra in the government of Judah and Jerusalem was Nehemiah, a very religious and most excellent person: one that was nothing behind his predecessor, saving his learning and great knowledge in the law of God. He came to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and, by a commission from him, superseded that of Ezra, and succeeded him in the government of Judah and Jerusalem. And he had in that commission, by an express clause therein inserted, full authority given him to repair the walls and set up the gates of Jerusalem, and to fortify it again in the same manner as it was before it was dismantled and destroyed by the Babylonians.

Previous position of Nehemiah. —He was a Jew, whose ancestors had formerly been citizens of Jerusalem; for there, he saith, was the place of his fathers' sepulchres. But as to the tribe or family which he was of, no more is said, but only that his father's name was Hachaliah; who seemeth to have been of those Jews who, having gotten good settlements in the land of their captivity, chose rather to abide in them than return into their own country, when leave was granted for it. It is most likely that he was an inhabitant of the city of Shushan; and that it was his dwelling there that gave his son an opportunity of gaining an advancement in the king's palace: for he was one

of the cupbearers of king Artaxerxes, which was a place of great honour and advantage in the Persian court, because of the privilege it gave him of being daily in the king's presence, and the opportunity which he had thereby of gaining his favour, for the obtaining of any petition which he should make to him and that especially, since the times of his attendance always were when the king was making his heart merry with the wine which he served up unto him; for this is the best opportunity with all men, for the obtaining any boon that shall be desired of them, because they are always then in the best humour of complying. And it was at such a time that he asked the government of Judæa, and obtained it. And by the like advantages of his place, no doubt, it was that he gained those immense riches which enabled him for so many years, out of his own private purse only, to live in his government with that splendour and expense as will be hereafter related, without burdening the people at all for it. And no doubt it was by the favour of

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queen Esther, as being of the same nation and people with her, that he obtained so honourable and advantageous a preferment in that court. However, neither the honour and advantage of this place, nor the long settlement of his family out of his country, could make him forget his love for it, or lay aside that zeal which he had for the religion of his forefathers, who had formerly dwelt in it. For though he had been born and bred in a strange land, yet he had a great love for Sion, and a heart thoroughly set for the advancing the prosperity of it, and was in all things a very religious observer of the law of his God.

Obtains a decree for rebuilding the walls and gates of Jerusalem.— Therefore when some came from Jerusalem, and told Nehemiah of the ill state of that city, how the walls of it were still in many places broken down, and the gates of it in the same demolished state as when burned with fire by the Babylonians, and that by reason hereof the remnant of the captivity that dwelt there lay open, not only to the incursions and insults of their enemies, but also to the reproach and contempt of their neighbours, as a weak and despicable people; and that they were in both these respects in great affliction and grief of heart; the good man, being suitably moved with this

representation, applied himself in fasting and prayer unto the Lord his God, and earnestly supplicated to him for his people Israel, and the place which he had chosen for his worship among them. And having thus implored the divine mercy against this evil, he resolved next to make his application to the king for the redressing of it, trusting in God for the inclining of his heart thereto. And therefore when his turn came next to wait in his office, the king observing his countenance to be sad, which at other times used not so to be, and asking the cause thereof, he took this opportunity to lay before him the distressed state of that country; and owning this to be a cause of great grief and sadness unto him, he prayed the king to send him thither to remedy it; and by the favour of queen Esther, he had his petition granted unto him: for it being particularly remarked in the sacred text, that the queen was sitting by the king when Nehemiah obtained this grant, it sufficiently intimates that her favour was assisting to him herein. And accordingly a royal decree was issued out for the rebuilding of the walls and gates of Jerusalem, and Nehemiah was sent thither with it, as governor of the province of Judæa, to put it in execution. And to do him the more honour, the king sent a guard of horse with him, under the command of some of the captains of his army, to conduct him in safety to his government. And he wrote letters to all the governors on this side the river Euphrates, to further him in the work on which he was sent; and also gave his order to Asaph, the keeper of his forests in those parts, to allow him as much timber out of them as should be needed for the finishing of it.

Reaches Jerusalem: completion of the work of restoration, in spite of the opposition of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Samaritans. — However, the Ammonites, the Moabites, and the Samaritans, and other neighbouring nations round, did all they could to hinder Nehemiah from proceeding in the work. And to this they were excited, not only by the ancient and bitter enmity which those people bore to the whole Jewish

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nation, because of the different manners and different religions which they were of, but most especially at this time, because of their lands: for during the time that the Jews were in captivity, these nations having seized their

lands, were forced to restore them on their return. For which reason they did all they could to oppose their resettlement; hoping, that if they could be kept low, they might find an opportunity, some time or other, of resuming again the prey they had lost. But Nehemiah was not at all discouraged hereat: for having on his arrival at Jerusalem made known to the people the commission with which he was sent, he took a view of the ruins of the old walls, and immediately set about the repairing of them, dividing the people into several companies, and assigning to each of them the quarter where they were to work; but reserving to himself the reviewal and direction of the whole: in which he laboured so effectually, that all was accomplished by the end of the month Elul, within the compass of fifty-two days, notwithstanding all manner of opposition that was made against him, both from within and from without. For from within, several false prophets and other treacherous persons endeavoured to create him obstructions; and from without, Sanballat the Horonite, Tobias the Ammonite, Geshem the Arabian, and several others, gave him all the disturbance they were able, not only by underhand dealings and treacherous tricks and contrivances, but also by open force; so that while part of the people laboured in carrying on the building, the other part stood to their arms to defend them against the assaults of such as had designs against them. And all had their arms at hand, even while they worked, to be ready at a signal given to draw together to any part where the enemy should be discovered to be coming upon them. And by this means they secured themselves against all the attempts and designs of their enemies, till the work was brought to a conclusion. And when they had thus far finished the walls, and set up the gates, a public dedication of them was celebrated with great solemnity by the priests and Levites, and all the people.

Relieves the poorer Jews from the usurious extortion of the rich.— The burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the incessant labour which they were forced to undergo to bring it to so speedy a conclusion, being very great, and such as made many of them faint and groan under it, and express a despair of being able to perfect it; to revive their drooping spirits, and make them the more easy and ready to proceed in that which was further to be done, care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppression of usurers, which they then in

great misery lay under, and had much greater reason to complain of. For the rich, taking advantage of the necessities of the meaner sort, had exacted heavy usury of them, making them pay the centesima for all monies lent them, that is, one per cent. for every month, which amounted to twelve per cent. for the whole year; so that they were forced to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into servitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the support of themselves and their families; which being a manifest breach of the law of God, given them by Moses (for that forbids all the race of Israel to take

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usury of any of their brethren), Nehemiah, on his hearing hereof, resolved forthwith to remove so great an iniquity: in order whereto he called a general assembly of all the people; where, having set forth unto them the nature of the offence, how great a breach it was of the divine law, and how heavy an oppression upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God against them, he caused it to be enacted, by the general suffrage of that whole assembly, that all should return to their brethren whatsoever had been exacted of them upon usury, and also release all the lands, vineyards, oliveyards, and houses, which had been taken of them upon mortgage on the account hereof.

Obtains a fresh commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus. — And thus far Nehemiah having executed the main of the end for which he obtained the favour of the king to be sent to Jerusalem, he appointed Hanani and Hananiah to be governors of the city, and returned again unto him into Persia. For a time had been set him for his return again to court, when he first obtained to be sent from thence on this commission; which, as expressed in the text, plainly imports a short time, and not that of twelve years (after which he again went unto the king), as some do interpret it. And his having appointed governors of the city as soon as the walls were built evidently implies, that he then went from thence, and was absent for some time; for had he still continued at Jerusalem, he would not have needed any deputies to govern the place. And furthermore, the building of the walls of Jerusalem being all for which he prayed his first commission, when this was performed, he seems to have needed a new authority before he could go on

to other proceedings, which were necessary for the well settling of the affairs of that country. But on his coming to the king, and having given him an account how all things stood in the province, and what further was needful to be done for the well regulating of it, he soon obtained to be sent back again to take care hereof; and the shortness of his absence seems to have been the cause that there is no notice taken of it in the text, though the particulars I have mentioned seem sufficiently to imply it.

Continues the reformation in church and state commenced by Ezra: takes measures for repeopling Jerusalem, 444.—Nehemiah, being returned from the Persian court with a new commission, forthwith set himself to carry on the reformation of the church and the state of the Jews, which Ezra had begun, and took along with him the advice and direction of that learned and holy scribe in all that he attempted herein. The first thing that he did was to provide for the security of the city which he had now fortified, by settling rules for the opening and shutting of the gates, and keeping watch and ward on the towers and walls. But finding Jerusalem to be but thinly inhabited, and that to make this burden more easy there needed more inhabitants to bear their share with them in it, he projected the thorough repeopling of the place. In order whereto, he prevailed first with the rulers and great men of the nation to agree to build them houses there, and dwell in them; and then others, following their example, offered themselves voluntarily to do the same. And of the rest of the people every tenth man was taken by lot, and obliged to come to Jerusalem, and there build them houses, and settle themselves and families in them. And now the city was

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fortified, and all that had their dwelling in it were well secured by walls and gates against the insults of their enemies, and the incursions of thieves and robbers who before molested them, all willingly complied herewith; by which means the houses, as well as the walls and gates, being again rebuilt, and fully replenished with inhabitants, it soon after this recovered its ancient lustre, and became again a city of great note in those parts.

Comparison of Jerusalem with Sardis by Herodotus: life of Herodotus. —Herodotus, who travelled through Judæa a little after this time, doth, in the description which he gives us of Jerusalem, compare it to Sardis, the metropolis of all the Lesser Asia, as hath been before observed; which manifestly proves, that by the restoring and building of the street and ditch of Jerusalem, mentioned in the prophecy of Daniel, could not be meant this rebuilding of the walls and void places of that city: for what was predicted by that passage was not to be done but in seven weeks of years, that is, forty-nine years. It must be acknowledged that Herodotus is said by Eusebius to have publicly read his history at Athens in the last year of the eighty-third Olympiad (that is, four hundred and forty-five years before Christ), and by others, to have gone the next year after (which is this very year 444, of which we now treat), with a colony of Athenians and other Greeks into Italy, to inhabit Thurium, a city then newly built near the place where formerly Sibaris stood; and therefore it may be from hence urged against what I have here said, that Herodotus must before this time have ended his travels which he undertook for the making of this history, since this his history was finished and publicly read at Athens the year before. To this I reply, that though he had read the first draught of this history at the time when Eusebius saith, yet he had not completed it till at least thirty-three years after; for therein he makes mention of the Peloponnesian war, and of things done in it, in the second and also in the nineteenth year of that war, which last was the thirty-third year after that wherein he is said by Eusebius to have publicly read that history at Athens; and therefore it could not have been fully completed by him till after that year. The truth of the matter appears plainly to have been thus. In the year 445 before Christ, which was the last year of the eighty-third Olympiad, he did read his first draught of this history at Athens, being then thirty-nine years old, but employed all his life after further to polish and complete it, and did not put his last hand to it till after the nineteenth year of the Peloponnesian war, which was the thirty-third after his first reading it at Athens. The next year after his having read it there, he went thence with the colony to Thurium, that is, in the first year of the eighty-fourth Olympiad, which was the three hundred and tenth of the building of Rome, according to the Varronian account, and twelve years before the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. And on his settling in that place, he revised what he had publicly read at

Athens, from whence it is that he is said by Pliny there to have made this history. And after

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this having continued some time at Thurium, he travelled from thence into the East for the further completing of this history, and also for the gaining of materials for another, which he was then composing, of Assyria and Babylon. But this last was never published, though he refers to it in his other history now extant; the reason, it is supposed, was, that he lived not to finish it, though by the above-mentioned account it appears he outlived the seventy-second year of his age, and by other particulars in his history it seems most likely that he lived much longer. And I doubt not it was in those travels which he undertook from Thurium, that he went through Judæa, and there saw Jerusalem, which he calls Cadytis; for that the city which he describes under that name could be none other than Jerusalem, I have already shown.

Nehemiah prepares a corrected copy of the register of the genealogies. —Nehemiah, finding it necessary to have the genealogies of the people well examined into and clearly stated, betook himself in the next place to inquire into that matter. And this he did, not only for the sake of their civil rights, that all knowing of what tribe and family they were, they might thereby be directed where to take their possessions; but especially for the sake of the sanctuary, that none might be admitted to officiate there, either as Levites, which were not of the tribe of Levi, or as priests, which were not of the family of Aaron. And therefore, for the true settling of this matter, search was made for the old registers; and having among them found a register of the genealogies of those who came up at first from Babylon with Zerubbabel and Jeshua, he settled this matter according to it, adding such as afterwards came up, and expunging others, whose families were extinguished; and this hath caused the difference that is between the accounts which we have of these genealogies in Ezra and Nehemiah. For in the second chapter of Ezra we have the old register made by Zerubbabel, and in the seventh of Nehemiah, from the sixth verse to the end of the chapter, a copy of it as settled by Nehemiah, with the alterations I have mentioned.

Ezra publicly reads his corrected edition of the Law at the Feast of Trumpets. —Ezra having completed his edition of the law of God, and written it out fairly and correctly in the Chaldean character, did this year, on the feast of trumpets, publicly read it to the people at Jerusalem. This feast was celebrated on the first of Tisri, the seventh month of the Jews' ecclesiastical year, and the first of their civil year. Their coming out of Egypt having been in the month of Nisan, from that time the beginning of the year, in all ecclesiastical matters, was reckoned among them from the beginning of that month (which happened about the time of the vernal equinox); but in all civil matters, as in contracts, bargains, and such like, they still continued to go by the old form, and began

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their year from the first of Tisri (which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox), as all other nations of the East then did (as hath been afore observed), and all instruments and writings, relating to contracts, bargains, or other civil matters among them, were dated according to this year; and all their jubilees and sabbatical years began with it. And therefore it being reckoned their new-year's day, they celebrated it with a festival. And this festival being solemnized by the sounding of trumpets from the morning of that day to the end of it, thereby to proclaim and give notice to all of the beginning of the new year, it hath from hence been called the feast of trumpets. For the celebrating of this feast, the people being assembled from all parts of the land at Jerusalem, and understanding that Ezra had finished his revisal of the law, and written out a correct copy of it, they called upon him to have it read unto them. Whereon a scaffold, or large pulpit, being erected in the largest street of the city, where most might stand to hear, Ezra ascended into it, with thirteen others of the principal elders of the people; and having placed six of them on his right hand, and seven on his left, he stood up in the midst of them, and having blessed the Lord, the great God, he began to read the law out of the Hebrew text. And as he did read it in this language, thirteen others of the Levites, whom he had instructed and appointed for this purpose, rendered it period by period into Chaldee, which was then the vulgar language of the people, and therein

gave them the meaning of every particular part, and made them understand the same. And thus the holy scribe, with these his assistants, continued from morning till noon to read and explain unto the people the law of God, in such manner as might best make them to know and understand it. But it being a festival day, when the time of dining approached, Nehemiah and Ezra, and the rest that were assisting to them in thus instructing the people, dismissed them for that time to their dinner, to eat and drink, and rejoice before the Lord, the remaining part of the day, because it was consecrated to be thus kept holy unto him. But the next morning they assembled again in the same place, and Ezra and his assistants went on further to read and explain to them the law of God in the same manner as they had done the day before; and when they came to the twenty-third chapter of Leviticus, wherein is written the law of the feast of tabernacles, and had from thence explained unto them the obligation which was upon them to observe this festival, and shown them that the fifteenth day of that month was the day appointed for the beginning of it, this excited an eager desire in all the people of fulfilling the law of God in this particular.

Solemn celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles. —Proclamation was forthwith made through all Judah to give notice of the festival, and to warn all to be present at Jerusalem on the said fifteenth day of that month, for the observing of it. And accordingly they came thither at the time prescribed, and as they had been instructed from the law of God, prepared booths made of the branches of trees, and kept the festival in them through the whole seven days of its continuance, in such solemn manner as had not been observed before from the days of Joshua to that time. Ezra taking the advantage of having the people

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in so great a number thus assembled together, and so well disposed towards the law of God, and the observance of it, went on with his assistants further to read and explain it unto them, in the same manner as had been done in the two former days; and this they did, day by day, from the first day to the last day of the festival, till they had gone through the whole law. By which the people perceiving in how many things they had transgressed the commands of God, through the ignorance in which they had been kept of

them (for till now the law had never been read to them since their return from Babylon), expressed great trouble of heart hereat, being much grieved for their sins, and exceedingly terrified with the fear of God's wrath for the punishment of them.

Solemn fast; people publicly confess their sins, and enter into a covenant for the future observance of the law. —Nehemiah and Ezra, finding them in so good a temper, applied themselves to make the best improvement that could be made of it, for the honour of God and the interest of religion: and therefore forthwith proclaimed a fast to be held the next day save one after the festival was ended, that is, on the twenty-fourth day of the same month; to which having called all the people, while the sense of these things was fresh and warm on their minds, they excited them to make a public and solemn confession before God of all their sins, and also to enter into a solemn vow and covenant with God to avoid them for the future, and strictly hold themselves fast to the observance of God's laws. The observances which they chiefly obliged themselves to in this covenant were, 1st, not to make intermarriages with the Gentiles, either by giving their daughters to them, or by taking any of their daughters to themselves; 2ndly, to observe the sabbaths and sabbatical years; 3rdly, to pay their annual tribute to the temple for the repairing of it, and the finding of all necessaries for the carrying on of the public service in it; and 4thly, to pay the tithes and first-fruits to the priests and Levites. Which particulars, thus especially named in this covenant, show unto us what were the laws of God, which hitherto they had been most neglectful of since their return from their captivity.

Institution of public readings of the law. —And it being their ignorance of the law of God that had led them into these transgressions against it, and this ignorance having been occasioned by their not having it read unto them; for the preventing hereof for the future, they from this time got the learnedest of the Levites, and other scribes that were best skilled in the law of God, to read it unto them in every city: which at first they did, no doubt, in the same manner as Ezra had done, that is, by gathering the people together to them in some wide street, or other open place of their city, which was of fittest capacity to receive them. But the inconvenience of this being soon felt, especially in the winter and stormy seasons of the year, for

the remedy hereof they erected them houses or tabernacles, wherein to meet for this purpose; and this was the original of synagogues among them.

Origin of synagogues. —That the Jews had no synagogues before the Babylonish captivity is plain, not only from the silence which is of them in all the Scriptures of the Old Testament, but also from several passages therein, which evidently prove there could be none in those

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days. For as it is a common saying among the Jews, that where there is no book of the law, there can be no synagogue; so the reason of the thing proves it; for the main service of the synagogue being the reading of the law unto the people, where there was no book of the law to be read, there certainly could be no synagogue. But how rare the book of the law was through all Judah before the Babylonish captivity, many texts of Scripture tell us. When Jehoshaphat sent teachers through all Judah to instruct the people in the law of God, they carried a book of the law with them, which they needed not have done, if there had been any copies of the law in those cities to which they went: which certainly there would have been, had there then been any synagogues in them; it being the same absurdity to suppose a Jewish synagogue without a copy of the law, as it would with us to suppose a parish church without a Bible. And therefore as this proves the want of the law through all Judah in those times, so doth it also the want of synagogues in them. And when Hilkiah found the law in the temple, neither he nor king Josiah needed have been so surprised at it, had books of the law been common in those times. Their behaviour on that occasion sufficiently proves they had never seen it before, which could not be, had there then been any other copies of it to be found among the people. And if there were no copies of the law at that time among them, there could then be most certainly no synagogues for them to resort to for the hearing of it read unto them. From hence it plainly follows, there could be no synagogues among the Jews till after the Babylonish captivity. And it is most probable, that Ezra's reading to them the law, and the necessity which thereon they perceived there was of having it oftener read among them for their instruction in it, gave them the occasion of erecting them after the captivity,

in the manner as I have related; and most learned men are of this opinion; and some of the Jews themselves say as much. Concerning these synagogues, I think it proper here to inform the reader, 1st, in what places they were to be erected; 2ndly, what was the service to be performed in them; 3rdly, what were the times of their assembling for this service; and 4thly, who were their ministers to perform it.

I. Places where synagogues should be erected. —As to the first, their rule was, that a synagogue was to be erected in every place where there were ten batelnim, that is, ten persons of full age, and free condition, always at leisure to attend the service of it; for less than ten such, according to them, did not make a congregation, and without such a congregation present no part of the synagogue service could be performed; and therefore wherever they could always be secure of such a congregation, that is, of ten such persons to be present at the service, in all the stated times in which it was to be performed, there they were to build a synagogue. For where ten such persons might always be had at leisure to attend the synagogue in all their religious

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assemblies, this they reckoned a great city, and here they would have a synagogue to be built, but not otherwise. For I take the rule above mentioned to be restrictive in the negative sense, as well as obligatory in the affirmative, and to show where a synagogue ought not to be built as well as where it ought; that is, that no synagogue ought to be built in any place where there were not such a number of inhabitants, as might give a reasonable presumption that there would be always ten persons at leisure to be present in every synagogue assembly, and that as well on the week days as on the sabbaths, because, without such a number, they could not go on with the synagogue service. At first these synagogues were few, but afterwards they became multiplied to a great number, in the same manner as parish churches with us, which they much resembled. So that in our Saviour's time there was no town in Judæa but what had one or more of them. The Jews tell us, that about that time Tiberias alone, which was a city of Galilee, had twelve of them, and Jerusalem four hundred and eighty; but herein they are supposed to have spoken hyperbolically, and to have

expressed an uncertain large number by a certain. If this were to be understood strictly and literally, what is said by some of these ten batelnim, that they were the stationary men of the synagogue, hired to be always present to make a congregation, must be understood of many of them; for were their number so multiplied, they could not otherwise in every one of them be always sure of a congregation, especially on the working days of the week, two of which were always solemn synagogue days, as well as the sabbaths. It is Lightfoot's opinion, that these ten batelnim were the elders and ministers that governed and managed the synagogue service; but this is said without a sufficient foundation to support it.

II. The service in the synagogues. —The service to be performed in these synagogue assemblies were prayers, reading the Scriptures, and preaching and expounding upon them.

First part of the synagogue service: the liturgies. —For their prayers they have liturgies, in which are all the prescribed forms of their synagogue worship. These at first were very few; but since they are increased unto a very large bulk, which makes their synagogue service very long and tedious; and the rubric, by which they regulate it, is very perplexed and intricate, and encumbered with many rites and ceremonious observances; in all which they equal, if not exceed, both the superstition and also the length of the Popish service. The most solemn part of their prayers are those which they call Shemoneh Eshreh, i. e. the eighteen prayers. These, they say, were composed and instituted by Ezra and the great synagogue; and to them Rabbi Gamaliel, a little before the destruction of Jerusalem, added the nineteenth, against the Christians, who are therein meant under the names of apostates and heretics. It is certain these prayers are very ancient; for mention is made of them in the Mishnah as old settled forms; and no doubt is to be made but that they were used in our Saviour's time, at least most of them, if not all the eighteen; and consequently

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that he joined in them with the rest of the Jews, whenever he went into their synagogues, as he always did every sabbath-day. And from hence two

things may be inferred for the consideration of our dissenters: 1st, That our Saviour disliked not set forms of prayer in public worship; and 2ndly, that he was contented to join with the public in the meanest forms, rather than separate from it. For these eighteen prayers, in comparison of those now used in our church, are very jejune and empty forms; and that the reader may see they are so, I shall here add a translation of them in the same order as they are in the Jewish liturgies, adding the nineteenth prayer to them, which, according to the said order, is the twelfth in number as here recited.

Translation of the nineteen prayers. —1. "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the great God, powerful and tremendous, the high God; bountifully dispensing benefits; the Creator and Possessor of the universe, who rememberest the good deeds of our fathers, and in thy love sendest a Redeemer to those who are descended from them for thy name's sake, O King, our Helper, our Saviour, and our Shield. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the shield of Abraham."

2. "Thou, O Lord, art powerful for ever. Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustainest with thy beneficence all that live therein; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou helpest up those that fall; thou curest the sick; thou loosest them that are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those that sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to Thee, O thou Lord of might? And who is like unto Thee, O our King, who killest and makest alive, and makest salvation to spring up as the herb out of the field? Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead again to life."

3. "Thou art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy saints do praise thee every day. Selah. For a great King and an holy art thou, O God. Blessed art thou, O Lord God most holy."

4. "Thou of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding; give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who graciously givest knowledge unto men."

5. "Bring us back, O our Father, to the observance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts; and do thou, O our King, draw us near to thy worship, and convert us to thee by perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance."

6. "Be thou merciful unto us, O our Father, for we have sinned: pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed against thee; for thou art a God, good and ready to pardon. Blessed art thou, O Lord, most gracious, who multipliest thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins."

7. "Look, we beseech thee, upon our afflictions. Be thou on our

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side in all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all our litigations; and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption for thy name's sake. For thou art our God, our King, and a strong Redeemer. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel."

8. "Heal us, O Lord our God, and we shall be healed. Save us, and we shall be saved; for thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healest, and art merciful. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who curest the diseases of thy people Israel."

9. "Bless us, O Lord our God, in every work of our hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us upon the face of all our land; and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth that is habitable. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who givest thy blessing to the years."

10. "Convocate us together by the sound of the great trumpet to the enjoyment of our liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the captivity, from the four quarters of the earth, into our own land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel."

11. "Restore unto us our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning, and remove far from us affliction and trouble, and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in

justice. Blessed art thou, O Lord our King, who lovest righteousness and justice."

12. "Let there be no hope to them who apostatize from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever they be, all perish as in a moment. And let the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud."

13. "Upon the pious and the just, and upon the proselytes of justice, and upon the remnant of thy people of the house of Israel, let thy mercies be moved, O Lord our God; and gave a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be ashamed, for we put our trust in thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the support and confidence of the just."

14. "Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy city, as thou hast promised, build it with a building to last for ever; and do this speedily even in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem."

15. "Make the offspring of David thy servant speedily to grow up and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation; for we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish."

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16. "Hear our voice, O Lord our God, most merciful Father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our prayers with mercy and favour, and send us not away empty from thy presence, O our King; for thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer."

17. "Be thou well pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their prayers: restore thy worship to the inner part of thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy people be

continually well-pleasing unto thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion."

18. "We will give thanks unto thee with praise; for thou art the Lord our God, the God of our fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our Rock, and the Rock of our life, the Shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life, which is always in thy hands, and because of our souls, which are ever depending upon thee, and because of thy signs, which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders and marvellous loving-kindnesses, which are morning and evening and night continually before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving-kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee. And for all these mercies be thy name, O King, blessed and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee. Selah. And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name, O God of our salvation, and our help. Selah. Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and whom it is fitting always to give thanks unto."

19. "Give peace, beneficence, and benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy, unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us, O our Father, even all of us together, as one man, with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in thine eyes to bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace. Amen."

Set forms of prayer not condemned by Christ. —Since our Saviour spared not freely to tell the Jews of all the corruptions which they had in his time run into, and on all occasions reproached them therewith, had it been contrary to the will of God to use set forms of prayer in his public service, or had it been displeasing to him to be addressed to in such mean forms, when much better might have been made, we may be sure he would have told them of both, and joined with them in neither. But he having never found fault with them for using set forms, but, on the contrary, taught his own disciples a set form to pray by; nor at any time expressed a dislike of

the forms then in use, because of the meanness and emptiness of them, but always joined with them in

their synagogues in the forms above recited, this may satisfy our dissenters, if anything can satisfy men so perversely bent after their own ways, that neither our using set forms of prayers in our public worship, nor the using of such which they think not sufficiently edifying, can be objections sufficient to justify them in their refusal to join with us in them for they have the example of Christ in both these thus directly against them. The truth is, whether there be a form or no form, or whether the form be elegantly or meanly composed, nothing of this availeth to the recommending of our prayers unto God. It is the true and sincere devotion of the heart only that can make them acceptable unto him; for it is this only that gives life and vigour and true acceptance to all our religious addresses unto him. Without this, how elegantly and moving soever the prayer may be composed, and with how much seeming fervour and zeal soever it may be poured out, all is as dead matter, and of no validity in the presence of our God. But if we bring this with us to his worship, any form of prayer, provided it be of sound words, may be sufficient to make us and our worship acceptable unto him, and obtain mercy, peace, and pardon from him. For it is not the fineness of speech, or the elegancy of expression, but the sincerity of the mind, and the true devotion of the heart only, that God regards in all our prayers which we offer up unto him. It is true, a new jingle of words, and a fervent delivery of them by the minister in prayer, may have some effect upon the auditors, and often raise, in such of them as are affected this way, a devotion which otherwise they would not have. But this being wholly artificial, which all drops again as soon as the engine is removed that raised it, it is none of that true habitual devotion, which can alone render us acceptable unto our God in any of our addresses unto him. This we ought to bring with us whenever we come into the house of God to worship before him; and with this, in any form which is of sound words, we may pray acceptably unto him, and none can ever do so without it. But whether any form of such sound words can be well preserved in those extemporary effusions of prayer which some delight in, whether this doth

not often lead them into indecent and sometimes into blasphemous expressions, to the great dishonour of God and the damage of religion, it behoves those who are for this way seriously to consider.

The prayers offered up three times a day, publicly and privately. — But to return from whence I have digressed: these nineteen prayers were enjoined to be said by all that were of age, of what sex or condition soever, either in public or in private, three times every day, that is, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night. And they were of that esteem, and are so still among them, that they allow the name of prayer to be proper to the saying of these nineteen prayers only: looking on it by way of eminence to be much more so than the saying of all the rest. And therefore they are on every synagogue day offered up in the solemnest manner in all their public assemblies. But these prayers are, in their offices, no other than as the Lord's prayer in ours; that is, they are the fundamental and principal part. For besides them they have many other prayers, some going before, others interspersed between them, and others following after, which all together make their

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synagogue service very long. Our Saviour found fault with their prayers for being too long in his time. Many additions in their liturgies have made them much more so since.

Second part of the synagogue service: the reading of the Scriptures. —The second part of their synagogue service is the reading of the Scriptures, which is of three sorts: 1st, The Kiriath Shema; 2nd, The reading of the law; and 3rd, The reading of the prophets. Of the two latter I have already spoken, and therefore I shall now treat only of the first. It consists in the reading of three portions of Scripture. The first is from the beginning of the fourth verse of the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy to the end of the ninth verse; the second, from the beginning of the thirteenth verse of the eleventh chapter of Deuteronomy to the end of the twenty-first verse; and the third, from the beginning of the thirty-seventh verse of the fifteenth chapter of Numbers to the end of the chapter. And because the first of these

portions in the Hebrew Bible begins with the word Shema, i. e. hear, they call all these three together the Shema, and the reading of them Kiriath Shema, that is, the reading of the Shema. This reading of the Shema is accompanied with several prayers and benedictions, both before and after it, and is, next the saying of the nineteen prayers, the solemnest part of their religious service; and is, in the same manner as that, to be performed according to their ritual every day (that is, either publicly in their synagogue assemblies, or else privately out of them, on those days when there are no such assemblies, or when they cannot be present at them), only with this difference, that whereas the nineteen prayers are to be said thrice every day, and by every person of age, without any exception, the reading or repeating of the Shema is only to be twice a day, that is, morning and evening, and the males only which are of free condition are obliged to it, all women and servants being excused from the duty. They think they are bound to the repeating of this Shema every morning and evening, because of the words of the law, Deut. vi. 7, "And thou shalt talk of them when thou liest down, and when thou risest up;" and also because of the like words, Deut. xi. 19. The reading or repeating of this Shema, in the manner as is here related, they think, is of great moment for the preserving of religion among them; as most certainly it must be, because thereby they do twice every day make confession of the unity of God, and of the duties which they owe unto him.

Third part of the synagogue service: the expounding and the preaching. —The third part of the synagogue service is the expounding of the Scriptures, and preaching to the people from them. The first was performed at the time of the reading of them, and the other after the reading both of the law and the prophets was over. It is plain, Christ taught the Jews in their synagogues both these ways. When he came to Nazareth, his own city, he was called out as a member of that synagogue, to read the Haphterah, that is, the section or lesson out of the prophets which was to be read that day. And when he had stood up and read it, he sat down and expounded it, as was the usage of the Jews in both these cases. For out of reverence to the law and the

prophets, they stood up when they did read any portion out of either, and, in regard to themselves, as teachers, they sat when they expounded. But in all other synagogues, of which he was not a member, when he entered into them (as he always did every sabbath-day, wherever he was), he taught the people in sermons, after the reading of the law and the prophets was over. And so St. Paul taught the Jews in their synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia. For there it is expressly said in the sacred text, that his preaching was after the reading of the law and the prophets was ended.

III. Times of the synagogue service: thrice a week for the reading of the law, and thrice a week for the prayers. —The times of their synagogue services were three days a week, besides their holydays, whether fasts or festivals; and thrice on every one of those days, that is, in the morning, and in the afternoon, and at night. Their ordinary synagogue days, in every week, were Monday, Thursday, and Saturday. Saturday was their sabbath, the day set apart among them for religious exercises by divine appointment, and the other two by the appointment of the elders, that so three days might not pass without the public reading of the law among them. The reason which they give for this is taken from their mystical interpretation of the law. For whereas we find it said (Exod. xv. 22,) that the Israelites were in great distress on their travelling three days in the wilderness without water; by water, they tell us, is there mystically meant the law; and therefore say, that, for this reason, they ought not to be three days together without the hearing of it: and consequently, for the avoiding hereof, they have ordained, that it be publicly read in their synagogues thrice every week. And their manner of doing it is as followeth: —The whole law, or five books of Moses, being divided into as many sections or lessons as there are weeks in the year (as hath been before shown): on Monday they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way through, and on Thursday proceeded to read the remainder; and on Saturday, which was their solemn sabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the said lesson or section; and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the sabbath they did read it in the evening as well as in the morning, for the sake of labourers and artificers, who could not leave their work to attend the synagogues on the week days, that so all might hear

twice every week the whole section or lesson of that week read unto them. And when the reading of the prophets was added to that of the law, they observed the same order in it. As the synagogue service was to be on three days every week for the sake of their hearing the law; so it was to be thrice on those days for the sake of their prayers. For it was a constant rule among them, that all were to pray unto God three times every day, that is, in the morning at the time of the morning sacrifice, and in the evening at the time of the evening sacrifice, and at the beginning of the night, because till then the evening sacrifice was still left burning upon the altar.

Time and place of prayers prior to the Babylonish captivity. —It is certain, that it was anciently among God's people the steady practice

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of good and religious persons to offer up their prayers to God thrice every day. This we find David, and this we find Daniel did. For the former says (Psalm lv. 17), "Evening, morning, and at noon, will I pray." And the latter tells us, that, notwithstanding the king's decree to the contrary, "he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks unto his God, as he did aforetime." By which it is plainly implied, that he did not only at that time thus pray, but that it was always his constant custom so to do. They having had no synagogues till after the Babylonish captivity, till then they had not any set forms for their prayers; neither had they any solemn assemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the temple only. That was always the house of prayer: so Isaiah, and so from him our Saviour calls it; and to this use Solomon consecrated it; and there the times of prayer were fixed to the times of the morning and evening sacrifice: and the ordinary time of the former was at nine in the morning, and of the latter at three in the afternoon: but on extraordinary days, as sabbaths, festivals, and fasts, there being additional sacrifices, additions were also made to the times of offering them, and both the morning and evening service did then begin sooner than on other days. As soon as they did begin, the stationary men were present in the court of Israel, to offer up their prayers for the whole congregation of Israel; and other devout persons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the court, called the court of the women, praying

for themselves. But neither of these had any public forms to pray by, nor any public ministers to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themselves, and all according to their own private conceptions. And therefore our Saviour, in the parable of the publican and the Pharisee, making them to go up both together into the temple to pray, introduceth them there as each making his own prayer for himself. For there all thus prayed, and so continued to do all the while the public sacrifices were offering up, both morning and evening. And the offering of incense on the golden altar in the holy place, at every morning and evening service in the temple, was instituted on purpose to offer up unto God the prayers of the people, who were then without, praying unto him. And hence it was, that St. Luke tells us, that while Zacharias went into the temple to burn incense, "the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense." And for the same reason is it that David prayed, "Let my prayer be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice." And according to this usage is to be explained what we find in the Revelations, viii. 3, 4; for there it is said, that "an angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne; and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hand." For the angel here mentioned is the

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angel of the covenant, Christ our Lord, who intercedes for us with our God, and, as our Mediator, constantly offers up our prayers unto him. And the manner of his doing this is here set forth by the manner of the typical representation of it in the temple: for as there, at every morning and evening sacrifice, the priest, in virtue of that sacrifice, entering into the holy place, and presenting himself at the golden altar, which stood directly before the mercy-seat (the throne of God's visible presence among them during the tabernacle and the first temple), did burn incense thereon, while the people were at their prayers without; thereby, as intercessor to God for them, to offer up their prayers to him for his gracious acceptance, and to make them ascend up before him, from out of his hands, as a sweet-smelling savour in

his presence: so Christ, our true Priest, and most powerful Intercessor, by virtue of that one sacrifice of himself once offered for all, being entered into the holy place, the heaven above, is there continually present before the throne of mercy, to be a constant intercessor for us unto our God; and while we are here, in the outer court of his church in this world, offering up our prayers unto our God, he there presents them unto him for us, and through his hands they are accepted as a sweet-smelling savour in his presence. And it being well understood among the Jews, that the offering up of the daily sacrifice, and the burning of incense upon the altar of incense at the time of those sacrifices, was for the rendering of God propitious unto them, and making their prayers to be acceptable in his presence, they were very careful to make the times of these offerings and the times of their prayers, both at the temple and everywhere else, to be exactly the same. And therefore, as soon as synagogues were erected among them, the hours of public devotions in them, on their synagogue days, were, as to morning and evening prayers, the same hours in which the morning and evening sacrifices were offered up at the temple.

Private devotions. — And the same hours were also observed in their private prayers, wherever performed. Most good and devout persons that were at Jerusalem chose on those times to go up into the temple, and there offer up their prayers unto God. And thus Peter and John are said to go up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour of the day, which was at three in the afternoon, the time of the offering up of the evening sacrifice; for the Jews reckoned the hours of the day from six in the morning. Those who were in other places, or, being at Jerusalem, had not leisure to go up to the temple, did then their devotions elsewhere, all thinking themselves obliged daily to say their prayers at those times. If it were a synagogue day, they went into the synagogue, and there prayed with the congregation; if it were not a synagogue day, they then prayed in private by themselves; and if they had leisure to go to the synagogue, they chose that for the place to do it in, thinking such a holy place the properest for such a holy exercise, though performed there in their private persons only; but if they had not leisure to go to such a holy place, then they prayed wherever they were at the hour of prayer, though it were in the street or market-place. And for this it was that our Saviour found fault with them,

when he told them, that "they loved to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners

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of the streets," thereby affecting more to be seen of men than to be accepted of by God. But many of them had upper rooms in their houses, which were as chapels, particularly set apart and consecrated for this purpose. In such an one Cornelius was praying at the ninth hour of the day, that is, at the time of the evening sacrifice, when the angel appeared unto him and such an one Peter went up into to pray about the sixth hour of the day, when he had the vision of the great sheet, that is, half an hour past twelve, or thereabout; for then the evening sacrifice did begin on great and solemn days; and such an one, it seems hereby, that was. And in such an upper room were the holy apostles assembled together in prayer, when the Holy Ghost descended upon them.

IV. Ministration of the synagogue service: not confined to the sacerdotal order. —As to the ministration of the synagogue service, it was not confined to the sacerdotal order. They were consecrated only to the service of the temple, which was quite of another nature, as consisting only in the offering up of sacrifices and oblations. At the time indeed of the morning and evening sacrifices, the Levites and other singers sung psalms of praise unto God before the altar, and in the conclusion the priests blessed the people, which may seem to bear some resemblance to what was done in the synagogue. But in all other particulars, the public synagogue service was wholly different from the public service of the temple. Of what parts it consisted I have already explained; and any one that by learning was qualified for it, of what tribe soever he were, was admitted to the administration.

Fixed minister. —But, that order might be preserved, there were in every synagogue some fixed ministers to take care of the religious duties to be performed in it; and these were by imposition of hands solemnly admitted thereto.

(1.) Elders of the synagogue, who governed its affairs. —The first were the elders of the synagogue, who governed all the affairs of it, and directed all the duties of religion therein to be performed. These are, in the Scriptures of the New Testament, called archisynagogoi, that is, rulers of the synagogue. How many of these were in every synagogue is nowhere said. But this is certain, they were more than one; for they are mentioned in Scripture in the plural number in respect of the same synagogue; and at Corinth, Crispus and Sosthenes are both said to be chief rulers of the synagogue, though it is not likely that there was more than one synagogue in that city.

(2.) Ministers of the synagogue, who offered up the prayers. —Next to them (or perchance one of them) was the minister of the synagogue, that officiated in offering up the public prayers to God for the whole congregation, who, because he was the mouth of the congregation, delegated from them as their representative, messenger, or angel, to speak to God in prayer for them, was therefore, in the Hebrew language, called Sheliach Zibbor, that is, the angel of the church. And hence it is, that the bishops of the seven churches of Asia are in the Revelations, by a name borrowed from the synagogue, called the angels of those

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churches. For as the Sheliach Zibbor in the Jewish synagogue was the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God, so also was the bishop the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God in the church of Christ. The bishop indeed did not always officiate in this ministry, because in every church there were presbyters under him, who often discharged this duty in his stead. Neither did the Sheliach Zibbor always discharge his duty in the synagogue in his own proper person. He was the ordinary minister appointed to this office; but often others were extraordinarily called out for the discharging of it, provided they were, by age, gravity, skill, and piety of conversation, qualified for it. And whosoever was thus appointed to this ministry was the Sheliach Zibbor, that is, "the angel of the congregation," for that time: for the proper signification of the word used in the Hebrew language for an angel is a messenger. And therefore, as a messenger from God to the people is an angel of God, so a

messenger from the people to God is an angel of the people. In the latter sense only was the name of angel given to the minister of the synagogue: but it belongs to the minister of the Christian church in both senses; for he is not only a messenger of the people to God, in the offering up of the prayers of the congregation to him, but he is also a messenger of God to them, in bringing from him the messages of life, peace, and everlasting salvation unto them.

(3.) Deacons or overseers, who kept the sacred books and utensils. — Next to the Sheliach Zibbor were the deacons, or inferior ministers of the synagogue, in Hebrew called Chazanim, that is, overseers, who were also fixed ministers, and under the rulers of the synagogue had the charge and oversight of all things in it, kept the sacred books of the law and the prophets, and other Holy Scriptures, as also the books of their public liturgies, and all other utensils belonging to the synagogue, and brought them forth whenever they were to be used in the public service. And particularly they stood by, and overlooked them that did read the lessons out of the law and the prophets, and corrected them and set them right when they did read amiss, and took the book of them again when they had done. And thus it is said of our Saviour, when he was called out to read the lesson out of the prophets in the synagogue of Nazareth, of which he was a member, that, after he had done, he gave the book again to the minister, that is, the chazan, or deacon of the synagogue. For there was anciently no fixed synagogue minister for the reading of the lessons; but the rulers of the synagogue when the time of the reading of those lessons came, called out any member of the congregation for this service that was able to perform it. And it was usually done in this order: a priest was called out first, and next a Levite, if any of these orders were present in the congregation, and after that any other Israelite, till they made up in all the number of seven. And hence it was anciently, that every section of the law was divided into seven lesser sections for the sake of these seven readers. And in some Hebrew Bibles, these lesser sections are marked in the margin: the first with the word Cohen, i. e. the priest; the second with the word Levi, i. e. the Levite; the third with the word Shelishi, i. e. the third; and so the rest, with Hebrew words

signifying the numbers following, to the seventh: thereby to show what part was to be read by the priest, what by the Levite, and what by each of the other five, who might be any Israelites of the congregation that were able to read the Hebrew text, of what tribe soever they were.

(4.) Interpreter of the Hebrew lessons into Chaldee. —The next fixed officer of the synagogue, after the chazanim, was the interpreter. His business was to interpret into Chaldee the lessons as they were read in Hebrew, to the congregation; for which learning and skill in both languages being requisite, when they found a man fit for the office, they retained him by a salary, and admitted him as a standing minister of the synagogue. When the blessing was to be given, if there were a priest present in the congregation, he always did the office; but if there were no priest then present, the Sheliach Zibbor, who did read the prayers, gave the blessing also in a form made proper for him. Thus far I have thought it might be helpful to the reader, for his better understanding of the Scriptures, to have laid before him a short scheme of the synagogue worship of the Jews, as it was among them in ancient times. That which they at present retain is in many particulars different from it. He that would be more fully informed of this matter may read Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica, Vitringa de Synagoga vetere, and above all Maimonides, especially in his tracts, Tephillah, Chagigah, and Kiriath Shema.

No synagogues prior to the Babylonish captivity: distinction between the synagogues and the proseuchae. —Those who think synagogues to have been before the Babylonish captivity allege for it what is said in the seventy-fourth Psalm, ver. 8, "They have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land." But in the original the words are col moadhe El, that is, all the assemblies of God; by which, I acknowledge, must be understood the places where the people did assemble to worship God. But this doth not infer that those places were synagogues; and there are none of the ancient versions, excepting that of Aquila, that so render this passage. The chief place where the Israelites assembled for the worship of God was the temple at Jerusalem, and before that was built, the tabernacle; and the open court

before the altar was that part in both of them where the people assembled to offer up their prayers unto God. But those that lived at a distance from the tabernacle, while that was in being, and afterwards from the temple, when that was built, not being able at all times to resort thither, they built courts like those in which they prayed at the tabernacle and at the temple, therein to offer up their prayers unto God, which in after-times we find called by the name of Proseuchae. Some of the Latin poets make mention of them by this name; and into one of them our Saviour is said to have gone to pray, and to have continued therein a whole night; and in another of them St. Paul taught the people of Philippi. They differed from synagogues in several particulars; for, 1st, In synagogues the prayers were offered up in public forms in common for the

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whole congregation; but in the proseuchae they prayed, as in the temple, every one apart for himself; and so our Saviour prayed in the proseucha which he went into. 2ndly, The synagogues were covered houses; but the proseuchae were open courts, built, saith Epiphanius, in the manner of forums, which were open enclosures, where anciently at Rome, and in other cities under democratical governments, the people used to assemble for the transacting of the business and affairs of the public: and such a proseucha, Epiphanius tells us, the Samaritans had in his time near Shechem. 3rdly, Synagogues were all built within the cities to which they did belong; but the proseuchae without, and mostly in high places, and that in which our Saviour prayed was on a mountain, which makes it probable that these proseuchae were the same which in the Old Testament are called high places.

Identification of the proseuchae with the "high places." —For these high places are not always condemned in Scripture, but then only when they were made use for idolatrous worship, or in a schismatical way, by erecting altars in them, in opposition to that which was in the place that God had chosen; otherwise they were made use of by prophets and good men, as several instances hereof in Scripture do fully prove. And I am confirmed in this opinion, in that the proseuchae had groves in or about them, in the same manner as the high places had. And no doubt the sanctuary of the Lord in

which Joshua did set up his pillar under the oak or oaken grove in Shechem, was such a proseucha; and it is plain from the text that it had a grove of oaks in it. And the proseuchae which Philo makes mention of in Alexandria had such groves in or about them; and that at Rome in Egeria's grove was of the same sort. And perchance, where the Psalmist makes mention of green olive trees in the house of God, such a proseucha is there meant. And also such a one anciently was in Mispah, as the author of the First Book of the Maccabees tells us. And all these were Moadhe El, and might be understood by that phrase in the Psalmist. It must be acknowledged, that although some proseuchae were still in being in our Saviour's time, yet by that time synagogues being made use of for the same purpose as the proseuchae were formerly, synagogues were then also called by the same name with the proseuchae; and so Josephus and Philo seem to use the word, though it seems from the latter, that some of the synagogues of the Jews in Alexandria were built after the same manner as the ancient proseuchae, without roofs. And it makes this the more probable, that in Egypt it never or very seldom raining, they there stood more in need of open air in their public assemblies, and trees to shelter them from the sun in that hot country, than of roofs over them to shelter them from the weather. And these Philo complains the Alexandrians did cut down, when they there rose in a tumult against the Jews that then dwelt with them in that city.

Other places of religious assembly. —And besides these proseuchae, there were other places to which the Israelites, before the captivity, frequently assembled, upon the account of religion; for they often resorted

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to the cities of the Levites, to be taught the ritual and other ceremonies of the Mosaical law, and to the schools of the prophets for all other instructions relating to the things of God; and to these last, it is plain from Scripture, that they usually resorted on the sabbaths and new moons; and what end could there be of this resort, but for instruction in their duties to God? And therefore these places also, as well as the proseuchae, were Moadhe El, i. e. places of assembling on the account of religion; and consequently of all these may the Psalmist be understood in the place above

mentioned. Whether this Psalm, as well as the seventy-ninth, were written prophetically by that Asaph, who lived in the time of David, of the Babylonish captivity (to which it is plain they both relate), or else by some other after it, as is most probable, I shall not here examine. All that is proper for me here to take notice of is, that nothing which is in either of these Psalms can prove that there were any such things as synagogues, wherein the Scriptures were read, or public prayers offered up unto God, till after the Babylonish captivity.

Scrupulous avoidance of idolatry amongst the Jews after the Babylonish captivity to be attributed to the constant reading of the Law and the Prophets. —And if it be examined into, how it came to pass, that the Jews were so prone to idolatry before the Babylonish captivity, and so strongly and cautiously, even to superstition, fixed against it after that captivity, the true reason hereof will appear to be, that they had the law and the prophets every week constantly read unto them after that captivity, which they had not before. For before that captivity, they having no synagogues for public worship or public instruction, nor any places to resort to for either, unless the temple at Jerusalem, or the cities of the Levites, or to the prophets, when God was pleased to send such among them, for want hereof great ignorance grew among the people; God was little known among them, and his laws in a manner wholly forgotten; and therefore, as occasions offered, they were easily drawn into all the superstitions and idolatrous usages of the neighbouring nations that lived round about them, till at length, for the punishment hereof, God gave them up to a dismal destruction in the Babylonish captivity: but after that captivity, and the return of the Jews from it, synagogues being erected among them in every city, to which they constantly resorted for public worship, and where every week they had the law from the first, and after that from the time of Antiochus's persecution, the prophets also read unto them, and were, by sermons and exhortations there delivered at least every sabbath, instructed in their duty and excited to the obedience of it; this kept them in a thorough knowledge of God and his laws. And the threats which they found in the prophets against the breakers of them, after these also came to be read among them, deterred them from transgressing against them. So that the law of Moses was never more strictly observed by them than from the time of

Ezra (when synagogues first came into use among them), to the time of our Saviour; and they would have been unblamable herein, had they not overdone it by adding corrupt traditions of their own devising, whereby at length (as our Saviour chargeth them), they made the law itself of none effect.

Successful propagation of Christianity to be attributed to the like cause. —And as by this method the Jewish religion was preserved in the times mentioned, so also was it by the same that the Christian was so successfully propagated in the first ages of the church, and hath ever since been preserved among us; for as the Jews had their synagogues, in which the law and the prophets were read unto them every sabbath, so the Christians had their churches, in which, from the beginning, all the doctrines and duties of their religion were every Lord's day taught, inculcated, and explained unto them. And by God's blessing upon this method chiefly was it, that this holy religion still bore up against all oppressions, and notwithstanding the ten persecutions, and all other artifices and methods of cruelty and oppression which hell and heathenism could devise to suppress it, grew up and increased under them; which Julian the Apostate was so sensible of, that when he put all his wits to work, to find out new methods for the restoring of the heathen impiety, he could not think of any more effectual for this purpose, than to employ his philosophers to preach it up every week to the people, in the same manner as the ministers of the gospel did the Christian religion. And had it not pleased God to cut him off before he could put this design in execution, it is to be feared his success herein would in a very great measure have answered what he proposed by it.

Immense benefits still derived from weekly preaching. —But to Christians, above all others, this must be of the greatest benefit: for the doctrines of our holy religion having in them the sublimest principles of divine knowledge, and the precepts of it containing all the duties of morality in the highest manner improved, nothing can be of greater advantage to us, for the leading of us to the truest happiness we are capable of, as well in this life as in that which is to come, than to have these weekly

taught and explained unto us, and weekly put home upon our consciences, for the forming of our lives according to them. And the political state or civil government of every Christian country is no less benefited hereby than the church itself: for as it best conduceth to keep up the spirit of religion among us, and to make every man know his duty to God, his neighbour, and himself, so it may be reckoned of all methods the most conducive to preserve peace and good order in the state; for hereby subjects are taught to be obedient to their prince and his laws, children to be dutiful to their parents, servants to be faithful to their masters, and all to be just and charitable and pay all other duties which in every relation they owe to each other. And in the faithful discharge of these duties, doth the peace, good order, and happiness of every community consist. And to be weekly instructed in these duties, and to be weekly excited to the obedience of them, is certainly the properest and the most effectual method to induce men hereto. And it may justly be reckoned, that the good order which is now maintained in this kingdom is more owing to this method than to any other now in practice among us for this end; and that one good minister, by his weekly preaching and daily good example, sets it more forward than any two of the best justices of the peace can by their exactest diligence in the execution of the laws which they are intrusted with: for these, by the utmost of their coercions, can go no

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further than to restrain the outward acts of wickedness; but the other reforms the heart within, and removes all those evil inclinations of it from whence they flow. And it is not to be doubted, but that if this method were once dropped among us, the generality of the people; whatever else may be done to obviate it, would in seven years' time relapse into as bad a state of barbarity as was ever in practice among the worst of our Saxon or Danish ancestors. And therefore, supposing there were no such thing in truth and reality as that holy Christian religion which the ministers of the gospel teach (as too many among us are now permitted with impunity to say), yet the service which they do the civil government, in keeping all men to those

duties, in the observance of which its peace, good order, and happiness consist, may very well deserve the maintenance which they receive from it.

II. NEHEMIAH'S RETURN TO PERSIA, B. C. 433-428.

High priests—Eliashib, 453.

Prophets—Malachi.

Liberality of Nehemiah during his governorship of Judah, 433.— Nehemiah, after he had held the government of Judah twelve years, returned to the Persian court, either recalled thither by the king, or else going thither to solicit for a new commission after the expiration of the former. During all the time that he had been in his government he managed it with great justice, and supported the dignity of his office, through these whole twelve years, with a very expensive and hospitable magnificence. For there sat at his table every day one hundred and fifty of the Jews and rulers, besides strangers who came to Jerusalem from among the heathen nations that were round about them: for as occasions brought them thither, if they were of any quality, they were always invited to the governor's house, and there hospitably and splendidly entertained; so that there was provided for him every day one ox, six choice sheep, and fowls, and wine, and all other things in proportion hereto, which could not but amount to a great expense. Yet all this he bore, through these whole twelve years, out of his own private purse, without burdening the province at all for it, or taking any part of that allowance which before was raised out of it by other governors to support them in their station; which argues his great generosity, as well as his great love and tenderness to the people of his nation, in thus easing them of this burden, and also his vast wealth in being able so to do. The office which he had been in at court gave him the opportunity of amassing great riches; and he thought he could not better expend them than in the service of his country, and by doing all he could to

promote the true interest of it both in church and state; and God prospered him in the work, according to the great zeal with which he laboured in it.

Meto's invention of the cycle of nineteen years, 432. —About this time flourished Meto the famous Athenian astronomer, who invented the Enneadecaeteris, or the cycle of nineteen years, which we call the cycle of the moon; the numbers whereof being, by reason of the excellency of their use, written in the ancient calendars in golden letters, from

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hence in our present almanacks that number of this cycle, which accords with the year for which the almanack is made, is called the golden number. For it is still of as great use to the Christians for the finding out of Easter, and also to the Jews for the fixing of their three great festivals, as it was to the ancient Greeks for the ascertaining of the times of their festivals. And for this last end was it that Meto invented it. For the Greeks being directed by an oracle to observe all their solemn sacrifices and festivals, kata tria, i. e. according to three, and this being interpreted to mean years, months, and days, and that the years were to be reckoned according to the course of the sun, and the months and days according to that of the moon, they thought themselves obliged hereby to observe all these solemnities at the same seasons of the year, and on the same month, and on the same day of the month. And therefore endeavours were made to bring all these to meet together, that is, to bring the same months, and all the days of them, to fall as near as possible within the same times of the sun's course, that so the same solemnities might always be celebrated within the same seasons of the year, as well as in the same months, and on the same days of them. The difficulty lay in this, that whereas the year, according to the course of the sun (which is commonly called the solar year), is made by that revolution of it which brings it round to the same point in the ecliptic; and the Greeks reckoned their months by those revolutions of the moon which brought it round to the same conjunction with the sun, i. e. from one new moon to another, and twelve of these months made their common year (which is commonly called the lunar year); this lunar year fell eleven days short of the solar. And therefore their oracle could not be observed in keeping their solemnities to the same seasons of the year without intercalations; for

otherwise their solemnities would be anticipated eleven days every year, and in thirty-three years' space would be carried backward through all the seasons of the year (as is now done in Turkey, where they use this sort of year); and to intercalate these eleven days every year would make as great a breach upon the other part of the oracle as to the months and days; for then every year would alter the day, and every three years the month; and besides, it would make a breach upon the whole scheme of their year: for with them, in the same manner as with the Jews, their months always began with a new moon, and their years were always made up with these lunar months, so as to end exactly with the last day of the last moon, and to begin exactly with the first day of next moon. It was necessary therefore, for the bringing of all to fall right according to the directions of the oracle, that the intercalations should be made by months; and to find out such an intercalation of months as would at length bring the solar year and the lunar year to an exact agreement, so that both should begin from the same point of time, was that which was to be done for this purpose; for thus only could the solemnities be always kept to the same seasons of the year, as well as to the same months, and the same days of them, and constantly be made fall within the compass of one lunar month at most, sooner or later, within the same times of the

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solar year. And therefore, in order hereunto, cycles were to be invented; and to find out such a cycle of years, wherein by the intercalation or addition of one or more months this might be effected, was the great study and endeavour of the astronomers of those times. The first attempt that was made for this purpose was that of the Dieteris, a cycle of two years, wherein an intercalation was made of one month: but in two years' time, the excess of the solar year above the lunar being only twenty-two days, and a lunar month making twenty-nine days and a half, this intercalation, instead of bringing the lunar year to a reconciliation with the solar, overdid it by seven days and a half; which being a fault that was soon perceived, for the mending of it the Tetraeteris was introduced, which was a cycle of four years. Wherein it was thought that an intercalation of one month would

bring all that to rights which was overdone by the like intercalation of the Dieteris. And this was contrived chiefly with a respect to their Olympic games: for they being the chiefest of their solemnities, and celebrated once every four years, care was taken to bring this solemnity every fourth year as near as they could to the same time of the solar year in which it was performed the Olympiad before; which regularly ought always to have been begun, according to the original institution of that solemnity, on the first full moon after the summer solstice; and it was thought that an intercalation of one month in four years would always bring it to this time, but four solar years exceeding four lunar years forty-three days and a half, the adding one lunar month, or twenty-nine days and a half (of which it consists), fell short of curing this defect full fourteen days; which fault soon discovering itself, for the amending of it they intercalated alternatively one four years with one month, and the next four years with two months, which brought it to the Octoeteris, or the cycle of eight years, wherein by intercalating three months they thought they brought all to rights: and indeed it came much nearer to it than any of the former cycles; for, by this intercalation, the eight lunar years were brought so near to eight solar years, that they differed from them only by an excess of one day, fourteen hours, and nine minutes: and therefore this cycle continued much longer in use than any of the rest. But at length the error, by increasing every year, grew great enough to be also discovered; which produced the invention of several other cycles for the remedying of it: of which this invented by Meto of nineteen years is the perfectest; for it brings the two luminaries to come about to the same points within two hours, one minute, and twenty seconds; so that after nineteen years, the same new moons and the same full moons do within that space come about again to the same points of time in every year of this cycle, in which they happened in the same year of the former cycle. And to a nearer agreement than this no other cycle can bring them. This cycle is made up of nineteen lunar years and seven lunar months, by seven intercalations added to them. The years of this cycle in which these intercalations were made, were the third, sixth, eighth, eleventh, fourteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth, according to Petavius; but according to Mr. Dodwell, they were the third, fifth, eight, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth. Each of these seven intercalated years consisted of thirteen months, and the rest of twelve. The chief use of this cycle among the Greeks being to

settle the times of celebrating their solemnities, and that of their Olympiads being the chiefest of them, and on the fixing of which the fixing of all the rest did depend, it was in the first place applied to this purpose; and the rule of these Olympiads being, that they were to be celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, in order to settle the time of their celebration, it was necessary, in the first place, to settle the time of the summer solstice; and this Meto observed this year to be on the twenty-first day of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, which, reduced to the Julian year, falls on the 27th of June. And therefore the Greeks, having received this cycle, did from this time forward celebrate their Olympiads on the first full moon after the 27th day of our June; and thenceforth also began their year from the new moon preceding; whereas before they began it from the winter solstice, and they calculated both the new moon and the full moon by this cycle; so that from this time the new moon immediately preceding the first full moon after the summer solstice was the beginning of their year, and that first full moon after the said solstice, in every fifth year, was the time of their Olympiads. For that year, in the beginning of which this solemnity was celebrated, was, in their computation of time, called the first year of that Olympiad, reckoning from the new moon preceding; and in the beginning of the fifth year after they celebrated the next Olympiad, which made the time from one Olympiad to another to be just four years, according to the measure of the years then used.

Subsequent application of the cycle to the settlement of Easter and Passover. —But this use of the cycle ceasing with the solemnities of the heathen Greeks, after that Christianity had gotten the assendant in the Roman empire, it thenceforth became applied to another use, and that not only by the Christians, but also by the Jews. For by it the Christians, after the council of Nice, settled our Easter; and from them, some few years after, the Jews learned to make the like use of it for the fixing the time of their Passover, and the making of their intercalations in order to it. But of the manner how each of them applied it for these purposes there will be hereafter an occasion fully to treat, in a place more proper for it.

Commencement of the Peloponnesian war, 431. —The war between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, called the Peloponnesian war (of which Thucydides and Xenophon have written the history), began about the end of the first year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, which lasted twenty-seven years. As soon as they had entered on it, both parties sent their ambassadors to king Artaxerxes to engage him on their side, and pray his aid in the war.

The great plague. —About the same time there broke out a most grievous pestilence, which did overrun a great part of the world. It began first in Ethiopia; from thence it came into Libya and Egypt, and from Egypt it invaded Judæa, Phœnicia, and Syria; and from those parts it spread itself through the whole Persian empire; from whence it passed into Greece, and grievously afflicted the Athenian state, destroying a great number of their people; and among them died Pericles,

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the chiefest and eminentest man of that city, whose wisdom, while he lived, was the mainstay and support of that republic, and of whom only it can be said, that he maintained himself in full credit for forty years together in a popular government. Thucydides hath in his history given us a very full account of this disease, having had thorough experience of it; for he had it himself, and after that, being out of danger of suffering any more by it, he freely visited a great many others that were afflicted with it, and thereby had sufficient opportunity of knowing all the symptoms and calamities that attended it. Lucretius hath also given us a poetical description of it; and Hippocrates hath written of it as a physician: for that great master of the art of physic lived in those times, and was at Athens all the while this distemper raged there. Artaxerxes invited him, with the promise of great rewards, to come into Persia during this plague, to cure those who were infected with it in his armies. But his answer was that he would not leave the Grecians, his countrymen, in this distress, to give his help to barbarians. There are several epistles still extant at the end of Hippocrates's works, said to be written by Artaxerxes, and by Hystanes, his prefect on the Hellespont, and by Hypocrates himself, about this matter. Some think them not to be genuine, but do not give any reasons sufficient to convict them of it. Many

instances in the histories of those times do acquaint us how fond the Persians were of Greek physicians. And Artaxerxes, looking on himself as the greatest of kings, might well enough think he had the best title to have the greatest of physicians to attend upon him, and therefore offered the greatest of rewards to draw him to him. But Hippocrates, having a mind above the temptations of gold and silver, returned him the answer I have mentioned; which provoked him so far, that he sent to Cos, the city of Hippocrates, and where he then was, to command them to deliver unto him Hippocrates, to be punished according to his perverseness; threatening them with the demolition of their city, and the utter ruin of the whole island in which it stood, if they did not comply with him herein. But the Coans, in their answer, did let him know that no threats should ever induce them to betray so eminent a citizen into his hands. This was before Hippocrates went to Athens: for this plague had ravished through the Persian empire before it came to that city; and it was not till the next year after this, that the Athenians were infested with it, that is, in the second year of the Peloponnesian war, as Thucydides tells us.

III. NEHEMIAH'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, IN THE REIGNS OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS, SOGDIANUS, AND DARIUS NOTHUS, B. C. 428-409.

Kings of Persia—Artaxerxes Longimanus, 464,

Sogdianus, 424, —Darius Nothus, 423.

Egypt—Amyrtæus, 414.

High priests of Judah—Eliashib, 453, Joiadah, 413.

Prophets—Malachi.

Nehemiah returns to Jerusalem with a fresh commission, 428.— Nehemiah on his return to the Persian court, having tarried there about five years, in the execution, as it may be supposed, of his former office, at length obtained of the king to be sent back again to Jerusalem with a new commission. The generality of chronologers, as well as the commentators

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upon this part of Scripture, make this his coming back thither to be much sooner. But, considering the many and great corruptions which he tells us, in the thirteenth chapter of his book, the Jews had run into in his absence, it cannot be conceived how, in less than five years' time, they could have grown up to such a height among them. He had been twelve years reforming what was amiss among them, and Ezra had been doing the same for thirteen years before him, whereby they had brought their reformation to such a state and stability, that a little time could not have been sufficient in such a manner to have again unhinged it. It is much more likely, that all this was longer than five years a-doing, than that it should come to pass in so short a time. It is indeed expressed in our English version, that Nehemiah came back again from the Persian court to Jerusalem "after certain days;" but the Hebrew word yamim, which is there rendered days, signifieth also years, and is in a great many places of the Hebrew Scriptures so used.

Prophecies of Malachi.—About this time most likely lived Malachi the prophet. The greatest of the corruptions which he chargeth the Jews with are the same with those which they had run into in the time of Nehemiah's absence; and therefore it is most probable that in this time his prophecies were delivered. It is certain the temple was all finished, and everything restored therein, before his time: for there are passages in his prophecies which clearly suppose it; and he doth not in them charge the Jews with neglecting the restoring of the temple, but their neglecting what appertained to the true worship of God in it. But in what time it was after the restoration of the temple that he prophesied is nowhere said in Scripture; and therefore we can only make our conjectures about it, and I know not where any conjecture can place it with more probability, than in the time where I have said.

Reformations of Nehemiah continued: Tobiah the Ammonite excluded from the temple. —Many things having gone wrong among the Jews during the absence of Nehemiah, as hath been above mentioned, as soon as he was again settled in the government he applied himself with his usual zeal and diligence to correct and again set to rights whatsoever was amiss. And that which he first took notice of, as what, by the flagrancy of the offence, as well as by reason of the place where committed, was the most obvious to be resented by so good a man, was a great profanation which had been introduced into the temple for the sake of Tobiah an Ammonite. This man, though he had made two alliances with the Jews (for Johanan his son had married the daughter of Meshullam the son of Berachiah, who was one of the chief managers of the rebuilding of the wall of Jerusalem under the direction of the governor, and he himself had married the daughter of Shecaniah the son of Arah, another great man among the Jews), yet, being an Ammonite, he bore a national hatred to all that were of the race of Israel; and therefore envying their prosperity, and being averse to whatsoever might promote it, did the utmost that he could to obstruct Nehemiah in all that he did for the good of that people, and confederated with Sanballat, their greatest enemy, to carry on this purpose. However, by reason of the alliances I have mentioned, he had many correspondents among the Jews, who

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were favourers of him, and acted insidiously with Nehemiah on his account. But he, being aware of their devices, withstood and baffled them all, as long as he continued at Jerusalem. But when he went from thence to the Persian court, Eliashib the high priest was prevailed with (as being one of those that were of that confederacy and alliance with Tobiah) to allow and provide for him lodgings within the temple itself: in order whereto he removed "the meat offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil (which was commanded to be given to the Levites, and the singers, and the porters), and the offerings of the priests," out of the chambers where they used to be laid; and out of them made one large apartment for the reception of this heathen stranger. It is doubted by

some, whether this Eliashib were Eliashib the high priest, or only another priest of that name. That which raiseth the doubt is, he is named in the text, where this is related of him, by the title only of priest, and is there said to have the oversight of the chambers of the house of God; from whence it is argued, that he was only chamberlain of the temple, and not the high priest, who was above such an office. But the oversight of the chambers of the house of God may import the whole government of the temple, which belonged to the high priest only: and it is not to be conceived, how any one, that was less than absolute governor of the whole temple, could make so great an innovation in it. Besides, Eliashib the high priest hath no character in Scripture with which such a procedure can be said to be inconsistent. By what is said in the book of Ezra (chap. x. 18), it appears, the pontifical family was in his time grown very corrupt. And no act of his is mentioned either in Ezra or Nehemiah, excepting only his putting to his helping hand in the repairing of the walls of Jerusalem. Had he done anything else worthy of memory in the reforming of what was amiss, either in church or state, in the times either of Ezra or Nehemiah, it may be presumed mention would have been made of it in the books written by them. The silence which is of him in both these books, as to any good act done by him, is a sufficient proof that there was none such to be recorded of him. For the high priest being the head of the Jewish church, had he borne any part with these two good men, when they laboured so much to reform that church, it is utterly improbable that it could have been passed over in their writings, wherein they give an account of what was done in that reformation. What Jeshua his grandfather did in concurrence with Zerubbabel the governor, and Haggai and Zechariah the prophets, in the first re-settling of the church and state of the Jews, after their return from the Babylonish captivity, is all recorded in Scripture; and had Eliashib done any such thing in concurrence with Ezra and Nehemiah, we may take it for certain it would have been recorded there also. Putting all this together, it appears most likely that it was Eliashib the high priest who was the author of this great profanation of the house of God. What was done herein, the text tells us, Nehemiah immediately understood, as soon as he came back again to Jerusalem, and he did immediately set himself to reform it. For, overruling what the high priest had ordered to be done herein, by the authority which he had as governor, he commanded

all the household stuff of Tobiah to be cast out, and the chambers to be again cleansed and restored to their former use.

Separation of the mixed multitude from the Israelites. —The reading of the law to the people having been settled by Nehemiah, so as to be constantly carried on at certain stated times, ever since it was begun under his government by Ezra (perchance from that very beginning on every sabbath-day), when in the course of their lessons they came to the twenty-third chapter of Deuteronomy, where it is commanded, that "a Moabite, or an Ammonite, should not come into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation, for ever;" Nehemiah, taking a handle from hence, separated all the mixed multitude from the rest of the people, that thereby it might be known with whom a true Israelite might lawfully marry. For neither this law, nor any other of the like nature, is to be understood to exclude any one, of what nation soever he were, from entering into the congregation as a proselyte, and becoming a member of their church, that would be converted thereto. Neither did any of the Jews ever so interpret it: for they freely received all into their religion that would embrace it, and, immediately on their conversion, admitted them to all the rites, parts, and privileges of it, and treated them in all respects in the same manner as true Israelites, excepting only in the case of marriage. And therefore this phrase in the text, of "not entering into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation," must be understood to include no more than a prohibition not to be married thereinto till then; and thus all the Jewish doctors expound it. For their doctrine, as to the case of their marrying with such as were not of their nation, is stated by them in manner as followeth :—

Law respecting the intermarriages of Jews and Gentiles. —None of the house of Israel of either sex were to enter into marriage with any Gentiles, of what nation soever, unless they were first converted to their religion, and became entire proselytes to it. And when they were become thus thorough proselytes, they were not all immediately to be admitted to this privilege of making intermarriages with them; for some were barred wholly from it for ever, others only in part, and some only for a limited time. Of the first sort were all of the seven nations of the Canaanites,

mentioned in Deut. vii. Of the second sort were the Moabites and the Ammonites, whose males, they hold, were excluded for ever, but not their females: for the Hebrew text naming an Ammonite and a Moabite, in the masculine gender only, they understand it only of the males, and not of the females. And this exception they make for the sake of Ruth; for she, though a Moabitish woman, had been married to two husbands of the house of Israel, the last of which was Boaz, of whom David was descended by her. And of the third sort were the Edomites and the Egyptians, with whom they might not marry till the third generation. With all others, who were not of the three excepted sorts, they might freely make intermarriages whenever they became thorough proselytes to their religion. But at present, it not being to be known who is an Edomite, who an

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Ammonite, or a Moabite, or who an Egyptian, of the race of the Egyptians then mentioned in the text, by reason of the confusions which have since happened of all nations with each other, they hold this prohibition to have been long since out of date; and that now any Gentile, as soon as proselyted to their religion, may immediately be admitted to make intermarriages with them. In interpreting the exclusion of the Ammonites and Moabites in the text to be for ever, they seem to exceed the prohibition of the law therein delivered; for there (i. e. Deut. xxiii. 3) it is extended only to the tenth generation. The words are, "Even to the tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord for ever." The meaning of which seems plainly to be, that this should be observed as a law for ever, that an Ammonite or a Moabite was not to be admitted into the congregation of Israel, so as to be capable of making marriages with them, till the tenth generation after their becoming proselytes to the Jewish religion: But "ten generations," and "for ever," being both in the same text, and within the same prohibiting clause, they interpret the former expression by the latter, and will have it, that so long a prohibition as that of ten generations signifieth therein tantamount to for ever: and they ground this chiefly upon the text of Nehemiah, which we are now treating of. For here, in the recital of this law, the prohibition is said to be for ever, without the limitation of

ten generations. But the words of Nehemiah are plainly an imperfect quotation of what is in the law, and seem to intend no more by that recital, than to send us to the place of the original text of the law, where it is to be perfectly found. And in all laws in the world, the words of the original text are to be depended upon, for the intention of the lawgiver, before any quotations of them, by whomsoever made.

Nehemiah corrects the misappropriation of the tithes, and enforces the due observance of the sabbath. —Among other corruptions that grew up during the absence of Nehemiah, one especially to be taken notice of was the neglect of the carrying on of the daily service of the house of God in such manner as it ought. For the tithes, which were to maintain the ministers of the temple in their offices and stations, being either embezzled by the high priest, and other rulers of the temple under him, or else subtracted by the laity, and not paid at all, for want of them the Levites and singers were driven from the temple, every one to his own home, there to seek for a subsistence some other way. This abuse the governor, whose piety led him always to attend the public worship, could not be long without taking notice of; and when he had observed it, and thoroughly informed himself of the cause, he soon provided very effectively for its remedy: for he forthwith made those dues to be again brought into the treasuries of the temple, and forced every man faithfully and fully to pay them whereby a maintenance being again provided for those that attended the service of the house of God, all was there again restored to its pristine order. And he also took care that the sabbath should be duly observed, and made many good orders for the preventing of the profanation of it, and caused them all to be effectively put in execution. But though all these things are mentioned in one chapter, they were not all done at one time; but the

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good man brought them about as occasions were administered, and as he saw opportunities best served for the successful effecting of them.

Plato born. —In this same year, in which we suppose Nehemiah came back again to his government of Judæa from the Persian court, that is, in the first year of the eighty-eighth Olympiad, was born Plato, the famous

Athenian philosopher, who came nearest to the truth in divine matters of any of the heathens; for he having, in his travels into the East, where he went for his improvement in knowledge, conversed with the Jews, and gotten some insight into the writings of Moses, and their own sacred books, he learned many things from them, which others of his profession could not attain unto; and therefore he is said by Numenius to be none other than Moses speaking Greek; and many of the ancient Fathers speak of him to the same purpose.

Reäppearance of the plague at Athens: Athenians allowed to marry two wives, 426.—In the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, the plague broke out again at Athens, and destroyed great numbers of their people. This, with the other plague that happened four years before, having much exhausted that city of its inhabitants, for the better replenishing of it again, a new law was made, to allow every man there to marry two wives. From the time of Cecrops, who was the first planter of Attica, and the founder of the city of Athens in it, no such thing as polygamy was there ever known, or was any man allowed to have any more than one wife, both their law and their usage till now being contrary thereto. But from this time it was allowed, for the cause which I have mentioned: and Socrates the philosopher was one of the first that made use of the privilege of it, being then forty-three years old; for he was born in the last year of the seventy-seventh Olympiad (which was the year 469 before Christ); for to Xantippe, his former wife, he took another called Myrto, and all the benefit he had by it was to have two scolds instead of one, to exercise his patience. As long as they disagreed, they were continually scolding, brawling, or fighting with each other; and whenever they agreed, they both joined in brawling at him, and often fell on him with their fists as well as with their tongues, and beat him soundly. And this was a very just punishment upon him for giving countenance, by his practice, to so unnatural and mischievous a usage. For everywhere more males than females being born into the world, this sufficiently proves, that God and nature never intended any more than one woman for one man; and they certainly act contrary to the laws of both, that have more than one to wife at the same time. Although the supreme Lawgiver dispensed with the children of Israel in this case, this is no rule for others to act by.

Artaxerxes sends an ambassador to Sparta, 425. —In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes sent an ambassador, called Artaphernes, to the Lacedæmonians, with letters written in the Assyrian language; wherein, among other things, he tells them, that several

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ambassadors had come to him from them, but with messages so differing, that he could not learn from them what it was that they would have; and that therefore he had sent this Persian to them, to let them know, that if they had anything to propose to him, they should, on his return, send with him to his court some by whom he might clearly understand what their mind was. But this ambassador being got on in his way as far as Eion, on the river Strymon in Thracia, he was there taken prisoner, about the end of the year, by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens, where the Athenians treated him with much kindness and respect, thereby the better to reconcile to them the favour of the Persian king. And the next year after [B. C. 424], as soon as the seas were safely passable, they sent him back in a ship of their own, at the public charges, and appointed some of their citizens to go with him as ambassadors from them to the king; but when they were landed at Ephesus, in order to this journey, they there understood that Artaxerxes was lately dead; whereon the ambassadors proceeded no farther; but having there dismissed Artaphernes, returned again to Athens.

Death of Artaxerxes Longimanus, 424.—Artaxerxes died within three months after the beginning of the forty-first year of his reign, and was succeeded in his kingdom by Xerxes, the only son that he had by his queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen others, among whom were Sogdianus (by Ctesias called Secundianus), Ochus, and Arsites.

Short reign of Sogdianus, 424.—Xerxes having made himself drunk at one of their festivals, and thereon being retired to sleep it out in his bedchamber, Sogdianus took the advantage of it, by the help and treachery of Pharnacyas, one of Xerxes's eunuchs, then to fall upon him, and slew him, after he had reigned only forty-five days, and succeeded him in the kingdom. And as soon as he was on the throne, he put to death Bagorazus, the faithfullest of his father's eunuchs. Artaxerxes being dead, and his queen

the mother of Xerxes dying also the same day, Bagorazus undertook the care of their funeral, and carried both their corpses to the accustomed burial-place of the royal family in Persia. But on his return, Sogdianus being on the throne, he was very ill received by him, on the account of some former quarrel that had been between them in his father's lifetime; in revenge whereof, a little after, taking pretence from something which he found fault with in the management of his father's funeral, he caused him to be stoned to death; by which two murders, that of his brother Xerxes, and this of the faithful eunuch, having made himself very odious to the army, as well as the nobility, he soon found that he sat very unsafe upon the throne which he had so wickedly gotten possession of. Whereon growing jealous and suspicious, lest some of his brothers should serve him as he had served Xerxes, and fearing Ochus, whom his father had made governor of Hyrcania, more than all the rest, he sent for him to come to court, with intention to rid himself of him, by putting him to death. But Ochus, perceiving what his designs were, under several pretences, from time to time delayed his coming, till at length, having got together a powerful army, he marched against him

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for the revenging (as he declared) the death of his brother Xerxes; whereon many of the nobility, and several governors of provinces, who were disgusted with the cruelty and mismanagement of Sogdianus, revolted from him and went over to Ochus, and having put the royal tiara upon his head, declared him king. Sogdianus, seeing himself thus deserted, fell into great fear of the power of his brother, and having less courage to defend what he had wickedly done, than he had to commit it, was prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the wisest and best of his friends, to come to a treaty with Ochus; who having hereby gotten him into his power, cast him into ashes, and there made him die a most cruel death. This was one of the punishments of the Persians, whereby great criminals among them were put to death. The manner of it is described in the thirteenth chapter of the Second Book of the Maccabees to be thus:—"A high tower being filled a great way up with ashes, the criminal was from the top thrown down headlong into them, and there had the ashes, by a wheel, continually stirred

up and raised about him, till he was suffocated by them and died." And thus this wicked prince with his life lost his empire, after he had held it only six months and fifteen days.

Accession of Ochus, under the name of Darius Nothus, 423.—Sogdianus being thus despatched, Ochus obtained the kingdom; and as soon as he was settled in it, he changed his name, taking that of Darius instead of Ochus, and is the same whom historians call Darius Nothus. He reigned nineteen years, and is in Ptolemy's Canon placed as the next immediate successor of Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to the method of that Canon, which always reckons to the predecessor the whole last year in which he died, and placeth him as the next successor who was on the throne in the beginning of the year following (as hath been already observed); and both the reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus making but eight months, and these not reaching to the end of the year in which Artaxerxes died, their reigns in that Canon are cast into the last year of Artaxerxes, and Darius is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor. But it not being the usage of the Persian kings, on their accession to the throne, to displace any of the governors of provinces, unless they were such as they had just reason to mistrust, Nehemiah, during all these revolutions in the empire, continued still in his government of Judæa, and went on with the same zeal and vigour to reform it in all things relating either to church or state, and to correct and set all at rights that was amiss in either of them.

Revolt of Arsites, and its suppression, 422.—Arsites seeing how Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and Ochus Sogdianus, thought to do the same with Ochus. And therefore, though he was his brother by the same mother, as well as by the same father, rebelled against him, and Artyphius the son of Megabyzus joined with him in this revolt. Ochus, now called Darius, sent against Artyphius, Artasyras, one of his generals, while he with another army marched against Arsites. Artyphius vanquished his adversary in two battles by the help of his Grecian mercenaries. But these being bribed over to Artasyrus, he

lost the third battle; and thereby being reduced to the utmost difficulty, he surrendered, on hopes given him of mercy, into the hands of Darius, who would immediately have put him to death, but that he was dissuaded from it by Parysatis his queen. She was one of the daughters of Artaxerxes his father by another mother, and a very subtle, crafty woman, and whose counsel and advice he chiefly depended upon in the management of all his affairs. Her advice on the present occasion was to treat Artyphius with all manner of clemency, that by such usage of a rebel servant, he might the better encourage his rebel brother to hope for the same favour, and cast himself upon his mercy; and that, if he could this way decoy him into his power, he might then deal with both as he should think fit. Darius, following this advice, had that success in it which was proposed: for Arsites, being informed with what clemency Artyphius was treated, thought he, as a brother, might be favoured much more; and therefore coming to terms with the king, yielded himself unto him. But when he had thus got him into his power, he cast both him and Artyphius into the ashes, and there made them both miserably perish. Darius was much inclined to have spared Arsites; but he was overruled herein by the advice of Parysatis, who pressed it upon him, that he could no otherwise provide for his own safety, but by the death of this rebel. And the force of this argument prevailed with him, though with great difficulty, to consent to it. They being both born of the same mother, this was the cause of the tenderness which he had for him. He also put to death Pharnacyas the eunuch, for the hand which he had in the death of Xerxes; and Monasthenes another eunuch, who was the chief confidant of Sogdianus, and also concerned with him in his treachery against his brother, was forced to kill himself to avoid the punishment of a much severer death which was intended for him. But all these executions did not set Darius at quiet upon his throne. For many other troubles were raised against him afterwards.

Revolt of Pisuthnes, and its suppression by Tissaphernes, 414.—The chiefest and the most dangerous of these troubles was the rebellion of Pisuthnes, who, being made governor of Lydia, did there set up for himself, and cast off his obedience to the king; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the confidence which he placed in an army of mercenary Greeks, whom he had got together into his service, under the command of Lycon an

Athenian. Against him Darius sent Tissaphernes with an army to suppress the rebel, and also with a commission to be governor of Lydia in his stead. Tissaphernes, being a very crafty and insidious man, finds ways to get within Pisuthnes's Grecian mercenaries, and having, with large gifts and larger promises, corrupted both them and their general to change sides, they deserted Pisuthnes, and went over to Tissaphernes, whereby Pisuthnes, being left too weak any longer to carry on his designs, was persuaded, on promises made him of pardon, to trust to them, and surrender himself; but as soon as he was brought to the king, he caused him to be cast into the ashes, and there perish in the same manner as had been the fate of the other rebels before him. However, this did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised in those parts; for Amorgas his son still continued in arms with the remaining part of his army, and for about two years after infested the maritime provinces of Lesser Asia, till at length being taken prisoner

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by the Peloponnesians at Iasus, a city of Ionia, he was delivered to Tissaphernes, and put to death.

Treasonous designs and execution of Artozares.—The next disturbance which Darius had was from Artoxares, the chief of the eunuchs. He had three eunuchs, by whose ministry he governed all the affairs of his empire; these were Artoxares, Artibarxanes, and Athous; and next Parysatis his queen, he placed his greatest confidence in them, and trusted to their counsel and advice above all others, in whatsoever he did, through all the emergencies of the government. By which height of authority Artoxares being intoxicated, from being chief minister, he at length began to dream of making himself chief governor of the empire, and laid designs of cutting off Darius, and seizing the throne for himself. And that his being an eunuch might be no obstacle to him herein, he married a wife, and wore an artificial beard, that he might be thought to be no eunuch. But his wife, knowing the whole plot, and being perchance weary of a husband whom she found to be truly an eunuch in her bed, whatsoever he pretended to be out of it, discovered all to the king whereon he was taken into custody, and delivered over into the hands of Parysatis, who caused him to be put to death in such

manner as would best satiate her cruelty, in which she exceeded all women living.

Successful revolt of Egypt under Amyrtœus.—But the greatest misfortune that befell Darius during all his reign was the revolt of Egypt, which happened in the same year with the revolt of Pisuthnes. For although Darius again mastered the latter of these rebellions, he never could the other. But the whole province of Egypt, which was one of the best of the whole Persian empire, was lost unto him all the remaining part of his reign, as it also was to his successors, till it was again reduced by Ochus, as will be hereafter related. For the Egyptians being weary of the Persian yoke, Amyrtæus Saites took the advantage of it, and sallied out of his fens, where he had reigned ever since the suppression of Inarus's revolt, and being joined by the other Egyptians, soon drove the Persians out of the country, and make himself king of all Egypt, and reigned there six years.

Condemnation of Diagoras the atheist at Athens.—About this time happened at Athens the condemnation of Diagoras the Melian. He having settled in that city, and there taught atheism, the Athenians prosecuted him for it. But by flying out of that country he escaped the punishment of death, which was intended for him, although not the sentence. For the Athenians, having in his absence condemned him for his impious doctrine, did set a price upon his head, and decreed the reward of a talent to whosoever should kill him, wheresoever he should be found. And about twenty years before, they had proceeded against Protagoras, another philosopher, with the like severity, for only doubting of the being of a God. For in the beginning of one of his books, he having written thus:—"Of the gods I know nothing, neither that they are, nor that they are not. For there are many things that hinder, the blindness of our understanding, and the shortness of human life:" the Athenians would not endure so much as the raising of a

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doubt about this matter; but calling in all his books by the common criers of their city, they caused them all publicly to be burnt with infamy, and banished the author out of their territories for ever. Both these had been the scholars of Democritus, the first founder of the atomical philosophy, which

is indeed wholly an atheistical scheme. For though it allows the being of a God in name, it takes it away in effect; for by denying the power of God to create the world, and the providence of God to govern the world, and the justice of God to judge the world, they do the same in effect as if they had denied his being. But this they durst not openly do, even among the heathens, for fear of punishment; the greater shame is it to us, who in a Christian state permit so many impious wretches to do this thing among us, with a free liberty and absolute impunity.

Eliashib the high priest of the Jews died in [B. C. 413] the eleventh year of Darius Nothus, after he had held that pontificate forty years, and was succeeded in it by Joiada his son.

Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus governors in Asia Minor: their policy with Greece during the Peloponnesian war, 412.—At this time Tissaphernes was governor of Lydia and Ionia, and Pharnabazus of the Hellespont, for king Darius; who being men of great craft, and also of great application for the prosecuting the interest of their prince, were not wanting to make the best advantage they could of the divisions of the Greeks, for the promoting of the welfare of the Persian empire. The Peloponnesian war had now been carried on between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians to the twentieth year. The policy practised herein by these two Persians was, sometimes to help one and sometimes the other, that the matter being equally balanced between them, neither might, by suppressing the other, be at leisure to trouble them who had so long been the common enemy of both. And therefore, at this time, the Athenians seeming to them to have the ascendant over the other in the fortune of the war, especially on the Asian coasts, and having there much provoked them by the auxiliaries which they had sent under the command of Lycon, for the aiding and supporting of Pisuthnes in his revolt, they entered into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians against them. This had been treated of with them by Tissaphernes the following year, but now was, by the consent of both governors, agreed to, whereby the Persians were obliged to furnish the Lacedæmonians with large subsidies for the payment of their fleet; and the Lacedæmonians, in consideration hereof, yielded that the Persian king should have all those countries and cities which he or his ancestors had at any time before the date of the treaty been possessed of. But when this

treaty came to be examined in a full assembly of the Lacedæmonians, the concessions made in it to the king of Persia were thought too large, as including all the islands of the Egean Sea, and also all those countries which Xerxes had taken possession of on this side the Hellespont; and therefore the ratification of them was denied. And by this time the Athenians wanting the balance on their side to make them bear even with their adversaries, Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus, upon this provocation, carried over their assistance to them; and although the next year, on an emendation made in the

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yielding clause, by limiting of it to the Asian provinces, the treaty was ratified and confirmed by the Lacedæmonians, yet by several underhand and indirect practices they rather assisted the Athenians than them, especially in defrauding their fleet of the subsidies they promised to pay them, and by sending back Alcibiades again to the Athenians, which turned the whole fate of the war. And thus they continued, either openly or covertly, sometimes to help one, and sometimes to help the other, in order to weaken and waste both, till Cyrus came to be chief governor of the Asian provinces.

Amyrtœus established on the throne of Egypt, 410.—Amyrtæus having settled himself in the kingdom of Egypt, by a total expulsion of the Persians out of that country, made great preparations to follow them into Phœnicia, and had the Arabians in confederacy with him for this purpose. Of which the king of Persia having received advice, the fleet with which he had stipulated to help the Lacedæmonians was recalled to defend his own territories. But the war seems not to have broken out there till the year following.

Completion of the first seven weeks of the seventy weeks of Daniel's prophecy, 409.—In the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus ended the first seven weeks of the seventy weeks of Daniel's prophecy. For then the restoration of the church and state of the Jews in Jerusalem and Judæa was fully finished, in that last act of reformation, which is recorded in the thirteenth chapter of Nehemiah, from the twenty-third verse to the end of

the chapter, just forty-nine years after it had been first begun by Ezra in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus. And this reformation was the removal of all unlawful marriages from among the people: for although the law strictly forbade them to make intermarriages with any foreign nation, either by giving their daughters to them for wives, or by taking their daughters to themselves; yet since their return from the Babylonish captivity they had given little regard hereto, but took to them wives of all the nations round about them, with whom God had strictly commanded them not to make any alliances. It seems most likely that while they were mixed with the strange nations of those countries of the East, into which they were carried captive by the Babylonians, they there first made these strange marriages, and from thence brought with them this forbidden usage on their return. Ezra found it spread among them on his first coming to Jerusalem; and although for a while he had brought it to a thorough reformation, yet by the time that Nehemiah came to succeed him, the corruption was grown up again; and although he did then again reform it, and made all the people enter into a covenant with God, and seal it with an oath and a curse upon themselves, strictly to observe the rule of God's law herein for the future; and a little after his last return to his government he had made another reformation herein, by separating from Israel all the mixed multitude, yet this did not wholly root out the evil; but it grew up again, and at length came to such an height, that the pontifical house, which of all others ought to have been kept the clearest from all such impure commixtures, was polluted therewith. For one of the sons of Joiada the high priest, whom Josephus calls Manasseh, had married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite;

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whereby an ill example being given for the breach of the law, by such as were most concerned to see to the observance of it, Nehemiah came in with the utmost stretch of his power to remedy this enormity, and forced all who had taken such strange wives forthwith to part with them, or depart the country; whereon Manasseh, being unwilling to quit his wife, fled to Samaria, and many others, who, being in the same case with him, were also of the same mind, accompanied him thither, and there settled under the

protection of Sanballat, who was the governor of the place. It may be here objected, that I put the last reformation of Nehemiah too low, and the marriage of Manasseh too high; and therefore it will be necessary, before I proceed any further, to clear these two particulars.

Date of the last reformation of Nehemiah.—As to the first of these, this last act of Nehemiah's reformation, whereby he purged the land of such as would not be obedient to the law of God in the case of their wives, Nehemiah himself tells us, it was while Joiada was high priest at Jerusalem. But according to the Chronicon Alexandrinum (which gives us the truest account of the succession of the high priests of the Jews, from the captivity of Babylon to the reign of the Seleucian kings), Joiada succeeded in the high priesthood, on the death of Eliashib his father, only four years before this year in which I place this act of reformation. And therefore higher than this, unless in one of these four years, it cannot be placed within the time of Joiada's high priesthood. And that which determines me to place it in the fifth year of that priesthood, rather than in any of the four preceding, is the prophecy of Daniel's seventy weeks. For by that prophecy, from the going forth of the decree to restore and build Jerusalem (that is, to restore and build up again the church and state of the Jews at Jerusalem by a thorough reformation of both), to the end of that reformation, were to be seven of those weeks, that is, forty-nine years. And these forty-nine years beginning in the seventh year of Artaxerxes Longimanus, when this decree was granted to Ezra, they must end in the fifteenth year of Darius Nothus his son, which was the fifth year of the high priesthood of Joiada; and therefore here this reformation must have had its ending also. And since the expulsion of Manasseh, with such others with him as would not be reformed, is the last act which is mentioned to have been done of this reformation in those very Scriptures, which are professedly written to give us an account of the whole of it, what is more reasonable than to infer, that in this act it had its conclusion: and that therefore this act must be there placed where that reformation ended, that is, forty-nine years after it had its beginning, according to the prophecy of Daniel which I have mentioned? And from the seventh of Artaxerxes Longimanus to the fifteenth of Darius Nothus were just forty-nine years. If any one shall say, that in the text of Nehemiah (ch. xiii. 28) the word high priest is put in apposition with Eliashib, and not with

Joiada, and that therefore this last act of Nehemiah's reformation was in the high

priesthood of Eliashib, and not in that of Joiada his son; my answer to it is, that the Hebrew original cannot bear this interpretation; for it having been the usage of the Jews, as well as of all other nations of the East, for the better distinguishing of persons, to add the name of the father to that of the son, in the same manner as was lately practised by the Welsh, and still is among the Irish, these words in the text, Joiada Ben Eliashib, i. e. Joiada the son of Eliashib, all together make but one name of the same person, and therefore the word high priest, which followeth, can be put in apposition with nothing but the whole of it.

Date of the marriage of Manasseh.—As to the second objection, that I place the marriage of Manasseh too high, my answer is, I place it where the Scriptures place it, that is, in the high priesthood of Joiada. Josephus, indeed, placeth this marriage in the high priesthood of Jaddua, the grandson of Joiada, and saith, that he who contracted it was the brother of Jaddua, and the son of Johanan. To reconcile this matter, some fancy that there were two Sanballats, the first the Sanballat of the Holy Scriptures, and the other the Sanballat of Josephus; and that there were two marriages contracted by two different persons, sons of two different high priests of the Jews, with two different women, who were each daughters of two different Sanballats, the first the daughter of the Sanballat of the Scriptures, and the other the daughter of the Sanballat of Josephus; and that he that married the first of them was a son of Joiada, but that he that married the second of them was the son of Johanan, and brother of Jaddua. But as I have shown before that there could be but one Sanballat, and that the Sanballat of Josephus was the same with the Sanballat of the Holy Scriptures, but that Josephus, by a mistake in his chronology, placed him in the time of Darius Codomannus, whereas he should have placed him in the time of Darius Nothus; so it must follow from hence, that he was one and the same high priest's son that married his daughter; for each who is said to have contracted this marriage being the son of a high priest of the Jews, each marrying the daughter of a Sanballat governor of Samaria, and each being expelled Jerusalem for it,

these three characters sufficiently prove both to be the same person. The Scriptures indeed give him no name, but Josephus calls him Manasseh, and therefore I call him so too. The question, therefore, being reduced to this, whether this marriage is to be placed in the high priesthood of Joiada and the reign of Darius Nothus, where the Scriptures place it, or else in the high priesthood of Jaddua, and the reign of Darius Codomannus, where Josephus placeth it; I hope there will be no difficulty in determining which authority to follow.

War between Egypt and Persia: Sanballat obtains from Darius Nothus a grant for building a temple on Mount Gerizim.—The war being carried on between the Egyptians and the Persians, and each contending to enlarge and strengthen their barrier on the borders, it seems most likely that Darius, on this occasion, came in person into Phœnicia; and that then it was that Sanballat, attending him, so far insinuated himself into his favour as to obtain from him a grant to build on Mount Gerizim, near Samaria, a temple like that at Jerusalem, and

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to make Manasseh his son-in-law high priest of it; and that herein all that had its foundation, which Josephus, by mistaking the time, attributes to Darius Codomannus and Alexander the Great. And perchance this war might some time after produce that siege of Gaza at which Sanballat died: for even at this time he must have been a very old man. Gaza being the common inlet between Egypt and Phœnicia, for the passing of each to other, the possession of it was of great importance on either side. If held by the Egyptians, it would be a gate to let them in to ravage Judæa, Phœnicia, and Syria; and if by the Persians, it would be a strong barrier to keep them out, and also be a like gate for the passage of the Persian forces into Egypt. And therefore if Amyrtæus had now possessed himself of this important post, it concerned the king of Persia to do his utmost to recover it: for without it he could neither defend the territories which he had remaining in those parts, nor pass into Egypt to recover what he had there lost; for he that was master of this pass could obstruct the passage either way. And therefore Alexander himself, after his victory at Issus, could not pass into Egypt till he had taken it.

Condition of Samaria and the Samaritans.—Sanballat having built this temple, and made Manasseh high priest of it, Samaria thenceforth became the common refuge and asylum of the refractory Jews: so that if any among them were found guilty of violating the law, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the sabbath, or the like, and were called to an account for it, they fled to the Samaritans, and there found reception; by which means it came to pass, that after some time the greatest part of that people were made up of apostate Jews and their descendants. The first of these Samaritans were the Cutheans, and such others of the Eastern nations as Esarhaddon planted there after the deportation of the Israelites. But when these apostate Jews flocked to them, they became a mongrel sort of people, made up of both. But the mixing of so many Jews among them soon made a change in their religion. For whereas they had hitherto worshipped the God of Israel only in conjunction with their other gods, that is, the gods of those nations of the East from whence they came; after a temple was built among them, in which the daily service was constantly performed in the same manner as at Jerusalem, and the book of the law of Moses was brought to Samaria, and there publicly read to them, they soon left off worshipping their false gods, and conformed themselves wholly to the worship of the true God, according to the rule which was in that book prescribed to them, and were more exact in it (as some of the Jewish doctors acknowledge) than the Jews themselves. However, the Jews, looking on them as apostates, hated them above all the nations of the earth, so as to avoid all manner of converse and communication with them. This hatred first began from the opposition which the Samaritans made against them on their return from the Babylonish captivity, both in their rebuilding of the temple and their repairing of

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the walls of Jerusalem, of which an account hath been above given; and it was afterwards much increased by this apostasy of Manasseh, and those who joined with him in it, and by their erecting hereon an altar and a temple, in opposition to theirs at Jerusalem.

Intense hatred between the Jews and the Samaritans.—And all others who at any time after fled from Jerusalem, for the violating of the law,

always finding reception among the Samaritans, this continually further added to the rancour which the Jews had entertained against them, till at length it grew to that height, that the Jews published a curse and an anathema against them, the bitterest that ever was denounced against any people: for thereby they forbade all manner of communication with them, declaring all the fruits and products of their land, and everything else of theirs, which was either eaten or drunk among them, to be as swine's flesh, and prohibited all of their nation ever to taste thereof, and also excluded all of that people from being ever received as proselytes to their religion. And, in the last place, proceeded so far as even to the barring of them for ever from having any portion in the resurrection of the dead to eternal life, as if this also were in their power. This curse they say was first denounced against them by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, on the opposition which they gave them in the rebuilding of the temple, and by them transmitted to the Jews of Babylon, where it being also ratified and confirmed, it became thereby the act and sentence of the whole Jewish church. This account is given of it in Pirke R. Eliezer, which is reputed one of the ancientest of their books. And ever since, they say, it hath been renewed, and also, by adding curse upon curse, continually aggravated among them. But it is not likely that this was done by Zerubbabel and Jeshua, in the manner as related by R. Eliezer. If it were done at all, it was done afterwards, when the hatred of the Jews against them was grown to the utmost height from the causes mentioned. But thus much is certain, that for many ages past the conduct of the Jews towards the Samaritans hath been according to the tenor of this anathema; they constantly refusing all manner of converse or communication with them: and so it was even in our Saviour's time. For why else should the woman of Samaria ask our Saviour, "How is it that thou being a Jew askest drink of me, who am a woman of Samaria?" but that it was even then forbidden among the Jews either to eat or drink anything of that which was the Samaritans': and the words immediately following are to this purpose; for they tell us that "the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans." The common name by which they call these people is that of Cutheans, which is a name of so great infamy among them, that whenever they are provoked to express the utmost of their rancour against any one, they call him Cuthean, in the same manner as we often call those whom we detest Jews or Turks; but that of Cuthean imports a much greater degree of detestation among

them than either of the other two does among us. And that this humour was very ancient among them appears from hence, that when the Jews expressed their utmost aversion to our Saviour,

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they said unto him, "Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil;" as if to be a Samaritan, and have a devil, were things of equal reproach. And the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, when he reckons up the nations which were most detestable to the Jews, names "the foolish people that dwell in Sichem" to be those who were chiefly so. However, the Samaritans themselves will not own their original from those Eastern colonies of Esarhaddon, but claim to be descended from the sons of Joseph, and therefore call Jacob their father; and so the woman of Samaria calls him in her discourse with our Saviour. But Josephus tells us, they used to do this only when the Jews were in prosperity. But if at any time they fell under difficulties or oppressions, they then disclaimed all relation to them, saying they were of another nation, as was notoriously done by them in the time of Antiochus's persecution.

Religious differences between the Jews and the Samaritans. —The particulars in which the Samaritans and the Jews differ from each other in their religion are these following:

I. Samaritans reject all the Scriptures excepting the five books of Moses: origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch.—The Samaritans receive none other Scriptures than the five books of Moses, rejecting all the other books which are in the Jewish canon. And these five books they still have among them, written in the old Hebrew or Phœnician character, which was in use among them before the Babylonish captivity, and in which both these and all other Scriptures were written, till Ezra transcribed them into that of the Chaldeans. And this hath led many learned men into a mistake, as if the Samaritan copy, because written in the old character, were the true authentic copy, and that Ezra's was only a transcript; whereas in truth the Samaritan Pentateuch is no more than a transcript, copied in another character from that of Ezra, with some variations, additions, and transpositions made therein. That it was copied from that of Ezra is manifest from two reasons.

For, 1st, It hath all the interpolations that Ezra's copy hath; and that he was the author of those interpolations is generally acknowledged: and therefore, had it been ancienter than Ezra's copy, it must have been without them. 2ndly, There are a great many variations in the Samaritan copy, which are manifestly caused by the mistake of the similar letters in the Hebrew alphabet; which letters having no similitude in the Samaritan character, this evidently proves those variations were made in transcribing the Samaritan from the Hebrew, and not in transcribing the Hebrew from the Samaritan. It seems from hence to be beyond all doubt, that Manasseh, when he fled to the Samaritans, first brought the law of Moses among them. Esarhaddon indeed sent to his new colony, which he had planted in Samaria, an Israelitish priest, to teach them the way of worshipping God according to the manner of the former inhabitants; but it appears not that he did this by bringing the law of Moses among them, or that they were any otherwise instructed in it than by tradition, till Manasseh came among them. For had they received the law of Moses from the first, and made that the rule of worship which they paid the God of Israel from the time of the

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coming of that priest among them, how could they have continued in that gross idolatry of worshipping other gods in conjunction with him, which that law doth so often and so strictly forbid? And yet in this idolatry, it is agreed on all hands, they continued till the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim; and therefore it seems clear, that till then they had not a copy of this law, but that when Manasseh, and so many apostate Jews with him, came over to them, and settled in Samaria, they first brought it among them; and because the old Phoenician character was that only which the Samaritans were accustomed to, they caused this law for their sakes to be written out in that character; and in this they have retained it ever since. This Samaritan Pentateuch was well known to many of the Fathers and ancient Christian writers: for it is quoted by Origen, Africanus, Eusebius, Jerome, Diodor of Tarsus, Cyril of Alexandria, Procopius Gazæus, and others. That which made it so familiar to them was a Greek translation of it then extant, which now is lost; for as there was a Greek translation of the Hebrew Scriptures made for the use of the Hellenistical Jews, which we call

the Septuagint, so also was there a like Greek translation of the Samaritan Scriptures (that is, the Pentateuch, which they only allowed for such) made for the use of the Hellenistical Samaritans, especially for those of Alexandria, where the Samaritans dwelt in great numbers, as well as the Jews. Origen, indeed, and Jerome understood the Hebrew language; and therefore might have consulted the Samaritan text, that being none other than Hebrew in another character; but the rest of those mentioned, understanding nothing of it, could no otherwise have any knowledge of this Samaritan Pentateuch but from the translation of it. And there is also an old scholiast upon the Septuagint that makes frequent mention of it. But this as well as the other ancient books in which any mention of this Samaritan Pentateuch is to be found, were all written before the end of the sixth century. From that time, for above one thousand years after, it hath lain wholly in the dark, and in an absolute state of oblivion among all Christians both of the West and East, and hath been no more spoken of after that time by any of their writers, till about the beginning of the last century, when Scaliger, having got notice that there was such a Samaritan Pentateuch among those of that sect in the East, made heavy complaints that no one would take care to get a copy of it from thence, and bring it among us into these parts. A little after this, Archbishop Usher procured several copies of it out of the East; and not long after Sancius Harley, a priest of the oratory at Paris, and afterwards bishop of St. Malo's in Britanny, brought another copy into Europe, and reposited it in the library belonging to that order in Paris. From which copy Morinus, another priest of the same order, published it in the Paris Polyglot. This Sancius Harley had been ambassador from the French king at Constantinople, where having resided in that quality ten years, he made use of the opportunity which he had there of making a good collection of Oriental books, which he brought home with him on his return; and having a while after entered himself among the oratorians at

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Paris, he did put all these books into their library, and among them was this copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which Morinus published.

Character of the Samaritan version. —The Samaritans, besides the Pentateuch in the original Hebrew language, have also another in the language that was vulgarly spoken among them. For as the Jews after the Babylonish captivity degenerated in their language from the Hebrew to the Babylonish dialect, so the Samaritans did the same. Whether this happened by their bringing this dialect out of Assyria with them, when they first came to plant in Samaria, or that they first fell into it by conforming themselves to the speech of those Phœnician and Syrian nations who lived next them, and with whom they mostly conversed, or else had it from the mixture of those Jews who revolted to them with Manasseh, we have not light enough to determine. But, however it came to pass, after it so happened, the vulgar no longer understood what was written in the Hebrew language. And therefore as the Jews, for the sake of the vulgar among them, who understood nothing but the vulgar language, were forced to make Chaldee versions of the Scriptures, which they call the Targums or Chaldee paraphrases; so the Samaritans were forced, for the same reason, to do the same thing, and to make a version of their Pentateuch into the vulgar Samaritan, which is called the Samaritan version. And this Samaritan version, as well as the original Samaritan text, Morinus published together in the Polyglot above mentioned. The Samaritan text he printed from Sancius Harley's copy; but the Samaritan version he had from Peter a Valle, a gentleman of Rome, who having many years travelled over the East, brought it thence with him, and communicated it to Morinus. But that work being precipitated with too much haste, it had passed the press before such other helps came to him from Perescisus, Dr. Comber dean of Carlisle, and others, as would have enabled him to have made it much more perfect; but what was wanting therein was afterwards rectified in the London Polyglot, in which the Samaritan text, and the Samaritan version, and the Latin translation of both, are published all together, much more complete and correct than they were before. This Samaritan version is not made, like the Chaldee among the Jews, by way of paraphrase, but by an exact rendering of the text, word for word, for the most part without any variation. So that Morinus thought one Latin translation might serve for both and the London Polyglot hath followed the same method; only where there are any variations they are marked at the bottom of the page.

Differences between the Hebrew and the Samaritan Pentateuch.— As to the variations, additions, and transpositions, whereby the Samaritan copy differs from the Hebrew, they are all enumerated in Hottinger's book against Morinus, and in the collation made of both texts in the last volume of the London Polyglot. It is not to be so much wondered at that there are these differences between these two copies, as that there should not have been many more, after those who had adhered to the one, and those who had adhered to the other, had not only broken off all manner of communication, but had constantly been in the bitterest variance possible with each other for above two thousand years; for so long had passed from the apostasy of Manasseh to the time when these copies were first brought into Europe. After the

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series of so many ages past, many differences might have happened by the errors of the transcribers; and the most that are between these two copies are of this sort. As to the rest, some are changes designedly made by the Samaritans for the better support of their cause against the Jews; of which sort, one that is notoriously such will be taken notice of by and by in its proper place. Others are interpolations for the better explication of the text, added either from other parts of Scripture, or else by way of paraphrase upon it, to express explicitly what was thought to be implicitly contained therein. Of the first sort are, 1st, The addition which we find in the eighteenth chapter of Exodus, where, between the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth verses, is inserted what we have from the ninth to the fourteenth verse of the first of Deuteronomy inclusively: and, 2ndly, That which we find in the tenth of Numbers, where, between the tenth and the eleventh verses is inserted all that which we read in the sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of the first of Deuteronomy; both which insertions are wanting in the Hebrew. And of the other sort are what we find in Gen. iv. 8, and in Exodus xii. 40. In the first of these, after what is said in the Hebrew text, "And Cain spake (or said) to Abel his brother," the Samaritan text adds, "Let us go into the field;" and in the latter, instead of these words in the Hebrew text, "Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years," the Samaritan

text hath it, "Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel and their fathers, whereby they inhabited in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years." Both these additions, it is manifest, mend the text, and make it more clear and intelligible, and seem to add nothing to the Hebrew copy but what must be understood by the reader to make out the sense thereof. As to the other variations, the most considerable of them are those which we find in the ages of the patriarchs before Abraham, in which the Samaritan computation comes nearer to the Septuagint than to the Hebrew, though it differs from both. How these, or the transpositions of verses, or the other alterations and additions which are found in the Samaritan copy, and the differences which from thence arise between the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuch, came about, many conjectures have been offered: but no certain judgment being to be made about them, without a better light to direct us herein than we can now have, I will trouble the reader with none of them; but shall add only this further upon this head, that none of these differences can infer that the Samaritan copy which we now have is not truly that which was anciently in use among them for most, if not all, of those passages which were quoted out of it above one thousand one hundred years since, by those writers I have mentioned, as differing from or agreeing with the Hebrew text, and by some of them much earlier, are now to be found in the present Samaritan copies in the same words as quoted by them, and in the same manner differing from or agreeing with that text. There is an old copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch now shown at Shechem (or Naplous, as they now call it), the head seat of that sect, which would put this matter beyond all dispute, were that true which is said of it. For they tell us, that therein are written these

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words, "I, Abishua the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the high priest, have transcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation in the thirteenth year of the children of Israel's entrance into the holy land." But Dr. Huntington, late bishop of Raphoe in Ireland, having, while chaplain to the Turkey Company at Aleppo, been at Shechem, and there examined this copy upon the spot, found no such words on the manuscript, nor thought the copy ancient. Whether the Samaritans did in

ancient times absolutely reject all the other scriptures besides the Pentateuch, some do doubt; because it is certain, from the discourse of the woman of Samaria with our Saviour, that they had the same expectations of a Messiah that the Jews had; and this they say they could nowhere clearly have but from the prophets. And it cannot be denied but that there is some force in this argument. Perchance, although they did read the Pentateuch only in their synagogues, yet anciently they might not have been without a due regard to the other sacred writings, whatsoever their sentiments may be of them at present.

II. Samaritans rejected all traditions. —The second point of difference in religion between the Samaritans and the Jews anciently was, and still is, that the Samaritans reject all traditions, and adhere only to the written word itself, and in the observance of that they are acknowledged by the Jews themselves to be more exact than they are: and good reason is there for them so to say; for the Jews often make the law of none effect by their traditions; whereas the Samaritans always kept themselves strictly to the written word, and never admitted any such corrupt glosses to draw them from it. And because in this they agreed with the Sadducees (for they also denied all traditions, and adhered to the written letter of the law only), hence the Jews have taken a handle of calumniating them, as if they agreed in other particulars with the Sadducees also, and denied with them the resurrection of the dead, which led Epiphanius and St. Gregory into the error of asserting this to be their opinion; whereas the resurrection of the dead hath always been a doctrine as firmly held, and as certainly believed among them, as by the Jews themselves.

III. Samaritans worshipped on Mount Gerizim, instead of at Jerusalem. —The third point of difference in religion between the Samaritans and the Jews was about the place of their worship. The words of the woman of Samaria, in the Gospel of St. John, state this matter exactly right. For in her discourse with our Saviour, she saith to him, "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain: but ye (meaning the Jews) say, that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." The law given by Moses was, that they should perform all their sacrifices and oblations "in the place that God should choose out of all their tribes to put his name there;" and that place was Jerusalem. For there the temple, by the direction

of God himself, was built, and there God consecrated it by the habitation of his divine presence therein, and there all the tribes of Israel that adhered to the true worship of God offered up their sacrifices, and there the temple

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was again rebuilt after the Babylonish captivity, and the same service there carried on in a unity and uniformity of worship by all of that nation, till Manasseh made the schism that hath been mentioned, and fleeing to Samaria, did there set up altar against altar, and temple against temple; for after he had built that temple on Mount Gerizim, and therein erected an altar in opposition to that of Jerusalem, the Samaritans, and apostate Jews who revolted to them, would no longer allow Jerusalem to be the place which God had chosen; but contended that Mount Gerizim was that place, and argued for it in the same manner as the woman of Samaria did unto our Saviour, that is, that their fathers worshipped in that mountain: for they plead that there Abraham and there Jacob built altars unto God, and by their offering up of sacrifices on them, consecrated that place above all others to his worship; and that therefore it was appointed by God himself to be the hill of blessing, on the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt; and that accordingly Joshua, on his entering the land of Canaan, had caused the blessings of God to be declared thereon, and also that, on his having passed the river Jordan, he built an altar on it of twelve stones, taken out of that river in his passage, according as God had commanded by Moses and this they hold to be the very altar upon which they still sacrifice on that mountain, even to this day. But to make out this last part of the argument, and thereby reconcile the greater veneration to Mount Gerizim, and their place of worship thereon, they have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the text: for whereas the command of God is (Deut. xxvii. 4), that they should set up the altar upon Mount Ebal, they have there made a sacrilegious change in the text, and instead of Mount Ebal, have put Mount Gerizim, the better to serve their cause by it. This corruption the Jews loudly charge them with, and the Samaritans do as loudly retort it upon them, and say, that the Jews have corrupted the text in that place, by putting Mount Ebal in their copies, where it should be Mount Gerizim; and bring this argument for it, that Mount Gerizim having been

the mountain that was appointed whereon to declare the blessings of God, and Mount Ebal whereon to denounce his curses, the mountain of blessing was very proper, and the mountain of cursing very improper, for an altar of God to be built upon. But notwithstanding this allegation in their behalf, all other copies and translations of the Pentateuch make against them, and prove the corruption to be on their side. And it very much aggravates their guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the Scriptures in this place, but have also interpolated them with this corruption in another, that is, in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, where, after

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the tenth commandment, they have subjoined, by way of an additional precept thereto, words taken out of the eleventh and twenty-seventh chapters of Deuteronomy, to command the erecting of the altar in Mount Gerizim, instead of Mount Ebal, and the offering of sacrifices to God in that place. And in that they have thus voluntarily made a corrupt alteration in one place, and a corrupt addition in another, merely out of design to serve an ill cause this gives the less authority to their copy in all other places where, either by alterations or additions, it differs from that of the Jews.

Identification of the two mountains, Ebal and Gerizim. —These two mountains, called Gerizim and Ebal, are in the tribe of Ephraim, near Samaria; and in the valley between them lieth Shechem, now called Naplous, which hath been the head seat of the Samaritan sect ever since Alexander expelled them out of Samaria for the death of Andromachus. This place the Jews, in our Saviour's time, by way of reproach, called Sichar; and therefore we have it so named in St. John's Gospel. It signifieth the drunken city; and the prophet Isaiah having called the Ephraimites (whose dwelling was in those parts) Siccorim, i. e. drunkards, they have this text on their side for the justifying of that name. Near this place was the field which Jacob bought of the children of Hamor, and gave unto Joseph his son a little before his death. Therein Joseph's bones were buried, when brought up out of the land of Egypt; and within the same plot of ground was the well, called Jacob's well, at which our Saviour sat down when he discoursed with the woman of Samaria. But after all the contest that is made between the Samaritans and the Jews about these two mountains, Jerome is

positive that neither of them were the Gerizim and Ebal of the Holy Scriptures, but that the two mountains so called in them, and on which the blessings and the cursings were proclaimed by the children of Israel on their first passing over Jordan into the land of Canaan, were two small mountains or hills lying near Jericho, at a great distance from Shechem. And Epiphanius was of the same opinion with Jerome in this matter; and they having been both upon the place, may well be thought the best able to pass a true judgment about it. Their arguments for it are, 1st, That the Scriptures place these two mountains over against that part of the river Jordan where the children of Israel passed into the land of Canaan, and near Gilgal; but Shechem is at a great distance from both. And, 2ndly, That the mountains near Shechem, called Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal, are at too great a distance from each other for the people from either of them to hear either the blessings or the cursings which were pronounced from the other; but that it would be quite otherwise as to the hills near Jericho, which they conceive to be the hills by the names of Gerizim and Ebal meant in Scripture. But that hill from which Jotham the son of Gideon made his speech to the Shechemites being called Gerizim, and that certainly lying just over them (for otherwise they could not have heard him from thence), this clearly makes against this opinion, and

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evidently proves the Mount Gerizim of the Holy Scriptures to be that very Mount Gerizim on which the temple of the Samaritans was built.

Samaritans accused by the Jews of worshipping the dove, and adoring teraphim. —The Jews accuse the Samaritans of two pieces of idolatry, which they say were committed by them in this place. The first, that they there worshipped the image of a dove; and the other, that they paid divine adoration to certain teraphim, or idol gods, there hid under that mountain. For the first charge, they took the handle from the idolatry of the Assyrians: for that people having worshipped one of their deities (Semiramis, saith Diodorus Siculus) under the image of a dove, they reproached the Samaritans as worshippers of the like image, because descended from them; and perchance they were so while they worshipped their other gods with the God of Israel, but never afterwards. And as to the

second charge, it is true, Jacob, having found out that Rachel had stolen her father's teraphim, or idol gods, took them

from her, and buried them under an oak in Shechem, which they suppose to have been at the foot of the mountain Gerizim; and from hence, because the Samaritans worshipped God in that mountain, the Jews suggest, that they worshipped there for the sake of these idols, and paid divine adoration unto them. But both these charges were malicious calumnies, falsely imputed to them: for after the time that Manasseh brought the law of Moses among them, and instructed them in it, the Samaritans became as zealous worshippers of the true God, and as great abhorrers of all manner of idolatry, as the most rigorous of the Jews themselves, and so continue even to this day.

And with this last act of Nehemiah's reformation, and the expulsion of those refractory Jews that would not conform to it, not only the first period of Daniel's seventy weeks, but also the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, ending, I shall here also end this book; and proceed to relate what after followed from the beginning of the next.

BOOK VII.

DECLINE OF THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE,

AND ITS FINAL OVERTHROW BY ALEXANDER THE GREAT, B. C. 408 TO 332.

I. CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN OF DARIUS NOTHUS, B. C. 408-405.

Kings of Egypt—Amyrtæus, 414,

Pausiris, 407.

High priests of Judah—Joiadah, 413.

Death of Nehemiah: Judæa annexed to the satrapy of Syria, 408.— THUS far we have had the light of Scripture to follow. Henceforth the books of the Maccabees, Philo-Judæus, Josephus, and the Greek and

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Latin writers, are the only guides which we can have to lead us through the future series of this history, till we come to the times of the gospel of Jesus Christ. How long after this Nehemiah lived at Jerusalem is uncertain: it is most likely that he continued in his government to the time of his death; but when that happened is nowhere said: only it may be observed, that at the time where he ends his book, he could not be much less than seventy years old. After him there seems not to have been any more governors of Judæa; but that this country, being added to the prefecture of Syria, was thenceforth wholly subjected to the governor of that province, and that under him the high priest had the trust of regulating all affairs therein.

Settlement of affairs in Media and Egypt.—While Darius was making war against the Egyptians and the Arabians, the Medes revolted from him, but being vanquished in battle, they were soon forced again to return to their former allegiance, and, for the punishment of their rebellion, submit to a heavier yoke of subjection than they had on them before; as is always the case of revolting subjects, when reduced again under the power against which they rebelled. And the next year after [B. C. 407], Darius seems to have had as good success against the Egyptians: for Amyrtæus being dead (perchance slain in battle), Herodotus tells us, his son Pausiris succeeded him in the kingdom, by the favour of the Persians; which argues, that before they granted him this, they had reduced Egypt again under them, otherwise Pausiris could not have been made king of it by their favour.

Cyrus the Younger intrusted with the command of all the Persian governors in Asia Minor, 407.—Darius, having thus settled his affairs in Media and Egypt, sent Cyrus his younger son to be commander-in-chief of all the provinces of Lesser Asia, giving him authority paramount over all the lieutenants and governors afore placed in them. He was a very young man to be intrusted with so large an authority: for having been born after his father's accession to the throne, he could not have been above sixteen years old. But being the darling and best-beloved son of Parysatis, who had an absolute ascendant over the old king, her husband, she obtained this commission for him, with an intention, no doubt, to put him into a capacity of contending for the crown after his father's death; and this use he accordingly made of it, to the great damage and disturbance of the whole Persian empire, as will be hereafter related.

Change in the policy towards Greece: Cyrus assists the Lacedæmonians against Athens.—Cyrus, on receiving his commission, had this chiefly given him in charge by his father, that he should help the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, contrary to the wise measures hitherto observed by Tissaphernes, and the other governors of the Persian provinces in those parts. For their practice hitherto had been, sometimes by helping one side, and sometimes by helping the other, so to balance the matter between both parties, that each being kept up to be a match for the other, both might continue to harass and weaken each other by carrying on the war, and neither be at leisure to

disturb the Persian empire. This order of the king's for a contrary practice soon discovered the weakness of his politics: for the Lacedæmonians having by the help which Cyrus gave them, according to his father's instructions, soon overpowered the Athenians, and gained an absolute conquest over them, they were no sooner at leisure from this war but they sent first Thimbro, and after him Dercyllidas, and at last Agesilaus their king, to invade the Persian provinces in Asia; where they did the Persians a great deal of damage, and might at length have endangered the whole empire, but that the Persians by distributing vast sums of money among the Grecian cities, and the demagogues that governed them, found means to rekindle the war again in Greece; which necessitated the Lacedæmonians to recall their forces for their own defence, just when they were going to march into the heart of that empire, and there strike at the very vitals of it. So dangerous a thing is it in neighbouring states to break the balance of power which is between them, so as to put any one of them into a capacity of oppressing and overpowering the rest. And this instance also shows that it is no new thing for the managers of public affairs to barter away their national interest for their private gain, and sell it for money, even to those whom they have most reason always to hate, and always to be aware of.

Cyrus puts an end to the Peloponnesian war, by the overthrow of the Athenians and establishment of the supremacy of the Lacedæmonians, 405. —Cyrus at Sardis having put to death two noble Persians, who were sons to a sister of Darius, for no other reason but that they did not, on their meeting of him, wrap up their hands within their sleeves, as was used to be done among the Persians on their meeting of the king; Darius, on complaint made hereof by the parents of the slain, was grievously offended, not only for the death of his two nephews, but also for the presumption of his son in challenging to himself the honour which was due only to the king; and therefore, not thinking it fit any longer to trust him with that government, recalled him to court, on pretence that he was sick, and therefore desired to see him. But before Cyrus did put himself upon this journey, he ordered such large subsidies to Lysander, general of the Lacedæmonians, as enabled him to pay his fleet, and strengthen it so far, as to put it in that condition by

virtue whereof he gained that memorable victory over the Athenians at the Goat's River in the Hellespont, whereby he absolutely overthrew the Athenian state. For after this they being no longer able to defend themselves, he took from them all their cities in Asia, and having besieged Athens itself, forced them to a surrender on the very hard conditions of dismantling their city, and giving up their fleet, which did put an end to the Athenian power, and vested the government of Greece wholly in the Lacedæmonians, after they and the Athenians had contended for it in a very bitter war full twenty-seven years. This was called the Peloponnesian war, and is made very famous by the excellent accounts which are written of it by Thucydides and Xenophon, two of the best historians Greece ever had, their writings having ennobled it in the same manner as Homer's did the war of Troy.

Death of Darius Nothus. —About the time of the ending of this war died Darius Nothus king of Persia, after he had reigned nineteen years. Before his death Cyrus was come to him, and his mother Parysatis the queen, to whom he was the best beloved of all her children, not being content to have made his peace with his father, whom he had greatly offended by his maladministration in his government, pressed hard upon the old king to have him declared the heir of his crown, upon the same pretence whereby Xerxes had obtained the preference before his elder brothers in the time of Darius Hystaspis, that is, that he was born after his father came to the crown, and the other before. But Darius, refusing to comply with her herein, bequeathed to Cyrus only the government of those provinces which he had before, and left his crown to Arsaces his eldest son by the same Parysatis, who on his ascending the throne took the name of Artaxerxes, and is the same to whom the Greeks, for his extraordinary memory, gave the name of Mnemon, i. e. the rememberer. When his father lay a-dying, and he was attending on him at his bedside, he desired to be instructed by him, by what art it was that he had so happily managed the government, and so long preserved himself in it, to the end that he, by following the same rule, might attain the same success; to which he had this memorable answer given him by the dying king, "That it was by doing in all things that which

was just both towards God and man:" a saying worthy to be written up in letters of gold in the palaces of princes, that having it constantly in their view, they might be put in mind to order all their actions according to it.

II. REIGN OF ARTAXERXES MNEMON, B. C. 404 —359—

Kings of Egypt—Pausiris, 407,

Psammitichus, 401,

Nephereus, 395,

Acoris, 389,

Nectanabis, 375,

Tachos, 363,

Nectanebus, 361.

High priests of Judah—Joiadah, 413, Johanan, 373.

Plot of Cyrus the Younger pardoned, 404.—Cyrus, being discovered to have laid a plot for the murdering of Artaxerxes in the temple at Pasargada, when he was to come thither, according to the ancient custom, to be inaugurated king, was taken into custody for the treason, and ordered to be put to death for it. But his mother Parysatis was so importunate with Artaxerxes for the saving of his life, that at length, by her means, he obtained his pardon, and was sent again into Lesser Asia, unto the government left him by his father's will. But carrying thither with him his ambition, and also his resentments for the danger of his life which he was put into, he took such courses for the gratifying of these passions, which soon made his brother repent of his clemency towards him.

Depravity of the Persian court: horrible story of adultery, incest, and murder. —As soon as Artaxerxes was settled in the throne, Statira his queen, who, for her great beauty, was very much beloved by him, made use

of her power with him to be revenged on Udiastes for the death of her brother Teriteuchmes. The whole matter had its rise in the reign

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of Darius, and was a complication of adultery, incest, and murder, which caused great disturbances in the royal family, and ended very tragically upon all that were concerned in it. The father of Statira was Hidarnes, a noble Persian, and governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Artaxerxes, the king's eldest son, then called Arsaces, falling in love with her, took her to wife, and Teriteuchmes, her brother, about the same time, married Hamestris, one of the daughters of Darius, and sister of Arsaces; by reason of which marriage, on the death of his father, he succeeded him in his government. But having a sister named Roxana, of as great beauty as Statira, and excellently skilled in archery and the throwing of the dart, he fell desperately in love with her, and in order that he might devote himself entirely to her, he resolved to make away with Hamestris, and rebel against the king. Of which wicked designs Darius having notice, engaged Udiastes, a chief confidant of Teriteuchmes, by great rewards and greater promises, to endeavour to prevent both by cutting off Teriteuchmes. This Udiastes, to earn the rewards, readily undertook, and falling upon Teriteuchmes, slew him, and thereon had the government of his province conferred on him for his reward. Mithridates the son of Udiastes, being one of Teriteuchmes's guard, and engaged much in friendship and affection to him, on the hearing of this fact of his father's, bitterly imprecated vengeance upon him for it; and in abhorrence of what was done, seized the city Zaris, and there, declaring for the son of Teriteuchmes, rebelled against the king. But Darius having soon mastered this revolt, and shut up Mithridates within his fortress, got all the family of Hidarnes, excepting the son of Teriteuchmes, whom Mithridates protected, into his power, and delivered them into the hands of Parysatis, to execute her revenge upon them for the ill usage of her daughter: who, having caused Roxana in the first place to be sawn in two, who was the chief cause of all the mischief, ordered all the rest to be put to death; only at the earnest entreaty and importunate tears of Arsaces, she spared Statira his beloved wife, contrary to the sentiments of Darius, who told her, that she would afterwards have reason to repent of it: and so

accordingly it happened. Thus this matter stood at the death of Darius: but Arsaces was no sooner settled on the throne, but Statira prevailed with him to have Udiastes delivered into her hands; whereon she commanded his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and thus cruelly did put him to death in revenge for the part which he acted in the ruin of her family, and made Mithridates his son, for the affection he expressed to it, governor of the province in his stead. But Parysatis bitterly resenting this fact, in revenge hereof, poisoned the son of Teriteuchmes, and not long after Statira herself, in the manner as will be hereafter related. This gives us instances of the bitterness of woman's revenge, and also of the exorbitant liberties which such are apt to run into of doing all manner of wickedness, who, being put above all restraint of laws, have nothing but arbitrary will and pleasure to govern themselves by.

Cyrus prepares for a revolt against Artaxerxes by raising Greek forces: death of Alcibiades, 403.—Cyrus, designing a war against his brother, employed Clearchus a Lacedæmonian captain to raise an army of Greeks for his service, which he listed with a pretence of making

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war with the Thracians; but they, being maintained by Cyrus's money, were kept on foot for the executing of those designs which he was forming against the king. Alcibiades the Athenian, finding out the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of Pharnabazus, with purpose to go to the Persian court, there to make known to Artaxerxes what was a brewing against him. But those who were the partisans of the Lacedæmonians at Athens, fearing the great genius of that man, did let them know that their affairs could not long stand unless he were cut off; whereon they sent to Pharnabazus to have him put to death, and he accordingly executed what they desired; and in his death the Athenians lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily again recovering by him their former state: for had he got to the Persian court, he would so far have merited the favour of Artaxerxes by the discovery which he intended to make unto him, as no doubt he would have gotten his assistance for the restoration of his country, and with that assistance, a person of his valour, and other great abilities, would have turned the scales, and again set the Athenians as high

as ever, and brought the Lacedæmonians as low as they had brought them; for the preventing of which, the Lacedæmonians took the course of having him cut off in the manner as I have mentioned.

Cyrus blinds Artaxerxes by a war against Tissaphernes, 402.—The cities that were under the government of Tissaphernes revolting from him to Cyrus, this produced a war between them; and Cyrus, under the pretence of arming against Tissaphernes, went more openly to work in getting forces together; and to blind the matter the more, he wrote letters of heavy complaints to the king against Tissaphernes, and prayed in the humblest manner his favour and protection against him: by which Artaxerxes being deceived, thought all the preparations which he was making were against Tissaphernes only, and not being at all displeased that they should be at variance with each other, took no further care of the matter, but permitted his brother to go on still to raise more forces, till at length he had got an army on foot sufficient to put his designs in execution, for the dethroning of him, and the setting up of himself in his stead. And since he had helped the Lacedæmonians against the Athenians, and thereby put them into a capacity of gaining those victories over them, whereby they had made themselves masters of Greece, in confidence of the friendship which he had merited from them thereby, he communicated his designs unto them, and asked their assistance for the accomplishing of them; which they readily granted, and ordered their fleet to join that under Tamus, Cyrus's admiral, and obey such orders as that prince should give them. But this they did without declaring anything against Artaxerxes, or pretending to know at all of the designs which Cyrus was carrying on against him. With this caution they thought fit to act, while the event of the war was uncertain, that in case Artaxerxes gained the victory, they might not, by what they did in favour of his enemy, draw on them his resentments for it.

Marches against the king; slain in the battle of Cunaxa, 401.—At length Cyrus having raised all those forces which he thought sufficient

for his designs, and mustered them all together, he marched with them directly against his brother. He was followed in this expedition by thirteen

thousand Greeks, under the command of Clearchus (which were the flower and main strength of his army), and by a hundred thousand of other forces, raised from among the barbarians. Artaxerxes, having notice of this from Tissaphernes, who posted to the Persian court to give him information of it, prepared to meet him with a numerous army. Cyrus's greatest difficulty was to pass the Straits of Cilicia, where Syennesis, king of that country, was making ready to stop his progress; and would certainly have effected it, but that Tamus and the Lacedæmonians with their fleet coming upon the coasts of that country, diverted him to defend his own territories; for a small guard in those narrow passes might be sufficient to impede the march of the greatest army. But after Cyrus had by this means got through them, he then marched on without any further difficulty or obstruction, till he came to the plains of Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon, where Artaxerxes meeting him with an army of nine hundred thousand men, it there came to a decisive battle between them; in which Cyrus rashly venturing his person too far into the heat of the battle, was unfortunately slain after his auxiliary Greeks had in a manner gotten the victory for him.

Retreat of Xenophon and the Ten Thousand. —This put those Greeks into a great distress; for they were now at a great distance from their own homes, in the heart of the Persian empire, and there surrounded with the numerous forces of a conquering army, and had no way to return again into Greece but by breaking through them, and forcing their retreat through a vast tract of their enemies' country, which lay between them and home. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties; for the next day after, having on consultation together resolved to attempt their return by the way of Paphlagonia, they immediately set themselves on their march, and in spite of all opposition from a numerous army of Persians, which coasted them all the way, made a retreat of two thousand three hundred and twenty-five miles, all the way through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the Grecian cities on the Euxine Sea: which was the longest and the most memorable retreat that was ever made through an enemy's country. Clearchus first commanded in it, but he having in the beginning of it been cut off by the treachery of Tissaphernes, it was afterwards conducted chiefly by Xenophon, to whose valour and wisdom it was principally owing that they at length got safely again into Greece. The same Xenophon having

written a large account of this expedition, the preparations that were made for it, and the retreat of the Greeks from the place of the battle after it was lost, and that book being still extant, and published in the English language, I need say no more than refer the reader to it for a fuller history of all this matter.

Tamus, the admiral of Cyrus, treacherously slain in Egypt by Psammitichus. —Psammitichus, who was descended from the ancient Psammitichus that was king of Egypt some ages before, and of whom I have spoken in the first book of this history, reigned over the Egyptians after Pausiris. To him fled Tamus, Cyrus's admiral; for after the death of that prince, Tissaphernes being sent down into his former

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government, with an enlargement of power (as having, in reward of the great service which he had done the king in the late war, the same command given him in those parts that Cyrus had), all the governors of those cities and districts, within the verge of his authority, who had espoused the interest of Cyrus, fearing the account which he might call them to for it, sent their agents to make their peace with him on the best terms they could. Only Tamus, who was the most powerful of them, took another course. He was by birth an Egyptian of the city of Memphis, and being a person of great valour, and of great skill in maritime affairs, he was first employed by Tissaphernes in the Persian fleet, and afterwards, under Cyrus, became chief commander of it, and also governor of Ionia; by which means having amassed great wealth, instead of courting the favour of Tissaphernes, or at all trusting to his clemency, he put his wife, children, and servants, with all else that he had, on board his ships, and made his retreat into his own country, much confiding in the friendship of Psammitichus, which he had merited by many good offices that he had done him while he served the Persians. But the perfidious man, having no regard to former obligations, or the common laws either of humanity or hospitality, as soon as he had received an account of his arrival, and of the great riches which he brought with him, for the sake of them, instead of receiving him as a friend, he fell upon him as an enemy; and having slain him, with all his family and followers, made a prey of all that they had. Only Gaus, one of his sons,

staying behind in Asia, escaped this massacre, and afterwards became admiral of the Persian fleet in the Cyprian war; all the rest were barbarously murdered for the sake of what they had. Such horrid wickednesses doth the greedy desire of gain too often prompt men to, when they give up their minds to it. But Providence, no doubt, suffered it not to go unpunished, though we have no account of it; this barbarous murder being the only act that history hath recorded of this prince.

Queen Statira poisoned by the queen mother, Parysatis. —Statira being very troublesome to Parysatis her mother-in-law, in expressing her resentments and reproaches for the countenance which she gave unto Cyrus her younger son against king Artaxerxes, to be revenged for this and other grudges formerly conceived against her, she caused her to be poisoned; which was effected by this stratagem: they supping both together, and a certain bird being served up at table, which was a great rarity among the Persians, it was divided between her and her daughter-in-law by a knife poisoned on one side only; that part which was cut off on the unpoisoned side of the knife was given to Parysatis, and she having eaten it, this encouraged Statira, without any suspicion, to eat the other part which was cut off on the poisoned side of the knife, and she died of it within a few hours after. The loss of this his much beloved wife greatly afflicted Artaxerxes; and therefore afterwards, full discovery having been made how it came to pass, he banished his mother to Babylon for it, and for some years after never saw her; but at length, time having mollified his grief and resentments, he permitted her again to return to court, and from that time she made it her chief business to humour him in everything, right or wrong, and no more crossed him in anything whatsoever it was that

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he had an inclination to do; and by this means she regained her interest with him, and held it to her death. She was a most crafty woman, and of great understanding and penetration in all affairs, and of as great wickedness, as what is above related of her doth sufficiently show.

Greek cities in Asia, joined by the Lacedæmonians, revolt against Tissaphernes, 400.—Tissaphernes being settled in his government, and

with that enlargement of power which I have mentioned, he began to set hard upon the Grecian cities in those parts: whereon they sent to the Lacedæmonians to pray their protection against him; and they, being now freed from that long war which they had with the Athenians, gladly laid hold of this occasion of again breaking with the Persians, and sent Thimbro into those parts with an army against them; which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces to it which Xenophon brought back from Persia, and such others as were raised out of the Grecian cities which he came to protect, he took the field with it against Tissaphernes, and wore out the time of his government in several military actions in that country, in which he had some few but not any great successes. But he having kept very bad discipline in his army, and permitted his soldiers to make great depredations on the allies, complaint was made hereof to the Lacedæmonians; whereon [the next year, B. C. 399] they sent Dercyllidas to take charge of that war in his stead, who being an able general, as well as a most excellent engineer (which last he was more particularly famous for), he managed it with better order and much better success: and Thimbro, being called home to answer for what he was accused of, and convicted of it, was sent into banishment for the punishment of his crime.

Dercyllidas concludes a peace with Tissaphernes and a truce with Pharnabazus. —Dercyllidas, after he had entered on his charge, finding that he was not strong enough to wage war with Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus both together, resolved to agree with the one of them, that thereby he might be the better enabled to encounter the other; and therefore having, according to this scheme, made peace with Tissaphernes, he marched against Pharnabazus with all his forces, and took from him all Æolis, and dispossessed him of several cities besides in those parts; whereon Pharnabazus, fearing that he might invade Phrygia also, where was the chief seat of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, to be secured from his further insults.

Conon, through the influence of Ctesias, procures peace from Artaxerxes for Euagoras of Cyprus. —About this time Conon, by the means of Ctesias the Cnidian, who was chief physician to Artaxerxes, procured peace from that king for Euagoras of Salamine, in the island of Cyprus. This Euagoras having expelled Abdymon the Citian out of that city,

where he was governor for the Persian king, set himself up in his stead, and reigned there as king of that place many years. Conon, having been one of the generals of the Athenians at the battle of the Goats River, as soon as he saw all was there brought to a desperate point,

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made his escape with nine of the Athenian ships; and having sent one of them to Athens, to acquaint his citizens with the ill fate of the battle, fled with the rest to this Euagoras, with whom he had contracted a former friendship, and there continuing with him, made use of the interest he had with the said Ctesias at the Persian court, to do his friend this good office.

Ctesias, chief physician to Artaxerxes: character and extent of his histories. —For Ctesias, being chief physician to Artaxerxes (as I have already said), was much in his favour, and had a great interest with him. He was at first physician to Cyrus his brother, and followed him to the battle in which he was slain: where being taken prisoner, he was made use of to cure Artaxerxes of the wounds received by him in that battle; in which having well succeeded, he was retained as chief physician in ordinary to that king, and lived with him in that quality seventeen years. While he resided at this court, having well informed himself in the histories of those countries, he wrote them in twenty-three books. The six first of them contained an account of the empire of the Assyrians and Babylonians, from the time of Ninus and Semiramis to that of Cyrus; the other seventeen were of the affairs of Persia, from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus to the third year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, which was coincident with the year before Christ 398, the very next immediately following after this of which I now write. For here Diodorus Siculus tells us it ended. And he wrote also an history of India. Out of both these Photius hath written extracts; and these are all the remains which are extant of his writings. He often contradicts Herodotus, and in some things also differs from Xenophon. We find but a poor character of him among the ancients, they generally speaking of him as a fabulous writer; yet Diodorus Siculus and Trogus Pompeius take most of that from him which they have written of the Assyrian affairs: for he having professed that all which he wrote was taken out of the royal records of Persia, in which all transactions were, according to a law there ordained

for this purpose, faithfully registered, this imposed on many to give him more credit than he deserved. For that there were such royal records then in Persia, in which all the affairs and transactions of the government were faithfully entered, was a thing well known; and the books of Ezra and Esther give us a testimony of them. And his appealing to those records for the truth of what he wrote was the readiest way he could take to gain authority thereto. While he lived in the Persian court, he was employed by the Grecians, as their common solicitor, in most of the businesses which they had there depending; and in this quality Conon made use of him in the affair I have mentioned.

Socrates executed at Athens. —This year the Athenians put Socrates to death for contemning their gods. He was the father of the moral philosophy of the Greeks, and a very excellent person; but finding

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the theology of his countrymen too gross for a wise man to follow, he endeavoured to reform it among his scholars; for which being accused as one that believed not in the gods that the city believed, and corrupted the youth, he was condemned to death for it, and accordingly executed, being then full seventy years old. But afterwards the Athenians, repenting of it, did put all to death that had a hand in the prosecution that was made against him.

Dercyllidas builds a wall across the Chersonesus against the Thracians.—Dercyllidas, having made the truce with Pharnabazus that is above mentioned, marched into Bithynia, and there took up his winter quarters. While he was there, messengers came to him from Lacedæmon, to let him know that his command was continued for another year; and by them he was also acquainted, that it had been desired by the Grecian cities in the Thracian Chersonesus, that the isthmus of that peninsula might be fortified with a wall, to secure them from the Thracian freebooters, who continually made inroads upon them, and laid their lands waste, so that they were discouraged from manuring them. And therefore having, the next spring [B. C. 398], again made a truce with Pharnabazus, he marched with his army into the Chersonesus or Peninsula above mentioned, and there

built the wall which was desired; within which he included eleven Grecian cities; whereby they being secured from all further ravages of the barbarians, thenceforth safely manured their lands, and in great plenty reaped the fruits of them. On his return into Ionia, after this work was finished, he found that a company of banditti, having fortified the city of Atarna against him, from thence made great depredations on the adjoining countries; this necessitated him to sit down in a formal siege before it, which cost him eight months' time before he could reduce it.

Great Persian fleet prepared against the Lacedæmonians: Conon the Athenian appointed admiral.—Pharnabazus, after this second truce with Dercyllidas, made a journey to the Persian court, and there accused Tissaphernes to the king, for the peace which he had made with Dercyllidas; blaming him, that whereas he ought to have joined with him for the driving of those Grecians out of Asia, he had scandalously bought a peace of them, and thereby contributed to the maintaining of them there at the king's expenses, and to the great damage of his affairs. This no doubt contributed much to the creating of that suspicion in the king of that great commander of his, which being afterwards increased by other causes, at length made him resolve on his ruin. And at the same time consultation being had, how the mischiefs which the king suffered from this invasion of the Lacedæmonians might be best remedied, Pharnabazus earnestly pressed him forthwith to equip a great fleet and make Conon the Athenian, then an exile in Cyprus, admiral of it, who was looked upon as the ablest commander of his time for a sea war, telling him that hereby he would make himself master of the seas, and that this would put him in a condition to obstruct the passages of all further recruits from the Lacedæmonians into Asia, which would soon put an end to their power in those parts. And Euagoras the Cyprian, having at the same time made the same proposal, and offered

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his assistance in it, Artaxerxes was prevailed upon, by their concurrent advice, to resolve upon what they proposed; and therefore having delivered to Pharnabazus five hundred talents out of his treasury, he sent him with orders to get ready such a fleet as he had advised, and to make Conon the

admiral of it. And accordingly Conon had his commission, and all hands were set to work on the coasts of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia, to make ready the fleet that was to be put under his command.

Expedition of Dercyllidas into Caria concluded by a truce, 397.— Dercyllidas, after he had reduced Atarna, and set a strong garrison therein, marched into Caria, where Tissaphernes had the chief seat of his residence. For the Lacedæmonians being made believe, that in case he were attacked there, he would, for the saving of that province, yield to all their demands, they sent special orders to Dercyllidas for the making of this expedition, wherein he had like to have lost all his army; for Pharnabazus having joined Tissaphernes, they marched both after him with a great army, and soon had him at such an advantage, that had they made use of it, and immediately fallen on him, they could not have failed of cutting him and all his forces in pieces. Pharnabazus was very earnest for making the assault; but Tissaphernes, having experienced the extraordinary valour of the Grecian troops that followed Cyrus to the battle of Cunaxa, dreaded all Grecians in arms ever since, thinking all of that nation to be of the same valour and resolution with those which he had encountered with at that battle, and therefore could not be brought to hazard any conflict with them; but instead of making use of the opportunity which he had in his hands, of absolutely destroying them, sent heralds to Dercyllidas, to invite him to a parley; in which proposals of peace having been offered on both sides, time was given for each to consult their principals, and in the interim a truce was agreed on between them. And thus Dercyllidas escaped ruin only by the cowardice of his enemy, when there was nothing else that could have delivered from it.

News of the Persian fleet reaches Lacedæmon: expedition of Agesilaus into Phrygia, 396.—One Herod, a Syracusian, being in Phœnicia, and seeing a great many ships there anew building, and learning that a great many more were preparing on all the coasts of Phœnicia, Syria, and Cilicia, to make up a fleet for some extraordinary expedition, and supposing it could be only against the Greeks, he went on board the first ship he could meet with that was bound for Greece, and hastening to Lacedæmon, informed the Lacedæmonians of what was a-doing in those parts; at which news they being terrified and much confounded, as not knowing what course to take for the preventing of the mischief that was

coming upon them, Lysander proposed to them the sending Agesilaus, who was one of their kings, into Asia, that by making a strong assault there, he might divert the storm, wherever else it was intended. Which advice being approved of, Agesilaus was accordingly sent with a great augmentation of forces into Asia, there to take upon him the command which Dercyllidas then had, and prosecute the war

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with the utmost vigour he could in those parts; and Lysander, with several others of the principal Lacedæmonians, to the number of thirty in all, were sent with him, to assist him with their counsel in this expedition. And this whole matter was despatched with that speed and secrecy, that Agesilaus arrived at Ephesus before any of the king's officers had the least intimation of it. So that there being no preparations made to obstruct him, he took the field, as soon as he arrived, with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, and bore all before him wherever he went. Whereon Tissaphernes sending to him to know for what end he came thither, Agesilaus answered, that it was to restore the Grecian cities in Asia to their liberty: hereon a parley being appointed to treat of this matter between them, Tissaphernes prayed a truce, till he should send to the king, and receive his instructions what to do herein. And accordingly a truce was agreed and sworn to on both sides. But Tissaphernes, having little regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce than to send to the king for more forces; and to gain a respite till they should arrive was all that he intended by it. For as soon as those auxiliaries were joined him, he sent to Agesilaus to denounce war against him, unless he immediately left the country; at which the Lacedæmonians and confederates then present were very much concerned, as fearing that the forces of Tissaphernes, now augmented with his new auxiliaries, might be too much superior to be withstood by theirs, who scarce amounted to a fourth part of their number. But Agesilaus, not being at all moved or dismayed thereat, with a pleasant countenance, bade the ambassadors who came with the message tell Tissaphernes, that he was very much beholden to him, in that by his perjury he had made the gods enemies to himself, and friends to the Grecians. And thereon immediately drawing all his forces together, he made a feint, as if he intended to invade Caria; but as soon as

he understood that he had thereby drawn all the Persian forces into that province, to defend it against him, he turned short, and marched directly into Phrygia, a province of the government of Pharnabazus, and where he had the chief seat of his residence. His coming thither being wholly unexpected, he found nothing there in a posture to resist him; and therefore overran a great part of the province without any opposition, till he came to Dascylium, the place of Pharnabazus's usual abode, where some of his horse meeting with a defeat, he marched back by the sea-coast into Ionia, carrying with him vast spoils gotten in this expedition, and wintered at Ephesus.

Lacedæmonians form an alliance with Nephereus, king of Egypt, 395.—Nephereus succeeding Psammitichus in the kingdom of Egypt, the Lacedæmonians sent to him to solicit his aid in their war against the Persians; who thereon presented them with one hundred galleys for their sea war, and six hundred thousand bushels of corn for the subsistence of their forces. At this time Pharax, admiral of the Lacedæmonians, held the mastery of the seas, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail; who hearing at Rhodes, where he put in, that Conon was with forty ships at Caunus, a city of Caria, set sail thither, and besieged him in that place. But an army of Persians coming to his succour,

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Pharax was forced to raise the siege with disadvantage, and return again to Rhodes; whereon Conon, having augmented his fleet to the number of eighty sail, took the seas and sailed to the Doric Chersonesus: but he had not long been there before he was recalled by the Rhodians; for they, being weary of the Lacedæmonians, for some disorders and insolences there committed, drove them thence, and sent for Conon to protect them, and received him with all his fleet into their harbour. While he was there, the ships which were carrying Nephereus's gift of corn to the Lacedæmonians put in at Rhodes, not knowing of the change of the party which had been there lately made; whereon Conon, having seized them all, plentifully furnished both his fleet and also that city with the freight they were loaded with. After this he was reinforced with ninety other ships, which came to him from Phœnicia and Cilicia, whereby he was made much superior to the

Lacedæmonians, and strong enough to have effected all that was expected from him; but he was hindered by the mutiny of his soldiers, occasioned for their want of pay, which they whom the king had intrusted with the care of this matter fraudulently detained from them.

Expedition of Agesilaus into Lydia, and defeat of Tissaphernes. —In the interim, Agesilaus, coming out of his winter quarters, prepared to invade the Persians in the strongest part of the country which they were possessed of in those parts, and accordingly gave out his orders for his march towards Sardis. Tissaphernes, thinking that this was intended only to deceive him with another feint, like that of the last year, took it that now he really intended for Caria, because he had given out to go another way, and therefore marched into that province to defend it against him. But Agesilaus, now truly acting as he had given out, led his army into Lydia. Tissaphernes hereon recalled his forces from their former route. But Caria being a very rugged country, and unfit for horse, he had gone thither only with his foot, leaving his horse behind upon the borders of that country; and therefore, on their marching back for the relief of Lydia, the horse being much before the foot, Agesilaus took the advantage of falling upon the former before the latter could come up to their assistance; and thereby having gotten a great victory over them, and taken the Persian camp, he became absolute master of the field, and having thereon overrun all the country, brought back from thence vast spoils, with which he enriched both himself and all his army.

Disgrace and execution of Tissaphernes: succeeded in the government by Tithraustes. —The loss of this battle very much incensed the king against Tissaphernes, and augmented the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had other designs than truly were for his master's interest: and Conon, coming at this time to the Persian court, much heightened the king's displeasure, by further accusations which he there brought against him. For the depriving the soldiers of their pay on board Conon's fleet disabling him from doing the king any service, and he having often in vain wrote to the court of it, at length, being encouraged hereto by Pharnabazus, and having a commission

from him for this purpose, he went himself to the Persian court, then at Babylon, and by the means of Tithraustes, captain of the guards, so represented the matter to the king, as procured full redress; and the blame of what had been hitherto done amiss in this matter resting on Tissaphernes, this completed his ruin. For the king forthwith sent Tithraustes into the maritime provinces of the Lower Asia, with orders to put Tissaphernes to death, and succeed him in his government; which he accordingly executed, and sent his head to the king; of which he made a very acceptable present to his mother, who could never pardon him for the assistance he gave the king against Cyrus, her most beloved son. But this very consideration ought to have moved Artaxerxes not to have dealt thus with him, since to that assistance he owed both his life and his crown. But no merit can be sufficient to secure any one, either in his life or fortunes, where arbitrary will and pleasure reign without control, and princes are at a full loose to execute whatsoever their groundless suspicions, their extravagant humours, or their wild caprice may prompt them to.

Agesilaus continues the war in Asia Minor: appointed generalissimo of the Lacedæmonians on land and sea. —As soon as Tissaphernes was cut off, Tithraustes sent to Agesilaus, that the king having inflicted due punishment upon him that was the cause of the war, he ought to be content with it, and return home, promising on this condition to grant full liberty to the Grecian cities in Asia to live according to their own laws, they paying their usual tribute to the king, which was all the Lacedæmonians desired when they first began the war. But Agesilaus, thirsting after greater conquests, would not hearken hereto, but to put off the matter, referred him to the magistrates of Lacedæmon, telling him he could do nothing herein without them. However, for the price of thirty talents paid him by Tithraustes, the storm was diverted from his provinces, and Agesilaus ordered his army to prepare for a march into Phrygia. But while he was making ready for this war, a new commission came to him from Lacedæmon, whereby he was made generalissimo of their fleet, as well as of their armies, and had all their forces in Asia, both by sea and land, put under his command, that by thus having the entire direction of the whole war, he might conduct it with a greater uniformity for the good of the state. This drew him down to the sea-coast to take care of the fleet, which having

put in good order, he made Pisander, his wife's brother, admiral of it, and sent it to sea under his command. And in this it is certain he was more influenced by private affection to his brother-in-law, or some other by-end of his own, than by that due regard which he ought to have had for the public good of the state: for although Pisander were a man of valour and great courage, yet he was in other respects no way adequate to that trust, as the event afterwards sufficiently proved. Agesilaus, having thus settled the sea affairs, pursued his designs of invading Phrygia; where having taken several cities, and made great wastes and depredations in the province, he passed on into Paphlagonia,

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being invited thither by Spithridates, a noble Persian, who had revolted from the king: where having made a league with Cotys, the king of that country, and married the daughter of Spithridates to him, he returned into Phrygia, and taking the city of Dascylium, there wintered in the palace of Pharnabazus, and fed his army with the spoils which he there got from the circumjacent country.

Tithraustes encourages the formation of a Greek confederacy against Lacedæmon. —Tithraustes, seeing that Agesilaus was for carrying on the war in Asia, to divert him from it, sent emissaries into Greece, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in the chief cities, and thereby induce them to rekindle a war in Greece against the Lacedæmonians, that so Agesilaus might be called home to defend his own country; which had that effect, that Thebes, Athens, Argus, and Corinth, with other cities of Greece, entering into a confederacy together, raised such a war against the Lacedæmonians, as produced all that was intended by Tithraustes in his stratagem, as will by and by be related in its proper place. And the putting of the people of the same nation and interest together by the ears hath elsewhere been found the most successful means to advance the interest of a neighbouring tyrant. And money will never fail of this effect, where there are minds corrupted with vice, luxury, and irreligion, to prepare men for it.

Agesilaus projects an expedition into the heart of Persia, 394.—In the beginning of the next spring, Agesilaus being ready to take the field, a parley was procured between him and Pharnabazus; at which Pharnabazus having recited the great services which he had done the Lacedæmonians in their war with the Athenians, and reproached them with the ill requital they had returned him for it, especially in the devastations which they had made in his palace, park, gardens, and estate, at Dascylium, that were his own proper inheritance; and all this being truths which could not be denied, Agesilaus and his Lacedæmonian council that attended him at the conference were so confounded at it, that they wanted an answer to excuse the ingratitude which they were charged with. However, to make him the best amends they could, they made him a solemn promise that they would no more invade him, nor any of the provinces under his government, as long as there were any else against whom they might prosecute the war which they had with the Persian king: and then immediately withdrew out of those parts, and thereon formed a design of invading the upper provinces of Asia, and carrying the war into the very heart of the Persian empire.

Recalled to defend Lacedæmon against the new confederacy. —But while Agesilaus was projecting this expedition, there came messengers to him from Lacedæmon, to recall him thither. For the Persian money having procured a very strong confederacy of several of the Grecian states and cities against them, they needed him at home to defend his own country; and accordingly he made all the haste thither that he could, complaining, at his departure out of Asia, that the Persians had driven him thence by thirty thousand archers, meaning so many darics, which were pieces of gold that had the impression of an archer upon

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them. But so small a sum did not do this job; it cost the Persians much more; and they could not have bestowed their money better to their own advantage; for hereby they saved vastly greater expenses, which otherwise they must have been at in the war, had they not this way got rid of it. And there are instances of other crafty princes, who by following the same methods have gained the same success, and, in the way of bribery and corruption, have done that by hundreds of pounds in the councils of their

adversaries, which they could never bring to pass by millions in the open field.

Persian fleet under Conon defeats the Lacedæmonian fleet under Pisander at Cnidus. —Conon, on his return from the Persian court, having brought money enough with him to pay the soldiers and mariners of his fleet all their arrears, and supply it with everything else that was wanting, took Pharnabazus on board him, and forthwith set sail to seek the enemy; and finding their whole fleet riding near Cnidus, under the command of Pisander, he fell upon them, and obtained a complete victory, having slain Pisander himself in the fight, and taken fifty of his ships; which did put an end to the empire of the Lacedæmonians in those parts, and was a prelude to their losing it everywhere else: for after this it continued to decline, till at length the overthrows which they received at Leuctra and Mantinea put an absolute period to it. But it is not my purpose to treat of what was done in Greece, any further than as the affairs of Greece interfere with what is the main design of this history.

Decline of the Lacedæmonian empire in Asia.—After this victory, Conon and Pharnabazus sailed round the isles and maritime coasts of Asia, and took in most of the cities which the Lacedæmonians had in those parts; only Sestus and Abydus, two cities in the mouth of the Hellespont, being under the command of Dercyllidas, held out against them; whereon Pharnabazus assaulted them by land, and Conon by sea; but not succeeding in the attempt, Pharnabazus, on the approach of winter, returned home, and Conon was left to take care of the fleet, with orders to recruit and augment it with as many ships from the cities on the Hellespont as he could get from them against the next spring. Accordingly [in B. C. 393], Conon having gotten ready a strong fleet of ships by the time appointed, Pharnabazus went on board it, and sailing through the islands, landed on Melos, the farthest of them; and having taken in that island, as lying convenient for the invading of Laconia, the country of the Lacedæmonians, they from thence made a descent upon its maritime coasts, and, having ravaged them all over, loaded their fleet with the spoils which they there got.

Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens, 393. —After this, Pharnabazus being on his return home into his province, Conon obtained of him, to send

him with eighty ships of the fleet, and fifty talents of money, to rebuild the walls of Athens, having made him to understand, that nothing could conduce more to the bringing down the pride of the

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Lacedæmonians, than by this means to put Athens again in a condition to rival their power. And therefore, being arrived at Piræus, the port of Athens, he immediately set about the work; and having gotten together a great number of workmen, and made all that could be spared from on board the fleet, as well as the people of the city, to set to their helping hand, he rebuilt both the walls of Athens and the walls of the port, with the walls also called the long walls, leading from the former to the latter, and distributed the fifty talents which he had received from Pharnabazus among his citizens; whereby he restored that city again to its pristine state, and may on this account be reckoned as the second founder of it.

Lacedæmonians attempt to conclude a peace with Persia: death of Conon. —The Lacedæmonians, being exceedingly moved at the hearing of this, forthwith despatched Antalcidas, a citizen of theirs, to Tiribazus, then governor for the Persian king at Sardis, to propose terms of peace and the confederates, on the other hand, on notice hereof, sent their ambassadors thither also; and among them Conon was one from the city of Athens. The terms which Antalcidas proposed were, that the king should have all the Grecian cities in Asia, and that all the rest, both in the isles and in Greece, should be restored to their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. Which being a peace that would be very advantageous to the king, and very disadvantageous and dishonourable to the Greeks in general, none of the other ambassadors would consent to it; and therefore they all returned without effecting anything, excepting Conon. For all the Lacedæmonians, bearing an implacable spite to him for what he had done in the restoration of Athens, accused him of purloining the king's money for the carrying on of that work, and also of having designs for the taking of Æolis and Ionia from the Persians, and subjecting them again to the Athenian state; whereon Tiribazus clapped him in chains, and then going to the Persian court to communicate to the king the proceedings of this treaty, he acquainted him also of the accusation which he had received against Conon: hereon Conon,

being ordered to be brought to Susa, was there put to death by the king's command.

Lacedæmonians make a feeble attempt to renew the war.—While Tiribazus was attending the court, Struthas was sent down from thence to take care of the maritime coasts of Asia; where finding the great devastations which the Lacedæmonians had made in those parts, he conceived from hence such an aversion against them, as carried him wholly over to the Athenian side. Whereon the Lacedæmonians sent Thymbros into Asia again to renew the war there; but they not being able at that time to furnish him with strength sufficient for the undertaking, he was soon cut off by the superior power of the Persians, and all his forces broken and dissipated. After him Dephridas came thither to gather up the remains of this army, and carry on the war; and after him others were sent with the same commission. But all their doings in Asia, after the battle of Cnidus, were only as the faint strugglings of a dying power; and therefore they were at length forced to give up

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all there, when they could no longer hold it, by a treaty of peace, which was very disadvantageous, as well as very dishonourable to all that were of the Grecian name.

Artaxerxes declares war against Euagoras, king of Cyprus, 391.—And therefore Artaxerxes, being in a manner almost wholly eased of the Grecian war, turned his whole power against Euagoras, king of Cyprus, and began a war against him which he had long designed, but was not till now at leisure to prosecute it. How Euagoras seized Salamine, by expelling the Persian governor, and made himself king of that city, and procured by the means of Conon to be confirmed herein by Artaxerxes, I have already given an account. But Euagoras, being a man every way qualified for great undertakings, in a little time so enlarged his strength and his power, that he made himself in a manner king of the whole island of Cyprus. The Amathusians, the Solians, and the Citians were those only that held out against him; and Artaxerxes, becoming jealous of the growing power of this active and wise prince, first countenanced them herein, and afterwards

openly embraced their cause, and declared war against Euagoras; in which, Isocrates tells us, he expended above fifty thousand talents, which may be reckoned at ten millions of our money.

Athenians and Egyptians assist Euagoras, 390—388.—The Athenians, notwithstanding the alliance they now had with the Persians, and the benefits they had lately received from them, would not deny their assistance to Euagoras, who had much befriended them, especially in the kind reception which those who fled with Conon from the battle of the Goats River had found with him; and perchance their resentments against the king, for the death of that gallant Athenian their restorer, did not a little move them to this resolution. And therefore they forthwith equipped ten ships of war, and sent them to the aid of Euagoras, under the command of Philocrates. But a fleet which the Lacedæmonians had at sea, under the command of Telautias, the brother of Agesilaus, falling in with them in the isle of Rhodes, took them all; whereby it came to pass, that those who were enemies to the king of Persia destroyed those who were going from his friends to make war against him. [In B. C. 389], Achoris succeeding Psammitichus in the kingdom of Egypt, Euagoras drew him, and also the Barceans, a people of Libya, into confederacy with him against the Persians; and all of them engaged in conjunction together, to carry on the war with vigour against them. [In B. C. 388], Philocrates having miscarried in his attempt of carrying succours to Euagoras, in manner as hath been related, the Athenians sent Chabrias into the same service with another fleet, and a good number of land forces on board of it; who, arriving safe in Cyprus, managed the war with that success, that he reduced the whole island under the power of Euagoras, before he again left it; which redounded much to the honour of his own conduct, and also to that of the Athenian arms.

Peace of Antalcidas dishonourable to the Greeks, 387.—The Lacedæmonians, finding themselves hardly pressed by the confederacy of

the Grecian cities against them, became desirous of a peace with the Persian king, appointed Antalcidas again to treat with Tiribazus about it; and

resolving to make it on such terms as should necessarily engage that potent monarch on their side, instructed their ambassador accordingly; and having made him admiral of their fleet, under that blind sent him with it into Asia to transact this matter. On his arrival at Ephesus, having appointed Nicolochus his lieutenant to take care of the fleet, he went to Sardis, and there communicated to Tiribazus the commission on which he was sent. But Tiribazus having no powers to enter into such a treaty, instead of sending for orders about it from the Persian court, they both went thither, where, on their arrival, the matter was soon concluded. For Artaxerxes, being at that time as much desirous of a peace as the Lacedæmonians, that so he might be the better at leisure to prosecute the Cyprian war, which he had then his heart much set upon, greedily accepted of the proposal upon the scheme which Antalcidas offered; and accordingly peace was made thereupon. The terms of it were, that all the Grecian cities in Asia, with the islands of Clazomenæ and Cyprus, should be under the power of the Persian king; and that all the other cities of Greece, and the isles, as well small as great, should be free, and wholly left to be governed by their own laws, except the islands of Scirus, Lemnus, and Imbrus, which having been anciently subject to the Athenians, should still continue so to be; and that Artaxerxes should join with the Lacedæmonians, and all others that accepted of this peace, to make all the rest of Greece submit thereto. Which peace, being ratified under the seal of king Artaxerxes, Tiribazus and Antalcidas returned with it, and caused it to be proclaimed in all the cities of Greece. Hereby the Grecian cities in Asia, finding themselves betrayed by the Lacedæmonians, were forced to submit; and scarce any other of the Grecian states were pleased therewith, it being very disadvantageous to many of them, and dishonourable to all. The Athenians and Thebans of all others were the most dissatisfied with it. But not being able alone to cope with the Persians, now joined with the Lacedæmonians their allies to see it executed, were forced for a while to acquiesce therein. And it was not long that the Lacedæmonians themselves were well pleased with it; but at this time being pressed on the one hand by the Persians, and on the other hand by the confederacy of the Grecian cities against them, and not being able to withstand both, they had no other way to extricate themselves from the ruin which seemed to threaten them, than by making this peace: for hereby they engaged the Persians into an alliance with them, and by virtue thereof made

all the confederated cities of Greece desist from that war which they were preparing against them; and by this means they saved themselves from the present danger; but at the same time they betrayed the common interest of Greece, and also their own, as far as it was involved in it. And Antalcidas at last met with his ruin from it; for the Lacedæmonians, after the blow they had received from the Thebans at Leuctra, needing

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the assistance of the Persian power to support them, and being made believe that Antalcidas could do everything at that court since the making of this peace, sent him thither to solicit for money to help to bear them up in that distress. But king Artaxerxes, finding his interest no way concerned in this proposal, as it was in the former, rejected it with scorn and contempt. And therefore being sent away without success, either out of shame for being thus disappointed, or out of fear of the resentments of his fellow-citizens for his failing in this negotiation of what they expected from it, he famished himself, and so put an end to his life. This peace Polybius, Trogus Pompeius, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo tell us, was made in the same year that Rome was taken by the Gauls. It was called, from the author of it, the peace of Antalcidas; but it was not with any honour, but rather with infamy to his name, because of the prejudice and dishonour which it brought with it to all Greece.

Persian expedition against Euagoras, king of Cyprus, 386.—The Athenians, on their accepting of this peace, were forced to call home Chabrias out of Cyprus: and Artaxerxes, now freed of all trouble from the Greeks, bent his whole force against Euagoras, king of that island. For having drawn together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred sail, he made Gaus, the son of Tamus (who hath been before spoken of), admiral of the fleet, and Orontes, one of his sons-in-law, general of the army, and Tiribazus generalissimo over both, and sent them to invade Cyprus; and accordingly they landed this great army on that island, for the reducing of it. Euagoras, being pressed with so great a power, strengthened himself for the war the best he could, having drawn into confederacy with him the Egyptians, Libyans, Arabians, Tyrians, and other nations, who were then at enmity with the Persians; and with his money, of

which he had amassed a vast treasure, he hired a great number of mercenaries out of all places wherever he could get them; which all together made a very numerous army. And he also got together a considerable fleet of ships: these at first he sent out in parties to intercept the tenders and victuallers, which brought provisions to the Persian army from the continent; which in a few days reduced them to that distress, that the soldiers mutinied, and slew many of their officers and commanders for their want of bread. For the remedying of this, their whole fleet was forced to set to sea to fetch provisions from Cilicia; whereby the army being plentifully supplied, an end was put to the mutiny. In the interim, Euagoras received a great supply of corn from Egypt, and fifty sail of ships, which, with others that he fitted up at home, making up his fleet to two hundred sail, he adventured with them to engage the whole naval force of the Persians, though in strength and number much superior to him. He had fought a part of the Persian army, and gained the victory, and being flushed with this and some other advantages which he had obtained at land, he was emboldened hereby to make this attempt upon them by sea. But here he had not the same success. In the first onset he had the advantage, and took and destroyed several of their ships. But Gaus at length having brought up his whole fleet into the fight, his valour and his conduct bore all before him, and drove Euagoras out

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of the seas, with the loss of the greatest part of his fleet. With the remainder he escaped to Salamine, where the Persians, after this victory, shut him up in a close siege both by sea and land; and Tiribazus went to the Persian court with the news of this success, and having there obtained two thousand talents for the use of the army, he returned with them further to carry on the war. During his absence, Euagoras, to relieve himself in the distress he was reduced to, got through the enemy's fleet in the night with ten ships, and sailed for Egypt, leaving Protagoras his son to manage all affairs in his absence. His end in this voyage was to engage Acoris to join his whole power with him for the raising of this siege.

Treaty of peace concluded by Evagoras yielding up all Cyprus except Salamine, 385. —But failing in the main of what he there expected,

Euagoras was sent back only with some supplies of money, which were far short of what he needed to relieve him in his present distress: and therefore being returned to Salamine, and got again into the place by the favour of the night, in the same manner as he came out, and finding himself deserted by his allies, and destitute of all other helps for the raising of the siege, he sent to Tiribazus to treat of peace; but could be allowed no other terms than to be divested of all that he had in Cyprus, excepting the city of Salamine only, and to hold that of the king, as a servant of his lord, and pay him tribute for it. However, considering the necessity of his affairs, he yielded to all this, excepting only the holding of Salamine as a servant under his lord; he desired it might be as a king under a king. But Tiribazus not consenting to this, the war went on. In the mean time Orontes, who commanded the land army, not brooking the superiority which Tiribazus had over him, as being generalissimo, and having the chief conduct of the whole war, and envying also the success which he had in it, and the honour which he had gotten thereby, wrote secretly calumniating letters to the king, accusing him of having secret designs against the king's interest, and that for this purpose he held private correspondence with the Lacedæmonians, and had causelessly procrastinated the war, and admitted a treaty with Euagoras, when it was in his power to have suppressed him by force, and by courting the affection of the officers and commanders of the army, had engaged them all to him, for the promoting of his hidden purposes: whereon he was taken into custody by order from the king, and sent prisoner to the court, and Orontes had the chief command conferred on him; which was the thing he desired, as what he thought belonged to him, much rather than to the other, as being the king's son-in-law. But the army being very much dissatisfied with the change, things went very heavily on under his conduct; for all his orders, through this discontent of the soldiery, were very negligently executed, and the enemy recovered courage and strength hereby; so that at length Orontes was forced to renew the treaty with Euagoras, for which he had accused his predecessor, and concluded it upon terms which the other had refused: for he consented that he should hold Salamine of the king of Persia, as king of that city, yielding only tribute to him for it. So peace was made with Euagoras.

Revolt of Gaus joined by the Egyptians and Lacedæmonians: its failure. —But this did not put an end to the war in those parts: for Gaus taking ill the unjust usage of Tiribazus, whose daughter he had married, and fearing that this affinity might involve him also in the same prosecution, he entered into a confederacy with the Egyptians and the Lacedæmonians, and revolted from the king, and a great part both of the fleet and army joined with him herein. The Lacedæmonians entered gladly into this confederacy, because of the dislike which they now had of the peace of Antalcidas. For by this time discerning all the disadvantages of it, especially the ill consequence which it had in alienating the affections of all the other Greeks from them, because of the dishonour, as well as the damages, which it brought with it to all of the Grecian name, they would, for the redeeming of this fault, and the recovery of the credit which they lost by it, have gladly laid hold of this opportunity of again renewing the war with the Persians. But Gaus, the next year after, when he had brought his matters in some measure to bear, being treacherously slain by some that were under him, and Tachos, who set himself up to carry on the same design, soon dying, the whole of it fell to nothing; and after this the Lacedæmonians no more meddled with the Asian affairs.

Persian expedition against the Cadusians led by Artaxerxes in person, 384.—Artaxerxes, having thus finished the Cyprian war, led an army of three hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse against the Cadusians. But the country, by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions enough to feed so large an army, he had like to have lost them all for want thereof, but that Tiribazus extricated him from this danger. He followed the king in this expedition, or rather was led with the court in it as a prisoner, being in great disgrace because of Orontes's accusation; and having received information, that whereas the Cadusians had two kings, they did not act in a thorough concert together, by reason of the jealousy and mistrust which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he proposed to Artaxerxes the bringing of them to submission by a treaty; and having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the kings, and sent his son to the other, and so ordered the matter, that making each of them believe that the other was treating

separately with the king, brought both separately to submit to him, and so saved him and all his army. These people inhabited some part of the mountainous country which lies between the Euxine and the Caspian seas to the north of Media, where they, having neither seed-time nor harvest, lived mostly upon apples and pears, and other such tree fruits; the land, by reason of its ruggedness and unfertility, not being capable of tillage. And this was that which brought the Persians into such distress when they invaded them, the country not being capable of affording provisions for so great an army. Fuller hath a conceit that these Cadusians were the descendants of the Israelites, of the ten tribes which the kings of Assyria carried captive out of the land of Canaan; but his reason for it being only, that he thinks they were called Cadusians from the Hebrew

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word Kedushim, which signifieth holy people, this is not foundation enough to build such an assertion upon. It would have been a better argument for this purpose, had he urged for it, that the Colchians and neighbouring nations are said anciently to have used circumcision: for not far from the Colchians was the country of the Cadusians. Artaxerxes lost a great number of men in this ill-projected expedition; among others who perished in it was Camissares, by nation a Carian, and a very gallant man. He was governor of Leuco-Syria, a province lying between Cilicia and Cappadocia; and was, on his death, succeeded therein by Datames his son, who was also with Artaxerxes in this expedition, and did him great service in it, for the reward of which he had his father's government conferred on him. He was for valour and military skill the Hannibal of those times. **Cornelius Nepos** hath given us his life at large; by which it appears no man ever exceeded him in stratagems of war, or in the valour and activity by which he executed them. But these eminent qualities raised that envy against him in the Persian court, as at last caused his ruin; as it hath been the fate of too many gallant men to have been thus undone by their own merit. On the king's return to Susa, the service which Tiribazus did him in this expedition procured him a fair hearing of his cause; and it having been thoroughly examined before indifferent judges appointed by the king for it, he was found innocent, and honourably discharged; and Orontes his accuser was condemned of

calumny, and with disgrace banished the court, and put out of the king's favour for it.

Preparations for a grand expedition for the recovery of Egypt, 377. —Artaxerxes, being now free from all other wars, resolved on the reducing of the Egyptians; they having freed themselves from the yoke of the Persians, and stood out in revolt against them now full thirty-six years; and accordingly he made great preparations for it. Acoris, foreseeing the storm, provided against it the best he could, having armed not only his own subjects, but drawn also a great number of Greeks and other mercenaries into his service, under the command of Chabrias the Athenian. Pharnabazus, having the care of this war committed to his charge, sent ambassadors to Athens to make complaint against Chabrias, for engaging in this service against the king, threatening them with the loss of the king's friendship, unless he were forthwith recalled. And at the same time he demanded Iphicrates, another Athenian, and the ablest general of his time, to be sent to him, to take on him the command of the mercenary Greeks in the Persian army for this war. The Athenians, at that time much depending on the favour of the Persian king for the support of their affairs at home, amid the broils which they had with the other cities of Greece, readily complied with both these demands; for they immediately recalled Chabrias, setting him a day for his return, and at the same time sent Iphicrates into the Persian army, to take on him the charge he was designed for. On his arrival, he having mustered his men, applied himself to exercise them in all the arts of war; in which he made them so expert, that thenceforth, under the name of Iphicratesian soldiers, they became as famous among the Greeks, as formerly the Fabian were among the

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Romans, for the same reason. And they had time enough, before they entered on action, to grow up hereto by the instruction that was given them. For the Persians being very slow in their preparations, it was two years after ere the war commenced. In the interim died Acoris king of Egypt, and was succeeded by Psammuthis in that kingdom, who reigned only one year. After Psammuthis, reigned in Egypt Nepherites, the last of the Mendesian race in that kingdom; for after a reign of four months, he was succeeded by

Nectanabis, the first of the Sebennite race, who reigned twelve years. Artaxerxes, that he might the easier get Grecian auxiliaries for his Egyptian war, sent ambassadors into Greece to put an end to all war there; requiring that all the different states and cities in that country should live in peace with each other, upon the terms of the peace of Antalcidas; and that all garrisons being withdrawn, all should be left to enjoy their liberty, and be governed according to their own laws. This proposal was readily accepted by all the cities of Greece, excepting the Thebans, who, having then in view the gaining the empire over all, were the only Grecian people that refused to comply herewith.

Unsuccessful invasion of Egypt, 374.—All things being now ready for the Egyptian war, the Persian army was all drawn together at Ace, afterwards called Ptolemais, and now Acon, in Palestine, and were there mustered to be two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, and twenty thousand Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Iphicrates; and their forces by sea were proportionable hereto. For their fleet consisted of three hundred galleys and two hundred ships, besides a vast number of victuallers and tenders, which followed to furnish both the fleet and army with all things necessary. At the same time the army marched by land, the fleet set also to sea, that so they might the better act in concert with each other, for the carrying on of the war. The first attempt which they made was upon Pelusium. Their design was to besiege it by sea and land; but the Persians having been long in preparing for this war, gave Nectanabis time enough to provide for the defence of the place, which he did so effectually, that they could not come at it either by land or sea. And therefore their fleet, instead of making a descent at this place, as was first intended, sailed from thence to the Mendesian mouth of the Nile; for that river then discharged itself into the Mediterranean by seven mouths (though now there are but two), each of these was guarded by a fortress and a garrison: but the Mendesian mouth not being so well fortified against them as the Pelusian, because they were not here expected, they easily landed at this place, and as easily took the fortress which guarded it, destroying all those who were there set for its defence. After this action, Iphicrates advised that they should immediately have sailed up the Nile to Memphis the capital of Egypt; and had they followed his advice before the Egyptians

had recovered from the consternation which this powerful invasion, and the first success thereof, had put them into, they would have found the place wholly unprovided for its defence, and therefore must have certainly taken it, and with it all Egypt must again have fallen under their power. But

the main of the army not being yet come up, Pharnabazus would not engage till he had gotten all his strength together, thinking that then his power would be invincible, and he must necessarily carry all before him. But Iphicrates, rightly judging that by that time the opportunity would be lost, pressed hard for leave to attempt the place with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But Pharnabazus, envying him the honour which would redound to him from hence, should he succeed in the enterprise, would not hearken to the proposal. In the interim, the Egyptians having gotten all their forces together, and put a sufficient guard into Memphis, with the rest took the field, and so harassed the Persians, that they kept them from making any further progress, till at length the Nile, in its proper season overflowing all the country, forced them to withdraw again into Phoenicia, with the loss of a great part of their army. And so this expedition, in which were expended such vast sums of treasure, and so much time in preparing for it, all miscarried and came to nothing. This produced great dissensions between the two generals; for Pharnabazus, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of this miscarriage upon Iphicrates; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, on Pharnabazus. But Iphicrates being aware that Pharnabazus would be believed before him at the Persian court, and remembering the case of Conon, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship, and got safely away to Athens. Hereon Pharnabazus sent ambassadors after him, to accuse him of making this expedition into Egypt miscarry; to which the Athenians gave only this answer, that if he were found guilty of this, they would punish him for it according to his demerit. But it seems they were so far convinced of his innocency as to this matter, that they never called him to a trial for it; and a little while after they made him sole admiral of their whole fleet.

Failure of the expedition occasioned by the delay.—That which made most of the expeditions of the Persians under this empire miscarry was their

slowness in the execution of their designs. For the generals

having nothing left to their own discretion, but being in all things strictly tied up to orders, durst not proceed on any emergency without instructions from court; and usually before these could arrive the opportunity was lost. And this was signally the case in this war. And therefore Iphicrates observing Pharnabazus to be very quick in his resolves, and very slow in the execution of them, and having thereon asked him how it came to pass that he was so forward in his words and so backward in his actions, had the whole truth told him in this memorable answer,—that his words were his own, but his actions wholly depended on his master. And many like instances may be given, wherein noble opportunities of acting great things for the good of the public have been wholly lost, by too straitly tying up the hands of those who are to execute them.

The same year that these things were done in Egypt, Euagoras king of Salamine, in the island of Cyprus, being murdered by one of his eunuchs, Nicocles his son reigned in his stead, and is the same for whose sake two of Isocrates's orations were composed, and they still bear the title of his name. In the first of these is proposed the duty of a king to his subjects; in the second, the duty of subjects to their king; for which Nicocles gave him twenty talents, i. e. three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds of our money.

The next year after [namely, B. C. 373], which was the thirty-second of Artaxerxes Mnemon, Joiada the high priest of the Jews being dead, Johanan his son, called also Jonathan, succeeded him in his office, and held it thirty-two years.

Thebans refuse to accede to the peace of Antalcidas, 371.—Artaxerxes again sent ambassadors into Greece, to exhort the states and cities, which were there at war with each other, to lay down their arms, and come to an accord upon the terms of the peace which he had made with Antalcidas. All expressed a readiness to submit hereto, except the Thebans. That which made them at that time dissent was, that by that peace it was provided, that all the cities of Greece should be left to enjoy their own

liberties, and be governed according to their own laws. Upon this article, the Lacedaemonians pressed the Thebans to set all the cities of Boeotia free, and to rebuild Platea and Thespia, two cities of that country, which they had demolished, and restore them again to the former inhabitants, with the territories appertaining to them. And on the other side, the Thebans retorting upon the Lacedaemonians the same argument, pressed them to permit all the towns of Laconia to enjoy their liberties, and restore Messena to its ancient owners: for they urged, that the articles of the peace insisted on did as much require the one as the other side; and that therefore, if the Lacedaemonians would not execute this article on their part, neither would they on theirs.

Lacedaemonians endeavour to force the Thebans, but are defeated at Leuctra.—But the Lacedaemonians, not being sufficiently humbled by the loss of their fleet at Cnidus, would not understand this way of

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arguing, but looking on themselves still as much superior to the Thebans, would have them submit to that which they would not do themselves; and therefore sent an army against them to force them to it, which produced the battle at Leuctra, in which the Lacedaemonians were overthrown, with the loss of Cleombrotus, one of their kings, and above four thousand of their citizens; which was the greatest blow they had received in many ages past: for it brought the Thebans in pursuit of this victory into Laconia, which they wasted all over, even home to the city of Lacedaemon itself, where they had not seen an enemy in five hundred years before; and it was with difficulty that they preserved this their capital from falling under the same devastation.

Lacedaemonians apply for aid to Egypt and Persia, 370.—The Lacedaemonians, being brought to this distress, sent Agesilaus into Egypt, and Antalcidas to the Persian court, to solicit for succours. But the Lacedaemonians, since their overthrow at Leuctra, becoming contemptible to the Persians, Antalcidas had that ill success in his embassy, as caused him to put an end to his life, in the manner as hath been above related. However,

this embassy prevailed so far with Artaxerxes, that Philiscus of Abydus was by his order, the next year after [B. C. 369], sent into Greece, to endeavour the composing of the wars which were there risen, and the bringing of all to peace upon the terms agreed on by Antalcidas. But the Lacedaemonians refusing to consent that Messena should enjoy its liberty (to which it had been restored by the Thebans, in their late expedition into Peloponnesus, after the battle of Leuctra), and the Thebans refusing to come to peace on any other terms, this embassy ended without any effect; only Philiscus, thinking the Thebans stood upon too high terms, and being much offended thereat, sent to the assistance of the Lacedaemonians two thousand mercenaries, which he had raised with the king's money, and so returned.

Thebans under Pelopidas and Epaminondas aim at the empire of Greece: rival embassies to Persia, 368.—The truth of the case was, the Thebans being elevated with their late success, and much confiding in their two generals, Pelopidas and Epaminondas (the latter of which was one of the greatest men that ever Greece produced), aimed now at nothing less than the empire of Greece. And therefore, to strengthen themselves for the obtaining of it, they sent Pelopidas and Ismenias, two of the most eminent of their citizens, in an embassy to king Artaxerxes, to secure him on their side. And on the hearing of this, the Athenians sent Timagoras and Leontes, and the other cities of Greece other ambassadors, to take care of their respective interests at that court on this occasion. At their admission to audience, they being required to adore the king, Ismenias, on his entrance into the presence of the king, dropped his ring, and stooping to take it up, thought by this trick to satisfy the ceremonial, and save his honour at the same time. But Timagoras the Athenian, to gain the greater favour with Artaxerxes, directly, without any trick or subterfuge, paid him that ceremony of adoration which was required; for which he was put to

death on his return, the Athenians thinking the honour of their whole city sullied by this low act of submission in one of their citizens, though made to the greatest of kings. Pelopidas and Leontes would not submit to the Persian ceremonial in this particular. However, they often had free access to the king, and Pelopidas, by the fame of his great actions, as well as by his noble

demeanour at this court, got that ascendant above all the other ambassadors, both in the king's esteem and favour, that he obtained all that he desired in behalf of his citizens, and returned with full success from his embassy; for he brought back letters from the king under his seal royal, whereby it was required, that the Lacedaemonians should let Messena be free, and that the Athenians should recall their fleet, and that all the other cities of Greece should have the full enjoyment of their liberties; and war was threatened against all that should not comply herewith. The success of this embassy was much to the satisfaction of the Thebans, they thinking hereby most certainly to gain the superiority over all the other cities and states of Greece. For should the peace be accepted of on these terms, and the Messenians thoroughly restored, the Lacedaemonians would lose one-half of their territory, and thereby would be brought too low to be any more a match for them; and should the other cities of Greece, as well small as great, be all set at liberty, and made distinct states, free and independent of each other, this would so divide their power, that none of them would be in a condition to contend with them, but all must submit to them. And if the peace were not accepted of, then the king being engaged in this case to join with them to force all to it, they thought, by this addition of strength, they should easily overpower all, and thereby gain to themselves the same empire over the rest of Greece, as first the Athenians, and afterwards the Lacedaemonians, had for some time enjoyed. But they failed of their expectations in both these particulars: for the cities of Greece, when met together by their delegates to hear the contents of the king's letters, all refused to swear to the peace on those terms; and Artaxerxes, not being at leisure to execute the other part of the treaty, did not, on this refusal of the Grecian cities to come into his measures, proceed to make that war upon them which he threatened; and so this whole embassy came to nothing, and the Thebans failed of all that they designed by it. For all that Artaxerxes did hereupon was to send another embassy into Greece about two years after [B. C. 366], whereby although he could not draw all the cities to subscribe to his terms, and swear to the peace upon them, yet he prevailed so far, that all laid down their arms, and submitted to be at quiet with each other on the scheme proposed.

Jewish affairs: Johanan the high priest slays his brother Jeshua in the inner court of the temple.—About this time a wicked act of Johanan, the high priest of the Jews, brought a great oppression upon the temple at Jerusalem. For Jeshua his brother having much insinuated himself into the favour of Bagoses, then governor of Syria and Phoenicia for the Persian king, obtained of him a grant of the high priesthood, with which Johanan had been invested several years, and came with this grant to Jerusalem, to take possession of the office, and depose

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his brother from it. But Johanan not submitting hereto, the matter came to a great contention between them; and while the one endeavoured by force to enter on the execution of the office, and the other by force to keep him from it, it happened that Johanan slew Jeshua in the inner court of the temple; which was a very wicked act in itself, but aggravated and rendered much more so by the great profanation which was brought hereby on the holy place where it was committed.

Bagoses, satrap of Syria and Phenicia, imposes a fine of 50 drachmas on every lamb sacrificed.—Bagoses, hearing of this, came in great wrath to Jerusalem, to take an account of the fact; and when on his going into the temple to see the place where it was perpetrated, they would have hindered his entrance (all Gentiles being reckoned by them as impure, and prohibited to enter thither), he cried out with great indignation, "What! am I not more pure than the dead carcass of him whom ye have slain in the temple?" Whereon, entering without any further opposition, and having taken a thorough cognizance of the fact, he imposed a mulct on the temple for the punishment of it, obliging the priests to pay out of the public treasury, for every lamb they offered in the daily sacrifice, the sum of fifty drachms, which is about 1l. 11s. 3d. of our money. This, if extended only to the ordinary sacrifices which were offered every day, amounted to thirty-six thousand five hundred drachms for the whole year, which is no more than 1140l. 12s. 6d. of our money; but if it extended also to the extraordinary sacrifices, which were added to the ordinary on solemn days, it will come to about half as much more. For the ordinary sacrifices which were offered every day, and called the daily sacrifices, were a lamb in the morning,

which was called the morning sacrifice, and a lamb in the evening, which was called the evening sacrifice: and these in the whole year came to seven hundred and thirty. But besides these, there were added on every sabbath two lambs more; on every new moon seven; on each of the seven days of the paschal solemnity seven, besides one more on the second day, when the wave-sheaf was offered; on the day of Pentecost sixteen; on the feast of trumpets seven; on the great day of expiation seven; on each of the seven days of the feast of tabernacles fourteen; and on the eighth day seven. So that the additional lambs being three hundred and seventy-one, these, if reckoned to the other, make the whole number annually offered at the morning and evening sacrifices to be eleven hundred and one. And therefore, if the mulct of fifty drachms a lamb was paid for them all, it would make the whole of it to amount to fifty-five thousand and fifty drachms, which is of our money, 1720l. 6s. 3d. But this sum being too small for a national mulct, and far short of what governors of provinces on such occasions are apt to exact from their provincials, it seems probable, that all lambs that were offered in the temple, in any sacrifice whatsoever, were taken into the reckoning; and, without this, there will be no sufficient cause for that complaint which Josephus makes hereof; for he speaks of it as such a calamity and grievance upon the Jews, which a payment of 1720l. a year upon the whole nation of them could not amount

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to. Capelius reckons this mulct at sixty talents. This proceeds from his laying it at five hundred drachms a lamb, instead of fifty, which is a plain mistake of his for the text of Josephus, in all copies, hath πεντήκοντα, fifty, and not πεντακοσίας, five hundred. But whatever this mulct was, the payment of it lasted no longer than seven years. For on the death of Artaxerxes, the changes and revolutions which then happened in the empire having made a change of the governor in Syria, he that succeeded Bagoses in that province no further exacted it.

Fresh hostilities between the Lacedaemonians and Thebans: battle of Mantinea and death of Epaminondas, 363.—A new war having broke out in Greece between the Arcadians and the Elians, and that having produced another among the Arcadians themselves, one party called in the

Thebans to their assistance, and the other party the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians. Hereon the Lacedaemonians set forth a great army, under the command of Agesilaus, to help that party which they favoured, and the Thebans another under the command of Epaminondas to support the other party; which produced the famous battle of Mantinea, wherein the Lacedaemonians lost the victory, and the Thebans their general Epaminondas, which was the greater loss of the two; for with him all the vigour of the Theban state expired, and they never more signified anything after this. But as they had attained all their power and glory by the conduct and valour of this one great man, so they lost it all again with him. These losses being received on both sides, they made both weary of the war; and therefore soon after this battle both parties, and with them all the rest of the Grecian states, came to a general peace among themselves; and the Messenians, notwithstanding what the Lacedaemonians endeavoured to the contrary, were also included in it, according as had been decreed by the king of Persia.

Lacedaemonians, under Agesilaus, assist Tachos king of Egypt against Persia, 362.—While these things were doing in Greece, Tachos succeeded Nectanabis in the kingdom of Egypt, and gathered together all the strength he could, to defend himself in it against the king of Persia, who still pursued his designs of recovering that kingdom again to his empire, notwithstanding he had so often miscarried in them. [In B. C. 362], in order to make himself the stronger against so potent an enemy, he sent into Greece to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the Lacedaemonians, to aid him with a good number of their forces, under the command of Agesilaus; for the Lacedaemonians, being angry that Artaxerxes had forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, were glad to lay hold of this occasion to express their resentments for it. And Agesilaus, either out of fondness still to be at the head of armies, or else out of a greedy desire of gaining riches by it, gladly accepted of the employment, though it neither suited his age (which was above eighty), to be engaged in such an undertaking, nor the dignity of his person thus to become a mercenary, and let himself to hire to a barbarous king. That which chiefly tempted him to it was, Tachos

promised him to make him generalissimo of all his forces: but when he was landed in Egypt, and instead of a great and glorious king which his great actions had represented him to be, the Egyptians found him a little old man, ill clothed and of a contemptible presence, and living without pomp and ceremony, they very much despised him; and Tachos would allow him no other command but that of his mercenaries at land, committing to Chabrias the Athenian the charge of his fleet, and reserving to himself the chief command over all. And when he had joined the Grecian mercenaries to the rest of his army, he marched with his whole strength into Phoenicia, thinking it better to meet the war there, than to expect till it should be brought home to him to his own doors; and Agesilaus was forced to attend him thither. But the old Grecian king saw the ill consequence of this resolution, and advised him against it, telling him that, in the present unsettled state of his kingdom, it was his interest to tarry in Egypt, and look well to his affairs there, and manage the war abroad by his lieutenants.

Agesilaus joins the revolt of Nectanebus against Tachos: his death, 361.—But Tachos contemning the advice of Agesilaus in this particular, and slighting him in most things else, this so far alienated Agesilaus from him, that when, in his absence in Phoenicia, the Egyptians revolted from him, and set up Nectanebus his kinsman to be king in his stead, Agesilaus joined with the revolters, and drove Tachos out of his kingdom; who thereon fled to Sidon, and from thence went to the Persian court. Plutarch condemns Agesilaus as guilty of treachery, in thus turning his arms against the person into whose service he was hired. Agesilaus's excuse for it was, that he was sent to aid the Egyptians, and that therefore the Egyptians having armed against Tachos, he could not fight against them, unless he had new instructions from Lacedaemon; whereon messengers being sent thither, the orders returned by them were, that Agesilaus should act herein according to what he judged would be best for the interest of his country; whereon Agesilaus going over to Nectanebus, Tachos was forced to make his flight out of Egypt in the manner as hath been related. And he was no sooner gone, but another from among the Mendesians did set up in his stead against Nectanebus, and got together an army of one hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agesilaus's advice to Nectanebus was, that he

should fall on them immediately, before they were well formed and disciplined; and they being most of them raw and inexperienced men, they might easily have been dissipated and broken, had this advice been followed. But Nectanebus, mistrusting it to be given with an ill design, and growing jealous that Agesilaus intended to betray him, as he had Tachos before, would not hearken to him, but delayed the matter to gain more strength. In the interim his adversary, having brought his army into form and order, grew too strong for him; whereon he was forced to coop himself up, with all his forces, in one of his towns; and the other sat down before it to besiege him therein, and began to draw lines of circumvallation about it. Nectanebus, seeing the danger, would then have had Agesilaus engage the enemy to extricate him out of it. This he refused for some time to do, which increased the jealousy of that prince against him. But when the lines were so far drawn round as only to leave a sufficient

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space for the besieged to draw up their army in it, then Agesilaus told Nectanebus that this was his only time to fall on; that the lines which the enemy had drawn secured him from being encompassed; and that the gap, which was still left void, allowed room enough for him to bring all his forces to the battle; whereon an engagement ensuing, the besiegers were put to the rout, and after this Agesilaus managed the rest of the war with that success, that he everywhere vanquished the other king, and at length took him prisoner. And thereon having settled Nectanebus in full and quiet possession of the kingdom, returned homeward in the ensuing winter; but being in his way driven by contrary winds on the African shore, at a place called the haven of Menelaus, he there sickened and died, being full eighty-four years old.

Commotions and conspiracies amongst the sons of Artaxerxes, 360. —Towards the latter end of the reign of Artaxerxes, great disturbances grew in the Persian court, which were occasioned by the contention of his sons, in making parties among the nobility about the succession. For he had one hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, and three by his queen; the names of the latter were Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. For the stilling of these commotions, Artaxerxes declared Darius, the eldest of them, to be his

successor; and for the firmer settling of the matter, allowed him to assume the name of king, and wear the royal tiara even in his lifetime. But this not contenting him, and there being also some disgust about one of the king's concubines which he would have had from him, he formed a design against his father's life, and drew in fifty of his brothers into the same conspiracy with him. He was chiefly excited to this by Tiribazus, whose name hath been often above mentioned. Artaxerxes had promised him one of his daughters, but falling in love with her, he had married her himself, and to make him amends, having promised him another of his daughters, he married this also: such abominable incest was in those times allowed in Persia by the religion which they then professed. These two disappointments greatly discontenting Tiribazus, and provoking his resentments against the king for them, to be revenged of him, he excited the young king to this flagitious act. But the whole being discovered, Darius was cut off in such manner as he deserved, and all his accomplices with him. [In B. C. 359], after the death of Darius, the same contention was again revived which was in the Persian court before his being declared king; three of his surviving brothers in the same manner making parties for the succession. These were Ariaspes, Ochus, and Arsames: the two former, being the king's sons by his queen, claimed as the lawful heirs; but the other only by the favour of his father, to whom he was the most beloved of the three, though born to him only by one of his concubines. But the restless ambition of Ochus prompting him to all manner of ways to obtain the crown, he carried it from the other two by the wickedest and the worst of means. For Ariaspes being an easy and credulous prince, he terrified him so by menaces, which he

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suborned the eunuchs of the court to bring to him as from his father, that apprehending himself to be just ready to be used by him in the same manner as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. But Arsames still remaining to rival him in his pretensions, and being in the opinion of his father, as well as of all others, both for his wisdom and all other accomplishments, the worthiest of the throne, to remove this obstacle he caused him to be assassinated by Harpates the son of Tiribazus. This loss

added to the former, and both aggravated by the wickedness whereby they were caused, so overwhelmed the old king with grief, that being now ninety-four years old, he had not strength enough to support himself under it, but broke his heart and died. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and justice; and therefore, being honoured and revered through the whole empire, he had a fixed and thorough settled authority in all the parts of it, which Ochus being sensible of, and knowing that it would be quite otherwise with them on his succeeding (the death of his two brothers having rendered the generality of the people, as well as the nobility, ill-affected to him), for the avoiding of the inconveniences which might from hence follow, he dealt with the eunuchs, and all others that were about the dead king, to conceal his death, and took on him to govern as under his direction; and giving out orders and sealing decrees in his name, as if he had still been alive, in one of these decrees he caused himself, as by his father's command, to be proclaimed king through the whole empire. And when he had governed in this manner about ten months, thinking now his authority fully established, he owned his father's death, and openly ascending the throne, took the name of Artaxerxes. But by the name of Ochus is he mostly spoken of in history.

III. REIGN OF ARTAXERXES OCHUS, B. C. 358-338

Kings of Egypt-Nectanebus, 361.

Reconquest of Egypt by Ochus, 350.

High priests of Judah-Johanan, 373,

Jaddua, 341.

Revolt of Asia Minor, Syria, and Phoenicia fails through the treachery of its promoters, 358. —The artifice of Ochus had not that full success which he proposed. For as soon as it was known that the old king was dead, and that Ochus had taken possession of the throne, all Lesser

Asia, Syria, and Phoenicia, and several other provinces of the empire, refused him their obedience, and fell off from him; which very much distressed him. For hereby one half of the revenues of his crown were cut off, and the remainder could not have sufficed to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they continued firm to each other. But this union being wanting, they had not long been in the revolt, ere those who were the first promoters of it were at a strife which should soonest betray each other, and thereby reconcile themselves to the king. The provinces of Lesser Asia, when they first fell off from him, resolving on a joint confederacy for their mutual defence, chose Orontes, governor of Mysia, for their common head: and having agreed on the raising of twenty thousand mercenaries, to be added to their other forces, they committed the care of it to him; but when he had

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received for this purpose a sum sufficient, both for the raising of these forces, and also for the maintaining of them for a year's time, he put the money in his own pocket, and betrayed those to the king that brought it to him from the revolted provinces. And Reomithres, another prime leader in this revolt in Lesser Asia, being sent from thence into Egypt to gain succours in that kingdom for the carrying on of this rebellion, practised the same treachery; for on his return with five hundred talents and fifty ships of war, having called together at Leucas, a city in Lesser Asia, several of the prime ringleaders of the revolt, on pretence of giving them an account of his agency, he there seized them all, and made his peace with the king, by betraying them into his hands, and kept the money for a prey unto himself. And by these means the danger of this formidable revolt, which threatened the Persian empire with absolute ruin, was all blown over, and Ochus became settled in the throne much firmer than he deserved.

Abominable cruelty of Ochus. —Ochus was the cruellest and the worst of all that had reigned of that race in Persia, which his actions soon made appear; for he had not been long on the throne ere he filled the palace and all parts of the empire with a great number of murders. That the revolted provinces might have none other of the royal family to set up in his stead, and that there might not be any of them left on any other pretence

whatsoever to give him any disturbance, he cut them all off, without having any regard to sex, age, or nearness of blood; for he caused Ocha his own sister, who was also his mother-in-law (for he had married her daughter), to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles, with one hundred of his sons and grandsons, in an empty yard, he there caused them by his archers to be all shot to death. This seems to have been the father of Sisigambis the mother of Darius Codomannus. For Quintus Curtius tells us, that Ochus slew eighty of her brothers, together with their father, in one day. And with the same cruelty he proceeded against all others through the whole empire of whom he had any suspicion, leaving none of the nobility alive whom he thought to be any way ill-affected towards him.

Mistake of Diodorus Siculus concerning the date of the revolt. — Diodorus Siculus placeth this revolt in the last year of Artaxerxes: but he being a prince whose conduct in the government had thoroughly settled him in the esteem and affection of all his people, it is not likely that so great an insurrection against the royal authority should have happened in his days. But Ochus giving reason enough for it, when the next year after he ascended the throne, I have rather chosen here to place it. For his ill dispositions, and the wicked means whereby he made away with two of his brothers to come at the throne, were causes sufficient to make many of the nobility, who had the government of the provinces of the empire, to abhor the man, and refuse their submission to him. And he having taken the name of Artaxerxes, this might lead Diodorus into the mistake of placing that in the father's reign which was done in the son's. But this revolt was soon again quashed by the means I have mentioned. Only Datames, governor of Cappadocia, having seized also Paphlagonia, gave him much trouble. But when he began his revolt, or when it ended, is nowhere clearly

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expressed. But by what is written of him by Cornelius Nepos and Polyaenus, it appears he maintained himself in both these provinces in rebellion against the king of Persia a long while: and it was not till the time of Ochus, and some years after he had been king, that he was, by the treachery of Mithridates, one of his confidants, at length cut off.

Birth of Alexander the Great, 356. —In the first year of the one hundred and sixth Olympiad, about the middle of the summer quarter, Alexander the Great, who overthrew the Persian empire, was born at Pella in Macedonia. Plutarch and Justin tell us, that at the time of his birth, king Philip his father had the news that his horse had won the victory in the horse-race at the Olympic games, which proves him to be born a little after the celebrating of those games. And Arrian telling us out of Aristobulus (who accompanied Alexander in all his expeditions) that he died in the one hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, in the year when Hegesias was archon at Athens (which was the first year of that Olympiad), after having lived thirty-two years and eight months: these thirty-two years and eight months being reckoned backward from the said first year of the one hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, and the month Daesius, in which he died, will lead us directly to the same time for his birth which I have said. But Eusebius and the Parian Chronicle place it one year later, that is, in the second year of the said one hundred and sixth Olympiad. On the same day on which he was born, the famous temple of Diana at Ephesus was designedly burnt by one Erostratus; when he was put upon the rack, to make him confess his inducements, he acknowledged it was, that by destroying so excellent a work he might perpetuate his name, and make it to be remembered in after-ages. Whereon the common council of Asia made a decree, that no one should ever name him: but this made him so much the more remembered; so remarkable an extravagance scarce escaping any of the historians that have written of those times.

Rebellion of Artabazus, joined first by the Athenians and afterwards by the Thebans. —Artabazus, governor of one of the Asian provinces, being in rebellion against the king, drew Chares the Athenian to join him with such forces as he then commanded in those parts, and, by his assistance, overthrew an army of seventy thousand of the king's forces which were sent to reduce him; for the reward of which service Artabazus gave unto Chares as much money as paid all his fleet, and the army which he had on board it. This greatly offended the king; and the Athenians being then engaged in a war against the Chians, Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, who were associated in a revolt against them, threats were given out, that the king, to be revenged of them, was preparing a fleet of three hundred sail

to help their enemies in this war: whereon the Athenians not only recalled Chares, but came also to an accommodation with their revolted subjects, that thereby being freed from all embarrassments at home, they might be in a

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better posture to defend themselves from all such invasions as might be made upon them from abroad. [In B. C. 354], Artabazus, being thus deserted by the Athenians, applied himself to the Thebans; from whom having obtained a band of auxiliaries to the number of five thousand men, under the command of Pammenes, he did by their assistance gain two great victories over the king's forces, which redounded much to the honour of the Thebans, and their general that commanded in this expedition.

Caria: death of Mausolus and erection of the famous mausoleum by Artemisia. —About the same time happened the death of Mausolus king of Caria, which was rendered famous by the great grief which Artemisia (who was both his sister and wife) expressed hereat. For she having gathered together his ashes, and beaten his bones to powder, took a portion of them every day in her drink, till she had in this manner drunk them all down, aiming hereby to make her body the sepulchre of her dead husband, and in two years' time pined herself to death in sorrowing for him. But before she died she took care for the erecting of that famous monument for him at Halicarnassus, which was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, and from whence all monuments of more that ordinary magnificence are called Mausoleums. As Artemisia succeeded Mausolus in the kingdom, so on her death she was succeeded by Idrieus her brother, who married Ada his sister, in the same manner as Mausolus had married Artemisia; it being usual for the Carian kings to marry their sisters, and for those sisters, on the death of their husbands, to succeed them in the kingdom before their brothers or children.

Phoenicians revolt and join the Egyptians, 351. — The Sidonians, and other Phoenicians, being oppressed and ill used by those whom the king of Persia had set over them, revolted from him, and entered into confederacy with Nectanebus king of Egypt against him. The Persians had long waged

war with Nectanebus, in order to reduce Egypt again under their yoke, and were then preparing a great army to invade him. But there being no other way for them to enter Egypt but through Phoenicia, the revolt of that country happened very opportune for him; and therefore to encourage them to stand out in it, he sent Mentor the Rhodian with four thousand of the Grecian mercenaries to their assistance, hoping thereby to make Phoenicia a barrier to Egypt, and there keep the war out of his own country. The Phoenicians, strengthened by these auxiliaries, took the field, and by their assistance overthrew the governors of Syria and Cilicia, two of the king's lieutenants, that were sent to reduce them, and drove the Persians wholly out of Phoenicia.

Cyprus revolts and joins the confederacy. —The Cyprians, being provoked by the like ill usage, were encouraged by this success of the Phoenicians to revolt also; and therefore they joined with them and the Egyptians in the same confederacy. Hereon Ochus despatched his

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orders to Idrieus king of Caria to make war upon them, who having accordingly got ready a fleet, sent it with eight thousand Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Euagoras, to invade that island; who having there landed, and augmented their army to double its number by other forces which came to them from Syria and Cilicia, besieged Salamine by sea and land. Another Euagoras had formerly reigned in that city, of whom we have above spoken; on his death he was succeeded by Nicocles his son, and this Euagoras seems to have been the son of Nicocles, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom: but being driven out by Protagoras his uncle, was in banishment when this war began, and therefore gladly joined in it, as hoping thereby again to recover his crown. And the knowledge which he had of the country, and the party which he might still have in it, made him thought a very proper person to command in this expedition. Cyprus had then nine chief cities, and each of them had its king, but subject to the king of Persia. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a view of getting rid of the Persian yoke, and making themselves each supreme in his own city.

Ochus invades Phoenicia: terrible destruction of Sidon. —Ochus finding his wars with the Egyptians to have been unfortunately managed, and that this proceeded from the ill conduct of his lieutenants, resolved thenceforth to lead his forces in person; and therefore having gotten together an army of three hundred thousand foot and thirty thousand horse, marched with them into Phoenicia. Mentor, who was then in Sidon with the Grecian mercenaries, being terrified with the approach of so great an army, sent privately to Ochus to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver Sidon into his hands, but also to give him his assistance in his wars with Egypt, where through his knowledge of the country he was enabled to do him great services. Ochus, glad of this proffer, spared no promises to engage Mentor in his service. And he accordingly, having received such assurances from Ochus as he desired, engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the same treason, and by his assistance delivered Sidon into his hands. The Sidonians, on his approach to lay siege to their city, had designedly burnt all their ships, that none might make use of any of them to withdraw from the defence of their country. And therefore, when they found they were betrayed, and that the enemy was within their walls, having no way now left to escape, either by sea or land, they retired into their houses, and setting fire to them over their heads, were all consumed with them, to the number of forty thousand men, besides women and children: and Tennes escaped not any better than the rest; for Ochus, after he had thus subdued Sidon, having no more need of him, caused him to be put to death also; which was a reward the traitor sufficiently deserved, for thus selling his country to destruction; and may all those who practise the like courses meet with the like fate! There were vast riches of gold and silver in Sidon when this calamity happened to it, which being all melted down by the flames, Ochus sold the ashes of the city for great sums of money. The terrible destruction of this city

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frightening the rest of the Phoenicians, they all submitted, and made their peace with the king upon the best terms they could; and Ochus was the willinger to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from the designs which he had upon Egypt. But before he marched thither, he

was recruited with ten thousand mercenaries, which were sent him out of Greece; for in the beginning of this expedition Ochus had sent thither for auxiliaries. The Athenians and the Lacedaemonians excused themselves, telling the Persian ambassadors that were sent to them for this purpose, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with the king, but could not send him any succours at that time. But the Thebans sent him a thousand men under the command of Lachares, and the Argives three thousand under the command of Nicostratus. The rest came from the Grecian cities of Asia, and all these joined him immediately after his taking of Sidon.

Ochus enters Judea, and takes numerous captives. —The Jews seem to have been engaged in this war of the Phoenicians against Ochus: for after he had taken Sidon, he marched into Judea, and besieged and took Jericho, and making many of the Jews captives, he led part of them with him into Egypt, and sent a great number of others into Hyrcania, and there planted them on those parts of that country which lay on the Caspian Sea.

Reduces Cyprus. — Ochus at the same time also got rid of the Cyprian war; for having his mind wholly bent on the reducing of Egypt, that he might not be diverted from it by any other embarrassment, he was content to come to a composition with the nine Cyprian kings, and therefore having removed their grievances, they all again submitted to him, and were confirmed by him in the government of their respective territories. The greatest difficulty in the bringing of this matter to a composure was to content Euagoras, who claimed to be restored to his kingdom of Salamine; but he being convicted before Ochus of great crimes there committed, for which he was justly ejected, Protagoras was continued at Salamine, and amends was made Euagoras, by conferring on him the government of another place. But having there run into the same misdemeanours which he had been guilty of at Salamine, he was ejected thence also; whereon being forced to flee into Cyprus, he was there taken, and put to death for them.

Invades Egypt and reconquers the country, 350. —Cyprus, as well as Phoenicia, being thus wholly reduced, and settled again in peace, Ochus set forward for this Egyptian expedition. In his way he lost many of his men at the lake of Serbonis. This lake lay in the entrance into Egypt from

Phoenicia, of the extent of about thirty miles in length. The south wind blowing the sand of the desert upon it, made a crust upon the surface of the water, that in appearance looked like firm land; but if any went on upon it, they were soon swallowed up and lost. And thus it happened to as many of Ochus's men as for want of good guides marched on upon it. And there are instances of whole armies which have been thus lost in that place. On his arrival in Egypt, he planted

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his camp near Pelusium, and from thence sent out three detachments to invade the country, setting a Grecian and a Persian in joint commission over each of them. Over the first he put Lachares the Theban, and Rosaces governor of Lydia and Ionia; over the second Nicostratus the Argive, and Aristazanes; and over the third Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas one of his eunuchs; to each of which having given his orders, he retained the main of the army about himself, in the place where he had first encamped, there to watch the events of the war, and to be ready from thence to relieve all the distresses, and prosecute all the advantages of it. In the interim, Nectanebus, having sufficient notice from these preparations against him to provide for his defence, had gotten together an army of one hundred thousand men, of which twenty thousand were mercenaries out of Greece, and twenty thousand out of Libya, and the rest Egyptians. With some of these he garrisoned his towns on the borders, and with the rest guarded those passes through which the enemy was to enter into the country. The first of Ochus's detachments, under the command of Lachares, sat down before Pelusium, which was garrisoned with five thousand Greeks. While this siege was carrying on, Nicostratus, having put his detachment on board a squadron of the Persian fleet of eighty ships that attended him, sailed up through one of the channels of the Nile into the heart of the country, and having there landed his forces, strongly encamped them in a place convenient for it; whereon all the soldiers of the neighbouring garrisons taking the alarm, gathered together under the command of Clinius, a Grecian of the island of Cos, to drive him thence. This produced a fierce battle between them, in which Clinius with above five thousand of his men being slain, and all the rest dissipated and broken, this in a manner determined the whole fate of

the war. For hereon Nectanebus, fearing lest Nicostratus should sail up the river with his victorious force, and take Memphis, the metropolis of his kingdom, he hastened thither for its defence, leaving those passes into his country open which it was his chief interest to have defended. When the Grecians who garrisoned Pelusium heard of this retreat, they gave all for lost, and therefore coming to a parley with Lachares, agreed upon terms of being safely conveyed into Greece, with all that belonged to them, to yield the town to him. And Mentor with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted and left open, marched through them, and without any opposition took in all that part of the country. For having given it out through all his camp, that Ochus had given orders graciously to receive such as should yield unto him, but utterly to destroy all those that should stand out, in the same manner as he had destroyed the Sidonians, he permitted all his captives to escape, that they might carry the report of it all over the country; who accordingly returning to their respective cities, and dispersing everywhere what they had heard was ordered by Ochus, and the brutal cruelty of the man making it believed, this so frightened the garrisons through all the country, that in every city both Greeks and Egyptians were at strife which of them should first yield to the invader: which Nectanebus perceiving, despaired of any longer being able to defend himself; and therefore gathering together all the treasure he could get into his hands, fled with it into Ethiopia, and never again returned. And this was the last Egyptian that ever reigned in this country, it having been ever since enslaved to strangers,

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according to the prophecy of Ezekiel, which hath been already taken notice of. Ochus having thus made an absolute conquest of Egypt, he dismantled their chief cities, and plundered their temples, and then returned in triumph to Babylon, loaded with vast treasures of gold and silver, and other spoils gotten in this war, leaving Pherendates, one of his nobles, governor of the country.

End of the Commentaries of Manetho. — And here Manetho endeth his commentaries which he wrote of the Egyptian affairs. He was a priest of Heliopolis in Egypt, and wrote in the Greek language a history of all the

several dynasties of Egypt, from the beginning of that kingdom to this time, which is often quoted by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and others, an epitome whereof is preserved in Syncellus. He lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; for to him he dedicates his book.

Over-confidence of Nectanebus the cause of his losing his kingdom. — The chief cause of Nectanebus's losing of his kingdom was his over-confidence in himself. He had gained his kingdom by the assistance of Agesilaus, and had preserved himself in it by the prudence and valour of Diaphantus an Athenian and Lamius a Spartan, who, managing his wars and commanding his armies for him, made him victorious against the Persians in all the attempts which they had hitherto made upon him; with which being elevated, he thought himself now sufficient to conduct his own affairs, and therefore dismissing those by whose help he had hitherto subsisted, he was now ruined for want of it.

Mentor the Rhodian reestablishes the authority of Ochus throughout the revolted provinces, 349. —Ochus having thus mastered this war, and recovered Phoenicia and Egypt again to his crown, he nobly rewarded the service of Mentor the Rhodian. The other Greeks he had sent back into their country, with ample rewards, before he left Egypt; but the success of the whole expedition being chiefly owing to Mentor, he not only gave him one hundred talents, with many other valuable gifts, but also made him governor of the Asiatic coasts, and committed to his charge the management of the war which he still had with some of the provinces that had there revolted from him in the beginning of his reign, and made him generalissimo of all his forces in those parts. Mentor having thus gained so great a share in the favour of Ochus, he made use of it to reconcile unto him Memnon his brother, and Artabazus who had married their sister; for they had been in a war against him. Of the revolt of Artabazus, and the several victories which he had gained over the king's forces, I have already spoken; but he being at length overpowered, took refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had joined with him in those wars, was forced to bear with him the same banishment. After this reconciliation they both became very serviceable to Ochus, and his successors of that race, especially Memnon, who was a person of the greatest valour and military skill of any of his time. And Mentor was not wanting in answering that

confidence which the king had placed in him: for when settled in his province, he soon restored the king's authority in those parts, and made all that had revolted

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again submit to him. Some he circumvented by stratagem and military skill, and others he subdued by open force, and so wisely managed all his advantages, that at length he reduced all again under their former yoke, and thoroughly reestablished the king's affairs in all those provinces.

Death of Plato, 348. —In the first year of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad, died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. The eminentest of his scholars was Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic philosophy. He was by birth of Stagira, a small city on the river Strymon, in the northern confines of Macedonia. He was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad (which was the year before Christ 384). At the age of seventeen he came to Athens, and became one of the scholars of Plato, and heard him till his death. Speusippus succeeding Plato in his school, Aristotle went into Asia, to Hermias the eunuch, who was king of Atarna, a city of Mysia, and having married his niece, lived with him three years; till at length Hermias, being circumvented and drawn into a snare by Mentor the Rhodian, who commanded for Ochus in those parts, was taken prisoner, and sent to the Persian court, where he was put to death. Hereon Aristotle fled to Mitylene, and from thence went into Macedonia, and became preceptor to Alexander the Great, with whom he tarried eight years. After this he returned to Athens, and there taught the Peripatetic philosophy in the Lyceum twelve years. But being accused of holding some notions contrary to the religion there established, and not daring to venture himself on a trial, for fear of Socrates's fate, he withdrew to Chalcis, a town in Euboea, and there died about two years after, being then sixty-three years old. While he lived with Hermias in Asia, he there fell acquainted with a Jew of wonderful wisdom, temperance, and goodness, who came thither from the upper parts of Asia upon some business which he had on those maritime coasts, and having frequent conversation with him, learned much from him. This Josephus tells us, from a book written by Clearchus, who was one of the chiefest of Aristotle's scholars. And from what he then learned from this Jew, it is most

likely proceeded what Aristobulus, and out of him Clemens Alexandrinus, have observed of Aristotle's philosophy, that is, that it contains many things which agree with what is written by Moses and the prophets in the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

Ochus sinks into luxury, and intrusts the administration to Bagoas and Mentor, 347. —Ochus, after he had subdued Egypt, and reduced again all the revolted provinces, gave himself wholly to his ease, spending the rest of his life in luxury, laziness, and pleasure, and left the administration of his affairs wholly to his ministers; the chiefest of which were Bagoas his favourite eunuch, and Mentor the Rhodian, who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the Upper Asia, and the latter those of the Lower. [In B. C. 341], Johanan, high priest of the Jews, died in the eighteenth year of Ochus, after he had been in that office thirty-two

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years, and was succeeded by Jaddua his son, who held it twenty years.

Ochus poisoned by Bagoas, 338. —Ochus died after he had reigned twenty-one years, being poisoned by Bagoas the eunuch. This eunuch, being an Egyptian by birth, had a love for his country, and a zeal for his country religion, and thought to have influenced Ochus in favour of both, on the conquest of that kingdom; but not being able to overrule the brutal ferocity of that prince, those acts were done in respect of each of them which he deeply resented ever after. For Ochus, on his conquering of Egypt, not only dismantled their cities, robbed the inhabitants, and plundered their temples (as hath been already mentioned), but also carried away all their public records (which were reposited and kept with great sacredness in their temples), and, in contempt of their religion, slew their god Apis, that is, the sacred bull, which they worshipped under that name. For Ochus being as remarkable for his sloth and stupid inactivity as he was for his cruelty, the Egyptians, for this reason, nicknamed him the Ass, which angered him so far, that he caused their Apis to be taken out of the temple where he was kept, and made him be sacrificed to an ass, and then ordered his cook to dress up the flesh of the slain beast to be eaten by his attendants. All this

greatly offended Bagoas. The records he afterwards redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back again to their former archives. But the affront offered his religion he most resented; and it is said that it was chiefly in revenge of this that he poisoned him. And his revenge did not rest here; but having caused another body to be buried instead of his, he kept the true carcass, and in revenge of his having caused the flesh of their Apis to be eaten by his attendants, he cut his flesh into bits, and gave it to be eaten by cats, and made of his bones handles for swords. And, no doubt, when he did all this, there were other causes concurring to excite him hereto, which reviving the old resentments, and creating new ones, provoked the traitor to all this villany against his master and benefactor, which he executed upon him.

IV. REIGN OF ARSES, B. C. 337, 336. —

DARIUS CODOMANNUS, B. C. 335-332.

High priests of Judah-Jaddua, 341.

Short reign of Arses, 337, 336. —After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, who had now the whole power of the empire in his hands, made Arses, the youngest of his sons, king in his stead and put all the rest to death; thinking that by thus removing all rivals he might best secure to himself the authority which he had usurped: for the name of king was all that he allowed to Arses; the power and authority of the government he wholly reserved to himself.

Philip king of Macedon, captain-general of all Greece, prepares to invade Persia: assassinated by Pausanias, 336. —Philip king of Macedon, having overthrown the Thebans and Athenians in a great battle,

at Chæronea [B. C. 338], made himself thereby in a manner lord of all Greece; and therefore calling together at Corinth an assembly of all the

Grecian cities and states, he there caused himself to be chosen captain-general of all Greece, for the carrying on of a war against the Persians, and made every city to be taxed at a certain number of men, which each of them was to send and maintain in this expedition. And the next year after [namely, B. C. 336], he sent Parmenio, Amyntas, and Attalus, three of his chiefest captains, into Asia to begin the war, purposing soon after to follow in person with all his forces, and carry the war into the heart of the Persian empire. But when he was just ready to set forward on this expedition, he was slain at home, while he was celebrating the marriage of Cleopatra his daughter, with Alexander king of Epirus. Pausanias, a young noble Macedonian, and one of his guards, having been forcibly and unnaturally outraged by Attalus, the chief of the king's confidants, he had often complained to Philip of the injury; but finding no redress, he turned his revenge from the author of the injury upon him that refused to do him justice for it, and slew him as he was passing in great pomp to the theatre to finish the solemnities whereby he honoured his daughter's marriage. It is observed by Diodorus, that in this solemnity, the images of the twelve gods and godesses being carried before him into the theatre, he added his own for the thirteenth, dressed in the same pompous habit, whereby he vainly arrogated to himself the honour of a god; but he being slain as soon as this image entered the theatre, this very signally proved him to be a mortal. After his death he was succeeded by Alexander his son, being then twenty years old.

Death of Arses.—About the same time Arses king of Persia was slain by the like treachery, but not for so just a cause. For Bagoas finding that Arses began to be apprized of all his villanies and treasons, and was taking measures to be revenged on him for them, for the preventing hereof, he came beforehand with him, and cut off him and his family.

Accession of Darius Codomannus: his previous history, 335.—After Bagoas had thus made the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, he placed on it Darius, the third of that name that reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomannus; that of Darius he took afterwards, when he came to be king. He is said not to be of the royal family, because he was not the son of any king that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal seed, as descended from Darius Nothus; for that Darius had a son called Ostanes, of

whom mention is made in Plutarch, and he had a son called Arsanes, who, marrying Sisigambis his sister, was by her the father of Codomannus. This Ostanes, Ochus put to death on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons. How Codomannus came to escape this slaughter is nowhere said: only it is to be observed, that in the former part of Ochus's reign he made a very poor figure; for he was then no more than an Astanda, that is, one of the public posts or couriers,

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that carried the royal despatches through the empire. If we suppose him to have been the chiefest of them, in the same manner as there is a postmaster in England, and a chaous-bashee at Constantinople, over all the rest of that order and employment (which is the highest interpretation the word will bear), this will be but a low office for one of the royal blood to be employed in. But in the war which Ochus had with the Cadusians, toward the latter end of his reign, a bold champion of that nation having challenged the whole Persian army to find him a man to fight a single combat with him, and Codomannus having accepted the challenge after all others had refused, and slain the Cadusian, for the reward of this action he was made governor of Armenia, and from thence, after the death of Arses, by the means of Bagoas, ascended the throne in the manner as I have mentioned.

Plot of Bagoas to poison Darius: death of Bagoas.—But Darius had not been long king ere Bagoas, finding that he was not one that would answer his purpose, in permitting him to govern all in his name (which was the thing he aimed at in his advancement), resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had his predecessor; and accordingly provided a poisonous potion for him. But Darius being advised of the design, when the potion was brought to him, made him drink it all himself, and so got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, and thereby became thoroughly settled in the kingdom, without any further difficulty. The character given of the new king is, that he was for his stature and the make of his body the goodliest person in the whole Persian empire, and of the greatest personal valour of any in it, and of a disposition mild and generous; but having the good fortune of Alexander to encounter with, he could not stand against it. And

he had been scarce warm on the throne before he found this enemy preparing to dismount him from it.

Alexander the Great succeeds Philip as captain-general of Greece.— Alexander, soon after his father's death, having called the general council of all the states and free cities of Greece to meet again at Corinth, there prevailed with them to be chosen his successor in the same general command which they had conferred on him before his death, for a war against the Persians; and all, excepting the Lacedæmonians, consented hereto. But the war which Alexander had with the Illyrians and Triballians calling him north as far as the river Danube, in his absence the Athenians, Thebans, and some other cities, agreed to revoke this decree made in his favour, and entered into a confederacy against him. But Alexander, returning conqueror from his northern wars, soon brake this league: for passing the Straits of Thermopylæ with his victorious army, he terrified the Athenians into a submission; and several other cities, following their example, made their peace with him; only the Thebans stood out. Whereon Alexander, laying siege to their city, took it by storm, and absolutely destroyed it, slaying ninety thousand of the inhabitants, and selling the rest, to the number of thirty thousand more, into slavery. The severity of which execution spread such a terror of his arms over all Greece, as brought all to submit. So that in a second council which he called at Corinth, he was again chosen

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captain-general of all Greece against the Persians by a universal suffrage, and every city consented to its quota, both of men and money, for the carrying on of the war.

Passes into Asia, defeats the Persian army at the river Granicus, and reduces Asia Minor, 334, 333.—Hereon Alexander returned into Macedonia, and having by the next spring there gotten his forces together, marched with them to Sestus, and there passed the Hellespont into Asia. The army which he led thither, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. And with so

small an army he attempted, and also accomplished, the conquest of the whole Persian empire, and added India also to his acquisition. But that which was most remarkable in this undertaking was, that he set out on it only with seventy talents, which was scarce sufficient to furnish the army with necessaries for thirty days: for the rest he wholly cast himself upon Providence, and Providence did not fail him herein: for within a few days after, having encountered the Persian army at the river Granicus, he gained a great victory over them, though they were above five times his number, which put him in possession, not only of Darius's treasures at Sardis, but also of all the provinces of Lesser Asia. For immediately all the Grecian cities in those parts declared for him, and after that several of the provinces made their submission to him, and those which did not were subdued by force; and in these transactions was spent the remaining part of the year. Before he went into winter-quarters he ordered all of his army that had married that year to return into Macedonia, and spend the winter with their wives, and return again in the spring, appointing three captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back again at the time appointed; which exactly agreeing with the Jewish law (Deut. xxiv. 5), and being without any instance of the like to be found in the usages of any other nation, it is most likely Aristotle learned it from the Jew he so much conversed with while in Asia, and approving of it as a most equitable usage, communicated it to Alexander while he was his scholar, and that he from hence had the inducement of practising it at this time. The next year after [namely, B. C. 333], in the beginning of the spring, he reduced Phrygia under his obedience, and after that Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and settled all these provinces under the government of such of his followers as he thought fit to appoint.

Memnon the Rhodian attempts to carry the war into Macedonia: his death.—In the interim, Darius was not wanting to prepare for his defence. The advice which Memnon the Rhodian then gave him was to carry the war into Macedonia: and a wiser course could not be taken to extricate him out of the difficulties he was then involved in: for he would be sure there to have the Lacedæmonians, and several other of the Grecian states who maligned the Macedonian power, to join with him; which would soon have brought back Alexander out of Asia, to defend his own country. Darius,

being made fully sensible of the reasonableness of this advice, resolved to follow it, and therefore committed

the execution of it to its author, making Memnon admiral of his fleet and captain-general of all his forces that were appointed for this expedition: and he could not have made a better choice; for he was the wisest man and the ablest general that Darius had of his side, and for some years had very faithfully adhered to the Persian interest, and was one of their generals at the battle of Granicus; and had he been hearkened to by the other generals, the misfortune which there happened would have been avoided: for his advice was, not then to have hazarded battle, but to have desolated the country through which the Macedonians were to march; and had this been followed, Alexander would have been forced soon to have returned for want of provisions to support his army. But the rashness and folly of the other generals overbearing what he wisely offered, that defeat ensued which opened the way to the ruin of the Persian empire. However, he did not desert Darius's interest on the misfortune of that day: but having gathered up the remains of the Persian army, retreated with them first to Miletus, and from thence to Halicarnassus, and lastly, to the isle of Cos, where Darius's commission and the Persian fleet meeting him, he set himself on the executing of the design committed to his charge; in order whereto he took in Chios and all Lesbos, except Mitylene, purposing next to pass into Eubœa, and from thence to have made Greece and Macedonia the seat of the war. But that city holding out a siege, he there unfortunately died, which proved the ruin of that design, and the ruin of the Persian empire was the consequence of it. For Darius having no other general of valour and wisdom equal to him for the carrying on of that undertaking, he was forced to drop it.

Alexander obtains a complete victory over Darius at the battle of Issus.—Darius therefore, having nothing now to depend upon for his defence but his eastern armies, he drew them all together at Babylon, to the number, saith Plutarch, of six hundred thousand men, and marched from thence to meet the enemy; which Alexander hearing of, made haste through Cilicia, to take possession of the straits which led from that country into

Syria, purposing there to expect and fight the Persian army: for within those straits there not being room anywhere to draw up above thirty thousand men in battle-array, the Macedonians could there bring all their men to fight, and the Persians scarce the twentieth part of theirs; and therefore, should it there come to a battle, they would have no advantage of their numbers. Some of the Greeks who followed Darius, seeing the disadvantage he would have in fighting in that place, advised him to march back into the plains of Mesopotamia, and there expect the enemy, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, and bring them all to bear their part in the battle; but the flattery of the courtiers, and his adverse fate, would not suffer him to hearken to this advice: for he was made believe that Alexander was withdrawing from him, and that therefore he ought to press forward to take him, while entangled in those straits, lest otherwise he should escape his hands. This drew Darius to fight in those straits, where being able to extend his front no longer than the Macedonians, by reason of the mountains which enclosed him on either side, he could dispose of his great army no otherwise than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the

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valour of the Macedonians soon breaking the first line, and that being made to recoil upon the second, and that hereby again upon the third, and so on, this did soon put the whole Persian army into disorder; and the Macedonians pursuing the advantage by pressing forward upon those that fled, this increased the confusion, till at length their whole army was driven to a rout; and the crowd which was made in the flight of so numerous an army through those narrow passes being very great, the greatest number that fell that day were of such as were trampled to death by their own men as they pressed to escape. Darius, who fought in the first line, with great difficulty got out of the rout, and secured himself by flight; but all his camp, bag and baggage, with his mother, wife, and children (which, according to the usage of the Persian kings, were carried with him in the campaign), fell into the enemy's hands, and above one hundred thousand Persians were left dead upon the field of battle. This battle was fought at Issus in Cilicia, towards the latter end of the year, about the beginning of our November.

Syria falls into the hands of Alexander.—The immediate consequence of the battle of Issus to the advantage of Alexander was, that it settled all the provinces behind him in their subjection to him, and added all Syria to his former acquisitions, the capital whereof was Damascus. Thither Darius, before the battle, had sent his treasure and most of his valuable moveables, with his concubines and the greatest number of the court ladies that followed the camp, under a guard to protect them. All these, with the town, the governor, as soon as he heard of the flight of Darius, betrayed unto Alexander, and Parmenio was sent to take possession of the place, where, besides a vast treasure in money and plate, he found three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, and a great many other ladies, that were the wives or daughters of the principal nobility of Persia, whom he made all captives. And among them was Barsena, the widow of Memnon, who being a lady of great beauty, as soon as she came into the sight of Alexander, she made a captive of him; for he fell in love with her, and taking her into his bed, had a son by her called Hercules, who at the age of seventeen being called for by the Macedonians to be their king, was murdered by the treachery of Cassander and Polysperchon to prevent it.

Alexander invades Phœnicia, and lays siege to Tyre.—While Parmenio took in Damascus and Cœle-Syria, Alexander marched with the main of his army along the sea-coasts, towards Phœnicia. As he advanced, all yielded to him, and none more readily than the Sidonians. Eighteen years before, Ochus had miserably destroyed that city, and all in it, as hath been above related. On his going back again into Persia, those who by being absent on traffic at sea, or on other occasions, had escaped that massacre, returned and again built their city. But ever after detesting the Persians for that cruelty to it, they were glad of this occasion of shaking off their yoke, and therefore were of the first in those parts that sent to Alexander on his march that way to make their submission to him. But when he came to Tyre, he there found a stop. As he approached their territories, the Tyrians sent

ambassadors to him with presents to himself, and provisions for his army: but being rather desirous to have peace with him as a friend, than willing to submit to him as master, when he would have entered their city, they denied

him admittance; which Alexander, now flushed with so many victories, not being able to bear, resolved to force them by a siege, and they, on the other hand, resolved to stand it out against him. What encouraged them to this resolution was the strength of the place, and the confidence which they had in the assistance promised them by their allies. For the city then stood on an island, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, and was fortified with a strong wall drawn round it, upon the brink of the sea, of one hundred and fifty feet in height; and the Carthaginians, who were a powerful state, and then masters of the seas, had engaged to send them succours in the siege. And what gave them this confidence for the war, gave Alexander no less trouble in mastering the difficulties which he found in it; for the city being so situated (as I have said), he had no way of approaching to it for the making of an assault, but by carrying a bank from the continent through the sea to the island on which the city stood.

Captures Tyre: fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel, 332.—And therefore having resolved at any rate to take that city, Alexander resolved on the making of such a bank to approach it, which he accomplished, with unwearied labour, in seven months' time, and, by means thereof, at length took the city. Had he here suffered a baffle, it would have conduced much to the sinking of his credit, and this might have lessened his success everywhere else in the future progress of his affairs; of which being thoroughly sensible, he spared no pains to surmount this obstacle, and by assiduous application at last carried his point. To make this bank or causey, the town of Old Tyre, which lay on the continent, furnished him with stones and rubbish (for he pulled it all down for this purpose), and Mount Libanus, which is so famous in Scripture for its cedars, being near, supplied him with timber for the work. And by this means having carried home his causey from the continent to the island, he there stormed the town and took it. And that bank or causey is there still remaining even to this day, and of the very same length as anciently described, that is, of half a mile; whereby what was formerly an island at that distance from the shore was thenceforth made a peninsula, and so it hath ever since continued. The Carthaginians having troubles at home, the Tyrians could not have from them that assistance which was promised; however, they fainted not in their resolutions of standing to their defence, and therefore, when Alexander sent to them

ambassadors with terms of peace, they threw them into the sea, and went on with the war. But many of them, for fear of the worst, sent their wives and children to Carthage. They had in their city a brazen statue or colossus of Apollo, of a great height. This formerly belonged to the city of Gela in Sicily: the Carthaginians, having taken Gela in the year 405, sent it to Tyre, their mother city, where it was set up and worshipped by the Tyrians. During this siege, a fancy taking them, upon a dream which some one among them had to this purpose, that Apollo was about to

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leave them, and go over to Alexander, for the preventing hereof, they chained this statue with golden chains to the altar of Hercules, thinking thereby forcibly to detain this their god from going from them. To such ridiculous imaginations and superstitions was the religion of those times degenerated. But whatever confidence they might then place in their false gods, the oracles of the true God having destinated them to destruction, this became their fate. For although what is predicted of the destruction of Tyre by Isaiah, chap. xxiii., and by Ezekiel, chap. xxvi. xxviii., was in part verified in the destruction of that city by Nebuchadnezzar, yet there are several particulars in these prophecies which seem applicable to this only. For Nebuchadnezzar's devastation reached no further than Old Tyre; those that were in the island escaped that ruin. But the desolation of both is plainly threatened in some parts of these prophecies, that is, of that which stood on the island as well as that which was on the continent; and this Alexander only effected. Old Tyre he wholly demolished to make his causey to the New; by the means of which having taken that new town, he burnt it down to the ground, and destroyed or enslaved all the inhabitants: eight thousand he slew in the sackage of the town, and two thousand of those he took prisoners he caused to be crucified. Those who were before sent to Carthage escaped this ruin, and a great number were saved by the Sidonians, and secretly conveyed away in their ships, on the taking of the place; all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were sold for slaves. The cruelty to the two thousand who were crucified was unworthy of a generous conqueror. This Alexander did to gratify his rage, for being so long detained before the place, and there so valiantly resisted; but

afterwards, to palliate the matter, he gave out, that it was done by way of just revenge upon them, for their murdering their masters, and that, being slaves by origin, crucifixion was the punishment proper for them. This depended upon an old story; for some ages before, the slaves of Tyre having made a conspiracy against their masters, murdered them all in one night (save only Strato, whom his slave secretly saved), and marrying their mistresses, continued masters of the town; and from them the present Tyrians being descended, Alexander pretended thus to revenge on them the murder committed by their progenitors some ages before; and to make it look the more plausible, he saved all of the family of Strato, as not being involved in that guilt, and among them Azelmelic their king, who was of it, and continued the crown still to him and his family, after he had again repeopled the place: for having thus rid it of its former inhabitants, he planted it anew with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and from thence would be esteemed the founder of that city, though in truth he was the cruel destroyer of it. On his taking this city he unchained Apollo, rendered thanks to him, for his intentions of coming over to him, sacrificed to Hercules, and did a great many other superstitious follies, which were reckoned as acts of religion in those days.

Alexander marches against Jerusalem, to punish the Jews for supplying Tyre with provisions.—After this Alexander marched towards Jerusalem, for the Tyrians being wholly given to merchandise, and neglecting husbandry,

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were mostly supplied with provisions by their neighbours; and Galilee, Samaria, and Judæa, being the countries from which they were chiefly furnished, Alexander, when he sat down before Tyre, was forced to seek for his provisions from the same quarters; and, therefore, sent out his commissaries to require the inhabitants to submit to him, and furnish him with all necessaries for the support of his army. The Jews pleaded their oath to Darius; by which thinking themselves obliged not to own any new master, so long as he lived, would not obey his commands. This exceedingly angered Alexander, who, in the flush of his late victories, thinking all ought to submit to him, could bear no contradiction herein. And

therefore as soon as he had done with Tyre, he marched against Jerusalem, with intention to punish the Jews as severely as he had the Tyrians, for not obeying his commands.

Met by Jaddua the high priest, and adores the God of the Hebrews.—In this distress, Jaddua the high priest, who had then the immediate government of that people under the Persians, being in great perplexity, and all Jerusalem with him, they had no other course to take, but to fling themselves upon God's protection, and implore his mercy to them for their deliverance from this danger; and therefore, in order hereto, they made their devout addresses unto him with sacrifices, oblations, and prayers. By which God, being moved to compassion towards them, directed Jaddua, in a vision of the night, to go out and meet the conqueror in his pontifical robes, with the priests attending him in their proper habits, and all the people in white garments. Jaddua, in obedience hereto, the next day went forth in the manner directed, with the priests and people ranged as in a sacred procession, and all habited as the vision commanded, and advancing to a place called Sapha (an eminence without Jerusalem, which commanded a prospect of all the country round, as well as of the city and temple of Jerusalem), there waited the coming of Alexander, and, on his approach, met him in this pompous and solemn manner. As soon as the king saw the high priest in this manner coming towards him, he was struck with a profound awe at the spectacle, and hastening forward, bowed down to him, and saluted him with a religious veneration, to the great surprise of all that attended him, especially of the Syrians and Phœnicians, who expected nothing less than that Alexander should have destroyed this people as he had the Tyrians; and they came thither with an eager desire, out of the hatred they had to them, to bear a part in the execution. While all stood amazed at this behaviour, which was so much contrary to their expectations, Parmenio asked the king the reason of it, and how it came to pass, that he, whom all adored, should pay such adoration to the Jewish high priest: to which he answered, that he did not pay that adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was. For that when he was at Dio in Macedonia, and there deliberating with himself how he should carry on his war against the Persians, and was in much doubt about the undertaking, this very person, and in this very habit, appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to

lay aside all thoughtfulness and diffidence about this matter, and pass boldly over into Asia,

promising him that God would be his guide in the expedition, and give him the empire of the Persians; and that therefore, on seeing this person, and knowing him by his habit, as well as by his shape and countenance, that he was the very same that appeared to him at Dio, he assured himself from hence, that he made the present war under the conduct of God, and should certainly by his assistance conquer Darius, and overthrow the Persian empire, and succeed in all things concerning it according to his desire; and that therefore, in the person of this his high priest, he paid adoration unto him.

Enters Jerusalem, and is shown the prophecies of Daniel concerning himself.—Alexander then, turning again to Jaddua, kindly embraced him, and entered Jerusalem with him in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices to God in the temple; where Jaddua having shown him the prophecies of Daniel, which predicted the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Grecian king, he went from thence with the greater assurance of success in his further carrying on of the war, not doubting but that he was the person meant by those prophecies. All which particulars rendering him kindly affected to the Jews, he called them together when he was on his departure, and bade them ask what they had to desire of him. Whereon they having petitioned him that they might enjoy the freedom of their country, laws, and religion, and be exempted every seventh year from paying any tribute, because in that year, according to their law, they neither sowed nor reaped, Alexander readily granted them all this request, which brought another very troublesome solicitation upon him.

Receives an embassy from the Samaritans.—For he was scarce gone out of Jerusalem, but he was accosted by the Samaritans, who met him in great pomp and parade, and prayed him that he would honour also their city and temple with his presence. These are Josephus’s words; and they plainly prove that the temple which they invited Alexander to must have been built long before that time, and not by leave from him while he was at the siege

of Tyre, as he elsewhere by mistake relates. For if it had not been built, but by leave from him while at that siege, the first foundations of it could scarce have been laid by this time. For the siege of Tyre lasted only seven months, and immediately from the taking of it he came to Jerusalem. The same Josephus indeed tells us, that Alexander from Tyre went immediately to Gaza, and did not, till after two months more spent in the taking of that city, come to Jerusalem. But herein he must be again mistaken: for Jerusalem lying in the way from Tyre to Gaza, it is by no means likely that Alexander should from Tyre go directly to Gaza, then passing by Jerusalem, and afterwards return three or four days' march with all his army back again to that city; or that he should at all think it safe to begin the siege of Gaza, while such a city as Jerusalem was left untaken behind him: and moreover, all that write of the life and actions of Alexander tell us, that from the taking of Gaza he went directly into Egypt. And therefore,

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taking it for certain that his progress was from Tyre to Jerusalem and from hence to Gaza, I have related it in this order. However, supposing it were otherwise, there would hereby be only two months more added to the seven above mentioned for the building of this temple, the siege of Gaza lasting no longer: and this would not much mend the matter, it being as improbable that such a temple could be built in nine months as in seven. When the Jews refused to obey that summons which Alexander sent them from Tyre to submit to him, these Samaritans readily complied with it, and to ingratiate themselves the more with him, sent eight thousand of their men to assist him in that siege; and valuing themselves upon this merit, thought they had a much better title to his favour than the Jews, and therefore, finding how well the Jews had fared, thought they might obtain at least the same, if not much greater, grants from him; and in order hereto, made this procession to invite him to their city, and the eight thousand Samaritans that were in Alexander's army joined with them herein. Alexander answered them kindly, telling them that he was hastening into Egypt, and had not then time to spare; but that when he should come back again he would comply with their desires as far as his affairs would permit. They then requested of him to be discharged from paying tribute on the seventh year. Hereon Alexander

asked them, whether they were Jews? for to them only had he granted this privilege. To this they answered, that they were Hebrews, who, observing the same law as the Jews did, neither reaped nor sowed in that year; and he having for this reason granted the Jews this immunity, they desired of him, that having the same plea for it, they might have the same grant also. Alexander, not being then at leisure to make full inquiry into this matter, referred this also to his return, telling them that then he would fully inform himself as to what they proposed, and would do therein what should be reasonable, and then marched on to Gaza.

Takes Gaza after a two months' siege: drags Betis round the city.— On his arrival at that city, he found it strongly garrisoned under one of Darius's eunuchs named Betis, who being a very valiant man, and very faithful to his master, defended it to the utmost: and it being the inlet into Egypt, Alexander could not pass thither till he had taken it. This necessitated him to sit down before it; and notwithstanding that the utmost of military skill, and the utmost of vigour and application, was made use of in the assailing of the place, yet it cost Alexander and all his army two months' time before they could master it. The stop which this did put to his intended march into Egypt, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked his anger to that degree, that, on his taking the place, he treated the commander and all else that he found in it with inexcusable cruelty. For having slain ten thousand of the men, he sold all the rest with their wives and children into slavery; and when Betis was brought to him (whom they took alive in that assault wherein they carried the place), instead of treating him in a manner suitable to his valour and fidelity, as a generous conqueror ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, and a cord to be drawn through them, and caused him thereby to be tied to the

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hinder part of a chariot, and dragged round the city till he died, bragging that herein he imitated his progenitor Achilles, who, as Homer hath it, thus dragged Hector round the walls of Troy. But that was a barbarous act in the example, and much more so in the imitation: for it was only Hector's dead carcass that Achilles dragged round Troy; but Alexander thus treated Betis

while alive, and thus made him die in a cruel manner, for no other cause but that he faithfully and valiantly served his master in the post committed to his charge, which was deserving of reward even from an enemy, rather than of so cruel a punishment; and Alexander would have acted accordingly, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity, rather than the fictions of Homer, the rule of his actions. But that young conqueror, having the **Iliads** of this poet in great admiration, always carried them with him, laid them under his pillow when he slept, and read in them on all leisure opportunities; and therefore finding Achilles to be the great hero of that poem, he thought everything said of him in it worthy of his imitation, and the readiest way to make him an hero also; and the vanity of being thought such, and the eager desire which he had of making his name in like manner to be celebrated in after-ages, was the main impulsive cause of all his undertakings. But in reality, were all his actions duly estimated, he could deserve no other character than that of the great cut-throat of the age in which he lived. But the folly of mankind and the error of historians is such, that they usually make the actions of war, bloodshed, and conquest the subject of their highest encomiums, and those their most celebrated heroes that most excel therein. In a righteous cause, and the just defence of a man's country, all actions of valour are indeed just reasons of praise; but in all other cases, victory and conquest are no more than murder and rapine; and every one is to be detested as the greatest enemy to mankind, that is most active herein. Those are only true heroes, who most benefit the world by promoting the peace, welfare, and good of mankind; but such as oppress it with the slaughter of men, the desolation of countries, the burning of cities, and the other calamities which attend war, are the scourges of God, the Attilas of the age in which they live, and the greatest plagues and calamities that can happen to it, and which are never sent into the world but for the punishment of it; and therefore ought as such to be prayed against; and detested by all mankind. To make these the subject of praise and panegyric is to lay ill examples before princes, as if such oppressions of mankind were the truest ways to honour and glory. And we knew a late prince who, having broke through treaties, leagues, and oaths, to rob his neighbours of their territories, gave no other reason for the war, but that it was for his glory. And it is too plain that the like vain and false notions of gaining glory this way is that grand impulse upon the minds of princes, which moves them to

most of those destructive wars upon each other, whereby the peace of the world is so often disturbed, and such great mischiefs and calamities brought upon mankind.

Invades Egypt, and becomes master of the entire country. —As soon as Alexander had finished the siege of Gaza, and settled a garrison there, he marched directly for Egypt, and on the seventh day after

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arrived at Pelusium, where he was met by great numbers of the Egyptians, who thither flocked to him to own him for their sovereign, and make their submission to him; for their hatred to the Persians was such, that they were glad of any new comer that would deliver them from that insolence and indignity with which they treated them and their religion. For how bad soever any religion may be (and a worse than that of the Egyptians could scarce anywhere be contrived), yet, as long as it is their national religion, no nation will bear affront and indignity to be offered to it; and nothing usually provokes a people more than such a treatment. Ochus had slain their god Apis in a manner of indignity the most affronting that could be offered to them or their religion; and the Persians whom he left to govern the country carried on the humour of treating them in the same manner, which raised their indignation against them to so great a height, that when Amyntas came thither a little before but with a handful of men, they were all ready to have joined with him for the driving of the Persians out of the country. This Amyntas, having revolted from Alexander to Darius, was one of the commanders of the mercenary Greeks at the battle of Issus, from whence having brought off four thousand of his men, he got to Tripoli in Syria, and having seized as many of the ships which he found there as would serve his purpose, he burned the rest and sailed thence first to Cyprus, and then to Pelusium in Egypt, and seized that place for coming thither under pretence of a commission from Darius to be governor of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces the former governor, who was slain at Issus, he by this means got quiet admission thither; but as soon as he had made himself master of that strong fortress, he declared his intentions of seizing Egypt for himself, and driving the Persians thence; and great numbers of the Egyptians, out of hatred to the Persians, readily joined with him for this purpose; whereon he

marched directly for Memphis, the capital of that kingdom, and in the first battle which he had with the Persians he got the victory, and shut them up within the walls of that city. But after this success, Amyntas permitting his soldiers to straggle for the plundering of the country, the Persians took the advantage of sallying upon them while thus scattered, and cut them all off to a man, and Amyntas with them. However, this did not quell the aversion which the Egyptians bore the Persians, but rather increased it. So that when Alexander entered that country he found the people universally disposed to receive him with open arms; and therefore he had no sooner reached their borders, but multitudes of them came thither to him to welcome him into the country, and make their submission to him. For he, coming thither with a victorious army, was thereby enabled to give them thorough protection, which they could not so well promise themselves from Amyntas; and therefore on his approach they immediately, without reserve, all declared for him whereon Mezaeus, who commanded at Memphis for Darius, seeing it in vain to struggle against such a power, submitted also, and, opening the gates of that city to the conqueror, yielded up all to him, whereby without any further opposition he became forthwith master of the whole country.

Projects a journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. —From Memphis he projected a journey to the temple of Jupiter Hammon, which

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was situated among the sands and deserts of Libya, at the distance of two hundred miles from Egypt. For Ham the son of Noah, as he was the first planter of Egypt and Libya after the flood, so he became, in the idolatrous ages that after followed, the great god of those countries; and there being an island of about five miles' breadth of firm land among those deserts of sand, they there built a temple to him. He was the same whom the Greeks called Jupiter, and the Egyptians Ammon; and hence it is, that the city in Egypt which the Scriptures call No Ammon (that is, the city of Ham or Ammon), is by the Greeks called Diospolis (that is, the city of Jupiter). After-times did put the Egyptian name and the Greek name both together, and called him Jupiter Hammon. Alexander's journey to this temple was upon a design very foolish and vain-glorious, and according to the religion of those times altogether as impious. For finding in Homer and other fables of ancient

times, that most of their heroes were described as sons of some god or other, and aiming to be celebrated a hero as well as they, he would be thought the son of a god also; and having chosen Jupiter Hammon to be his father in this farce, he sent messengers before, to corrupt the priest, to cause him to be declared the son of that god by their oracle, when he should come to consult it, and then followed after to receive the honour of that declaration.

Founds the city of Alexandria. —In his way thither, observing a place over against the island of Pharus on the sea-coast, which he thought a very convenient place for a new city, he there built Alexandria, which thenceforth became the capital of that kingdom: for it having a very convenient port, and the Mediterranean before it, and the Nile and the Red Sea behind it, by virtue of these advantages it drew to it the trade both of the East and the West, and thereby soon grew up to be one of the most flourishing cities of the world. But trade having taken another current in these latter ages, on the finding out of the way to India by the Cape of Good Hope, it is now degenerated into a poor village, by the Turks called Scanderia, remarkable for nothing else but that it still shows some of the ruins of what it anciently was. Alexander in the building of this city made use of Denocrates for his architect, whose name had been made famous in that art by his rebuilding the temple of Diana at Ephesus, which had been burned by Erostratus; and having, by his advice, drawn a plan of the city, and set out its walls, gates, and streets, he left him to perfect the work according to it, and went on in his journey to the temple of Jupiter Hammon.

Proceeds to the temple of Jupiter Ammon. —The distance from Alexandria to the temple of Jupiter Ammon was one thousand six hundred furlongs (that is, two hundred of our miles), and most of the way was through sandy deserts, in which Alexander did run two great hazards, the first, of being overwhelmed by the sands, and the other of

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perishing for want of water. By the former Cambyses lost an army of fifty thousand men in these deserts (as hath been above related), and by the latter

he had like to have been lost himself, and all with him, but that they were miraculously relieved by a shower of rain, when they were just ready to faint to death for want of it. And indeed all his other undertakings were of a piece with this, they being all a series of bold, rash, and dangerous actions, in which he must have perished an hundred times over, had not Providence in as miraculous a manner as now preserved him through all of them, for the bringing to pass of those events which he was designed for. Having, on his coming to the temple, there paid his devotions, and received from the oracle the declaration of his being Jupiter's son, which he went thither for, he returned in great triumph with that title, and thenceforth in all his letters, orders, and decrees, styled himself king Alexander, son of Jupiter Ammon, giving it out that this god begot him on Olympias his mother in the shape of a serpent. But while he prided himself in the honour which he vainly assumed hereon, everybody else despised him for the folly of it: however he persisted in it, did many acts of violence and cruelty to make it pass upon others, and suffered it to grow upon him with his prosperity so far, as at length to effect the being thought a god himself, till in the conclusion, when Providence had no more for him to do, his death showed him to be a mortal like other men. In his return he came again to Alexandria, and took care to people his new city with colonies drawn thither from many other places, among which were many of the Jews, to whom he gave great privileges, not only allowing them the use of their own laws and religion, but also admitting them equally into the same franchises and liberties with the Macedonians themselves, whom he planted there; and then departing from thence he returned to Memphis, and wintered in that place.

First use of papyrus as a writing material. —It is remarked by Varro, that at the time that Alexander built Alexandria in Egypt, the use of the papyrus for writing on was first found out in that country. The papyrus, in its proper signification, is a sort of great bulrush growing in the marshes of Egypt near the Nile. It runs up in a triangular stalk to the height of about fifteen feet, and is usually a foot and a half in circumference, and sometimes more. When the outer skin is taken off, there are next several films or inner skins, one within another, and naturally partable from each other. These, when separated and flaked from the stalk, made the paper which the ancients used, and which, from the name of the tree that bore it,

they called also papyrus. The manner how it was fitted for use may be seen in the 11th and 12th chapters of the 13th book of Pliny's Natural History, and the book entitled **De Papyro**, which Guilandinus hath written by way of comment upon them. But the clearest and best account hereof is given us by Salmasius, in his comment on the life of Firmus in Vopiscus, who was one of the writers of the **Historia Augusta**. From this papyrus it is, that what we now make use of to write upon hath also the name of paper,

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though of quite another nature from the ancient papyrus of the Egyptians.

Description of ancient writing materials. Many other devices were made use of in former times to find fit materials to write upon. Pliny tells us, that the ancientest way of writing was upon the leaves of the palm tree. Afterwards they made use of the inner bark of a tree for this purpose: which inner bark being in Latin called liber, and in Greek βίβλος, from hence a book hath ever since, in the Latin language, been called liber, and in the Greek, βίβλος, because their books anciently consisted of leaves made of such inner barks. And the Chinese still make use of such inner barks, or rinds of trees, to write upon, as some of their books brought into Europe plainly show. Another way made use of among the Greeks and Romans, and which was as ancient as Homer (for he makes mention of it in his poems), was to write on tables of wood covered over with wax. On these they wrote with a bodkin or style of iron, with which they engraved their letters on the wax; and hence it is that the different way of men's writings or compositions are called different styles. This way was mostly made use of in the writing of letters or epistles; hence such epistles are in Latin called tabellae, and the carriers of them tabellarii. When their epistles were thus written, they tied the tables together with a thread or string, setting their seal upon the knot, and so sent them to the party to whom they were directed, who, cutting the string, opened and read them. But on the invention of the Egyptian papyrus for this use, all the other ways of writing were soon superseded; no material till then invented being more convenient to write upon than this. And therefore, when Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, set up to make a great library, and to gather all sorts of books into it, he caused them to be all copied out on this sort of paper. And it was exported

also for the use of other countries, till Eumenes, king of Pergamus, endeavouring to erect a library at Pergamus, which should outdo that at Alexandria, occasioned a prohibition to be put upon the exportation of that commodity. For the Ptolemy that then reigned in Egypt, not liking that his library should be outdone by any other, to put a stop to Eumenes's emulation in this particular, forbade the carrying any more paper out of Egypt, thinking that without it he could no further multiply his books. This put Eumenes upon the invention of making books of parchment, and on them he thenceforth copied out such of the works of learned men as he afterwards put into his library; and hence it is that parchment is called pergamena in Latin; that is, from the city of Pergamus in Lesser Asia, where it was first used for this purpose among the Greeks. For that Eumenes, on this occasion, first invented the making of parchment cannot be true: for in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other parts of the Holy Scriptures, many ages before the time of Eumenes, we find mention made of rolls of writing; and who can doubt but that these rolls were of parchment? And it must be acknowledged that the authentic

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copy of the law, which Hilkiah found in the temple, and sent to king Josiah, was of this material; none other used for writing, excepting parchment only, being of so durable a nature as to last from Moses's time till then (which was eight hundred and thirty years). And it is said by Diodorus Siculus, that the Persians of old wrote all their records on skins. And Herodotus tells us of sheep-skins and goat-skins made use of in writing by the ancient Ionians, many hundreds of years before Eumenes's time. And can any one think that these skins were not dressed and prepared for this use, in the same manner as parchments were in the after-times, though perchance not so artificially? It is possible Eumenes might have found out a better way of dressing them for this use at Pergamus, and perchance it thenceforth became the chief trade of the place to make them; and either of these is reason enough from Pergamus to call them pergamene. These were found so useful for records and books, by reason of their durableness, that most of the ancient manuscripts we now have are written on them.

Invention of paper. —But from the time that the noble art of printing hath been invented, the paper which is made of the paste of linen rags is that which hath been generally made use of, both in writing and in printing, as being the most convenient for both; and the use of parchment hath been mostly appropriated to records, registers, and instruments of law, for which, by reason of its durableness, it is most fit. The invention of making this sort of paper Mr. Ray puts very late; for he tells us, in his Herbal, that it was not known in Germany till the year of our Lord 1470; that then two men, named Antony and Michael, brought this art first to Basil, out of Galicia in Spain, and that from thence it was learned and brought into use by the rest of the Germans. But there must be a mistake in this; there being both printed books, as well as manuscripts, of this sort of paper, which are certainly ancienter than the year 1470. There is extant a book called Catholicon, written by Jacobus de Janua, a monk, printed on paper at Mentz in Germany, Anno 1460; and therefore the Germans must have had the use of this sort of paper long before the time that Mr. Ray saith. And there are manuscripts written on this sort of paper that are much ancienter, as may be especially evidenced in several registers within this realm, where the dates of the instruments or acts registered prove the time. There is, in the bishop's registry at Norwich, a register book of wills, all made of paper, wherein registrations are made which bear date so high up as the year of our Lord 1370, just one hundred years before the time that Mr. Ray saith the use of it began in Germany. And I have seen a registration of some acts of John Cranden, prior of Ely, made upon paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of king Edward II., that is, Anno Domini 1320. This invention seems to have been brought out of the East; for most of the old manuscripts in Arabic, and the other Oriental languages which we have from thence, are written on this sort of paper; and some of them are certainly much ancienter than any of the times here mentioned

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about this matter. But we often find them written on paper made of the paste of silk, as well as of linen. It is most likely, the Saracens of Spain first brought it out of the East into that country; of which Gallicia being a province, it might from thence, according to Mr. Ray, have been first

brought into Germany; but it must have been much earlier than the time he says.

Close of the reign of Darius Codomannus and of the Persian empire. —Ptolemy the astronomer, being an Egyptian, and a native of Alexandria, begins the reign of Alexander over the East from the building of this city. And here ends the reign of Darius and the Persian empire; and therefore I will here also end this book.

BOOK VIII.

RISE OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE UNDER ALEXANDER THE GREAT, AND ITS SUBSEQUENT DIVISION BETWEEN PTOLEMY, CASSANDER, LYSIMACHUS, AND SELEUCUS, B. C. 331 TO 292.

I. REIGN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT AFTER THE OVERTHROW OF THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE, B. C. 331-323.

High priests of Judah—Jaddua, 341,

Onias, 321.

Alexander settles the affairs of Egypt, 331. —ALEXANDER, while he wintered at Memphis, settled the affairs of Egypt. The military command he intrusted only with his Macedonians, dividing the country into several districts, under each of which he placed lieutenants, independent of each other, not thinking it safe to commit the whole military power of that large and populous country into one man's hands. But the civil government he placed wholly in Doloaspes, an Egyptian: for his intentions being that the country should still be governed by its own laws and usages, he thought a native, who was best acquainted with them, the properest for this charge. And that the finishing of his new city Alexandria (so called from his name) might be carried on with the more expedition and success, he appointed Cleomenes to be his supervisor in that work, who continued many years in this charge; and hence it is, that in Justin he is said to be the founder of that city. He was of Naucratis, a Grecian city in Egypt, there built by a colony of the Milesians in times long before past. Alexander did also set him over the tribute of Arabia; but being a very wicked man, he abused both these trusts,

to the great oppression of all that were under him, till at length he received the just reward of all his evil deeds in an ignominious death: for Ptolemy, after he had possessed himself of Egypt, finding him plotting against him for the interest of Perdiccas, caused him to be executed for it. There is extant a letter of Alexander's

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to him of a very odd nature: for therein commanding him, on the death of Hephestion, to build two temples to that favourite, one in Alexandria, and the other in the island of Pharus adjoining, to excite his diligence herein, he promiseth him such a pardon as the pope often gives to his deluded votaries, that is, of all his evil deeds, past, present, and to come. But this did not save him from the just vengeance which Providence at length, by the hand of Ptolemy, brought upon him for all his wicked and unjust actions.

Drives the Samaritans from the city of Samaria, and plants a Macedonian colony in their place. —When Alexander had thus disposed of all matters in Egypt, the spring drawing on, he hastened towards the east to find out Darius. In the way, on his returning to Palestine, he had an account from thence which very much displeased him. On his going from that country into Egypt, he had made Andromachus, a special favourite of his, governor of Syria and Palestine; on whose coming to Samaria, to settle some matters there, the Samaritans mutinied against him, and rising in a tumult, set fire to the house in which he was, and burned him to death. This, it is supposed, they did out of a rage and discontent that those privileges should be denied them which were granted to their enemies the Jews; whereas, by their services to Alexander, especially at the siege of Tyre, they thought they had merited much more from him than the other, who had then denied him their assistance. Alexander, being exceedingly exasperated hereby against that people, as the fact sufficiently deserved, caused all that had acted any part in this murder to be put to death, and drove all the rest out of the city of Samaria, planting there, instead of them, a colony of his Macedonians, and giving their other territories to the Jews. Those that survived this calamity retired to Shechem, under Mount Gerizim; and from this time that place became the head seat of this people, and the metropolis of the Samaritan sect, and so continues even to this day. And whereas eight

thousand Samaritans had joined him at Tyre, and followed his camp ever since, that they might not, on their return, revive this mutinous temper of their countrymen, to the creating of new disturbances, he sent them into Thebais, the remotest province of Egypt, and settled them on such lands as he there caused to be divided unto them.

Crosses the Euphrates and Tigris, and utterly defeats Darius in the battle of Arbela.—On Alexander's return into Phoenicia, he stayed some time at Tyre, that he might there settle the affairs of those countries which he was to leave behind him, before he did set forward to acquire more. And when he had there ordered all matters as he thought fit, he marched with his whole army to Thapsacus, and having there passed the Euphrates, directed his course towards the Tigris, in quest of the enemy. Darius, in the interim, having solicited Alexander for peace three several times, and finding by his answers that none was to be expected from him, but on the terms of yielding to him the whole empire, applied himself to provide for another battle; in order whereto he got together at Babylon a numerous army, it being by one half

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bigger than that with which he fought at Issus, and from thence took the field with it, and marched towards Nineveh. Thither Alexander followed after him, and having passed the Tigris, got up with him at a small village called Gaugamela, where it came to a decisive battle between them, in which Alexander, with fifty thousand men (for that was the utmost of his number at that battle), vanquished the vast army of the Persians, which was above twenty times as big; and this in an open plain country, without having the advantage of straits to secure his flanks, as in the battle of Issus: and hereby the fate of the Persian empire was determined; for none after this could to any purpose make head against him, but all were forced to submit to the conqueror; and he thenceforth became absolute lord of that empire in the utmost extent in which it was ever possessed by any of the Persian kings. And hereby was fully accomplished all that which in the prophecies of Daniel was foretold concerning him. This battle happened in the month of October, much about the same time of the year in which was fought the battle of Issus two years before; and the place where it was fought was

Gaugamela in Assyria, but that being a small village, and of no note, they would not denominate so famous a battle from so contemptible a place, but called it the battle of Arbela, because that was the next town of any note, though it was at the distance of about twelve miles from the field where the blow was struck.

Surrender of Babylon. —Darius, after this defeat, fled into Media, intending from thence, and the rest of the northern provinces of his empire, to draw together other forces for the further trial of his fortune in another battle. Alexander pursued him as far as Arbela: but before his arrival thither, he was, by the quickness of his flight, got out of his reach. However, he there took his treasure and his royal equipage and furniture, which was of vast value, and then returned to his camp; where having allowed his army such time of rest as was necessary for their refreshment after the fatigue of the battle, he marched towards Babylon. Mazaeus was governor of that city and the province belonging to it, and had been one of Darius's generals in the late battle; where, after the defeat, having gathered together as many of the scattered forces of the Persians as he could, he retreated with them to that place: but on Alexander's approach with his victorious army, he had not the courage to stand out against him; but going forth to meet him, surrendered himself and all under his charge to him; and Bagaphanes, the governor of the castle where the greatest part of Darius's treasure was kept, did the same; and both acted herein as if they were at strife which of them should be most forward to cast off their old master, and receive the new.

Alexander marches on to Susa and Persepolis. —After thirty days tarrying in Babylon, Alexander continued Mazaeus, for the reward of his treachery, in the government of the province; but placing a Macedonian in the command of the castle, he took Bagaphanes along with him, and marched to Susa, and from thence, after the taking of that city, to Persepolis, the capital of the empire, carrying victory with him

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over all the provinces and places in the way. Arriving at Persepolis about the middle of December, he gave the city to be sacked by his army, reserving only the castle and palace to himself. Hence followed a vast

slaughter upon the inhabitants, and all other barbarities which in this case used to be acted by soldiers let loose to their rage and licentiousness. This city being the metropolis of the Persian empire, and that which of all others bore the greatest enmity to Greece, he did this, he said, to execute the revenge of Greece upon it. After the cruelty of this execution was over, leaving Parmenio and Craterus in the place with the greatest part of his forces, he made a range with the rest over the neighbouring countries, and having reduced them all to a submission to him, returned again to Persepolis after thirty days, and there took up his winter quarters.

Burning of Persepolis, 330.—While Alexander lay at this place, he gave himself much to feasting and drinking, for joy of his victories, and the great conquests he had made. In one of his feasts, wherein he entertained his chief commanders, he invited also their misses to accompany them; one of which was Thais, a famous Athenian courtesan, and then miss to Ptolemy, who was afterwards king of Egypt. This woman, in the heat of their carousals, proposed to Alexander the burning down of the city and palace of Persepolis, for the revenging of Greece upon the Persians, especially for the burning of Athens by Xerxes. The whole company being drunk, the proposal was received with a general applause, and Alexander himself, in the heat of his wine, running into the same humour, immediately took a torch, and all the rest of the company doing the same, they all went thus armed with him at their head, and setting fire to the city and palace, burnt both to the ground; which Alexander, when he came again to his senses, exceedingly repented of; but then it was too late to help it. Thus, at the motion of a drunken strumpet, was destroyed, by this drunken king, one of the finest palaces in the world. That this of Persepolis was such, the ruins of it sufficiently show, which are still remaining even to this day, at a place called Chehel-Minar, near Shiras in Persia. The name signifieth, in the Persian language, forty pillars, and the place is so called, because such a number of pillars, as well as other stately ruins of this palace, are there still remaining even to this day.

Alexander pursues Darius to Ecbatana and Rages. —In the interim, Darius, being fled to Ecbatana in Media, there gathered together as many of

his broken forces as fled that way, and endeavoured all he could to raise others to add to them, for the making up of another army: but Alexander, having by the beginning of the spring settled all his affairs in Persia, made after him into Media. Of this Darius having received intelligence, left Ecbatana, with intentions to march into Bactria, there to strengthen and augment his army with new recruits. But he had not gone far ere he altered his purpose; for fearing lest Alexander should overtake him before he could reach Bactria, he stopped his march, and resolved to stand the brunt of another battle with the forces then about him, which amounted to about forty thousand men, horse and foot.

Darius carried away prisoner by Bessus and treacherously slain.— But while Darius was thus preparing for battle, Bessus governor of Bactria, and Nabarzanes another Persian nobleman confederated with him in the treason, seized the poor unfortunate prince, and making him their prisoner, put him in chains, and then, shutting him up in a close cart, fled with him toward Bactria, purposing, if Alexander pursued after them, to purchase their peace with him, by delivering him alive into his hands; but if he did not pursue after them, then their intentions were to kill him, and seize his kingdom, and renew the war. Alexander, on his coming to Ecbatana, found Darius was gone from thence about eight days before: however, he pursued hard after him for eleven days together, till he came to Rages, a city of Media, often mentioned in Tobit, and which was the place where Nebuchodonosor, king of Assyria, is said, in the book of Judith, to have slain Arphaxad king of Media. Here finding that it was in vain to pursue after Darius any further, he stayed in this place some days for the refreshing of his army, and for the settling of the affairs of Media. Of which having made Oxidates, a noble Persian, governor, he marched into Parthia; where having received intelligence of Darius's case, and what danger he was in from those traitors who had made him their prisoner, he put himself again upon the pursuit after him with part of his army, leaving the rest under the command of Craterus to follow after him; and after several days' hard march, he at last came up with the traitors: whereon they would have persuaded Darius to mount on horseback for his more speedy flight with them; but he refusing thus to do, they gave him several mortal wounds, and left him a dying in his cart. Philistratus, one of Alexander's soldiers, found

him in this condition; but he expired before Alexander himself came up to him. When he saw his corpse, he could not forbear shedding of tears at so melancholy a spectacle; and, having cast his cloak over it, he commanded it to be wrapped up therein, and carried to Sisigambis at Susa (where he had left her with the other captive ladies), to be buried by her with a royal funeral, in the burying-place of the kings of Persia, and allowed the expenses necessary for it. And this was the end of this great king, and also of the empire over which he reigned, after it had lasted, from the first of Cyrus, two hundred and nine years. After this fact, Nabarzanes

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fled into Hyrcania, and Bessus into Bactria; and there he declared himself king by the name of Artaxerxes.

Alexander subdues the eastern provinces of the Persian empire.— Alexander was not stayed by the death of Darius from still pursuing after the traitor Bessus: but finding at length that he was gotten too far before him to be overtaken, he returned again into Parthia; and there having regulated his affairs in the army, as well as in the province, he marched into Hyrcania, and received that country under his subjection. After that he subdued the Mardans, Arians, Drangians, Aracausians, and several other nations, over which he flew with victory, swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days, one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius, of near forty miles a day, for eleven days together: so that by the speed of his marches he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of Daniel some ages before, he being in them set forth under the similitude of a panther or leopard, with four wings; for he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is, in another place of those prophecies, compared to a he-goat, coming from the west with that swiftness upon the king of Media and Persia, that he seemed as if

his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verified the prophecy.

Puts Parmenio to death.—While Alexander was among the Drangians, discovery was made of a conspiracy formed against his life, of which Philotas, the son of Parmenio, one of the chief commanders in his army and principal confidants, being found to be the head, was put to death for it, with all his accomplices. And whether Alexander thought Parmenio to have been in the plot also, or feared his revenge for the death of his son, he sent to Ecbatana, where he had left him with part of his forces to guard his treasure which he had there laid up, and caused him to be put to death also; which brought great envy upon him, this old commander having been his chief assistant in conducting his armies to most of those victories which he had hitherto obtained. After this, Alexander, notwithstanding the approach of winter, marched still forward to the north, and subdued all in his way, carrying on his conquests as far as Mount Caucasus, where having built a city, which from his name he called also Alexandria, as he had several others, he there terminated the actions of this year.

Crosses the Oxus into Sogdiana: Bessus taken and put to death, 329.—Early the next spring he made after Bessus; and having driven him out of Bactria, and settled that province under his obedience, he followed him into Sogdiana, the country now called Cowaresmia, where he was retired. This province being separated from Bactria by the river Oxus,

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which was large and deep, Bessus's chief confidence was in the unpassableness of it: for, having taken away or destroyed all the shipping and boats that were to be found on it, he thought Alexander could not possibly get over it to pursue him any further. But no difficulty being insurmountable to that conqueror, he found means, by stuffed skins, and such other devices, to get his army all over; whereon Bessus's followers, despairing of his case, seized his person, and delivered him bound to Alexander, who gave him into the hands of Oxatres, the brother of Darius, to be punished by him as he should think fit, for the treason he had been guilty of in murdering his king. For after the death of Darius, this Oxatres

surrendered himself to Alexander, who very kindly received him, and admitted him into the number of his friends, and treated him with favour as long as he lived. And Oxatres, having thus gotten the traitor into his hands, made him die such a death as his treason deserved.

Difficult conquest of Sogdiana; murder of Clitus.—Sogdiana breeding a great number of horses, Alexander came thither very opportunely for the remounting of his cavalry: for by the quick and fatiguing marches which he had made, he had either killed or spoiled most of the horses of his army: but notwithstanding, he had not such quick success in his conquests here as in other provinces; for he had not now to do with the effeminate Persians and Babylonians, but with the Sogdians, Dahans, and Massagets, valiant and hardy people, who were not but with great difficulty to be subdued. And therefore this province found him a full year's work before he could bring it into thorough subjection to him. It lay upon the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, between the river Oxus on the south, and the river Orxantes on the north; the last of these Quintus Curtius and Arrian call Tanais, very erroneously; for the river Tanais is much more to the west, and dischargeth itself not into the Caspian, but into the Euxine Sea, and is the same which we now call the Don. Pliny takes notice of this mistake, and tells us it proceeded from Alexander's soldiers calling it so, and that in his time it was called Silys. The capital of this province was Maracanda, a great city of near ten miles in compass, and is the same which, being now called Samarcand, is the chief city of the Usbeck Tartars. While Alexander lay there with his army, towards the beginning of winter, he basely, in a drunken fury, murdered Clitus, one of the best of his friends, which afterwards he condemned himself for, as much as everybody else; for it was a very vile action, and the greatest blot of his life. After he had thoroughly subdued the Sogdians, and reduced such of the Bactrians as had revolted from him, he took up his winter quarters in Nautaca, and there gave his army rest and refreshment for three months.

Alexander marries Roxana, 328.—While he lay there, being wholly at ease from the fatigues of war, he fell in love with Roxana, the daughter of Oxyathres, a noble Persian, who was among the captive

ladies in his camp, and took her to wife. She was the most beautiful woman of her time, and also one of the most wicked, as afterwards by her actions, especially in the murder of Darius's daughters, she sufficiently made appear. That Alexander's marrying this lady might be made no objection against him among his Macedonians, he encouraged as many of their leaders and prime men as he found inclined that way to do the same, and take them wives in like manner from among the Persian ladies. So that most of the time that he spent in these quarters was taken up in making such marriages, and in nuptial feastings upon them.

Projects the conquest of India: puts Callisthenes to death.—But while these things were a doing in the camp, Alexander's head was busy in projecting an expedition into India; his main incentive to this dangerous and unprofitable enterprise was all an excess of vanity and folly. He had read in the old Grecian fables, that Bacchus and Hercules, two of Jupiter's sons, had made this expedition into India, and he would fain, in emulation of them, do the same: for having been declared Jupiter's son as well as they, he would not be thought to come behind them in anything, and he had flatterers enough about him to blow him up into this conceit. And about this time it was that he began to require divine honours to be paid to him, and commanded that all that were admitted to make addresses unto him should adore him, as formerly they had the Persian kings. All his old friends disliked this conduct in him, and none more than Callisthenes the philosopher. He was a kinsman of Aristotle, Alexander's master, and had been sent by him to attend the young conqueror on his first entering on the Persian war, and had accompanied him through all his expeditions ever since: and being a very wise and grave man, was thought the properest person to advise and direct him against those excesses which the heat of his youth might carry him into. And this being the whole end for which he was sent to attend him, he could not but express his dislike of this folly. But Alexander, not being able to bear the freedom with which he expressed himself in this matter, caused him to be put to death for it; which, next the death of Clitus, is that which, of all his other actions, bore hardest upon his reputation; and indeed, if duly estimated, it was by much the worst of the two; for he was in the heat of wine, and also highly provoked by saucy and abusive language, when he slew Clitus; but Callisthenes he did put to death

deliberately and designedly, and for no other reason, but that he expressed his dislike of those follies which he was sent on purpose by his instructions and advice to correct in him.

Subdues the Indians westward of the Indus.—But before he went on this Indian expedition, he very providently took care to secure all in quiet behind him; and therefore while he lay in those quarters at Nautaca, he removed several of the governors of provinces who had oppressed their provincials, and remedied all the grievances they had been guilty of towards them, that none might have any just cause in his absence to create disturbances, or make any risings against him or

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his authority in any parts of the empire. And the better to provide against all such, as well as for the more successful carrying on of the new war which he was going to enter upon, he caused thirty thousand young men, of the sons of the principal men of the conquered countries, to be listed for the augmenting of his army, that having them with him in this expedition, they might be hostages with him for the good behaviour of their relations, as well as useful to him in the war. On his marching into India, his army, with these augmentations, consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men, Grecians and Persians, besides fifteen thousand which he left with Amyntas in Bactria, to keep those parts in quiet. Many nations on this side the river Indus were then reckoned to be of India; and in subduing of those was this whole year employed. Some of them he conquered by force, and some he received by submission. But none pleased him more than those that welcomed him as the third son of Jupiter that had come among them, meaning Bacchus and Hercules for the other two; so far was he intoxicated with the vain conceit of being thought the son of that imaginary god. Among those whom he subdued by force were the Assacans; but Cleophis, the queen of that nation, being a very beautiful woman, redeemed her kingdom by yielding to his desires; whereby she incurred that infamy and contempt among the Indians, that they afterwards called her by no other name than that on the royal whore. By this concubinage she had a son, whom, from the name of his father, she called Alexander, who afterwards reigned in those parts; and if Paulus Venetus may be believed, there were in

a certain province of India, which he calls Balascia, kings of his race reigning there even to his time.

Crosses the Indus, and defeats Porus on the banks of the Hydaspes, 327.—Early the next spring he passed the river Indus, over a bridge of boats there prepared for him, and from thence marched forward to the river Hydaspes. Between these two rivers lay the kingdom of Taxiles, who submitted to him. But beyond the Hydaspes lay the kingdom of Porus, a prince of great valour and power, who was there ready with a great army to impede his further progress. This, on Alexander's passing that river, produced a fierce battle between them; wherein, after a fight of eight hours, Porus's army was vanquished with a great slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner; but the magnanimity and generosity of his carriage under his misfortune so took with Alexander, that he again restored to him his kingdom, and also augmented it. For, after this, having passed the river Acesinis, which terminated Porus's kingdom on the east, and taken all the territory that lay between that and the river Hydraotes, he added this also to Porus's dominions. After this, passing the Hydraotes, he marched to the Hyphasis, and would gladly have passed that river also, and gone on to the Ganges. But his soldiers being weary of following him any further in these expeditions of knight-errantry, forced him there to put an end to his further progress. And therefore, having on the banks of that river erected twelve large altars, for a memorial of his having been there, he marched back again to the Hydaspes, where

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having, at the place where he vanquished Porus, built a city which he called Nicæa, in memory of that victory, and another not far from it which he called Bucephala, in memory of his horse Bucephalus, which there died, he ordered his fleet to be drawn thither to him, for his passing down that river into the Indus, and the southern parts of India, proposing to carry on his arms and conquests that way as far as the ocean, and then to return to Babylon.

Sails down the Indus, 326.—This fleet he had ordered to be prepared from his first passing the Indus, and it had been ever since a making ready

for him in the several places that he had appointed; which, when it was all brought together, amounted to two thousand vessels of all sorts. The chief command hereof he gave to Nearchus, and then, putting his army on board, he sailed down the Hydaspes into the Acesinis, and through that into the Indus: for the first of these fell into the second, and the second into the third. In his way he had to do with two very valiant nations, the Oxidracians and the Mallians. The former of these inhabited where the Hydaspes fell into the Acesinis, and the other where the Acesinis fell into the Indus. Both these he forced into a submission, though not without great difficulty. And while he besieged one of the cities of the Mallians, he was very near losing his life: for being the first that scaled the walls, he rashly leaped into the city, before any others were at hand to second him, and was there almost wounded to death, ere any of his followers could get in to rescue him. Thence he sailed down the Indus as far as the ocean, conquering all the nations in his way on both sides that river. When he had passed the mouth of the Indus into the Southern Ocean, and had now carried his conquests to the utmost boundaries of the earth on that side, he reckoned that he had obtained all that he proposed; and therefore returning back to land, when he had given such orders as he thought fit for the settling of his Indian conquests, he sent Nearchus, with that part of the fleet which was fittest for the voyage, back again into the ocean, ordering him to sail that way to the Persian Gulf, and up through that into the Euphrates, and meet him at Babylon; and then he with his army marched over land towards the same place.

Marches through the southern provinces of Persia, whilst Nearchus sails from the Indus to the Persian Gulf, 325.—The way that he took in his march thither, was through the southern provinces of Persia; a great part of which being a very barren country, and full of sandy deserts, he suffered very much in his passage through it, both for want of water as well as of provisions; and the scorching heat of the climate added to the calamity, which grew so great, that it destroyed a great part of his army. And to this it was chiefly owing that he did not bring back above a fourth part of the number which he first carried with him into India. When he arrived in the province of Carmania (the same which, retaining its ancient name, is still called Kerman), he marched in a bacchanalian procession for seven days

together through that province, in way of triumph for his Indian conquests. For it seems he had heard that Bacchus returned in this manner after his like expedition into that country: for he much affected to imitate Bacchus

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and Hercules in all this expedition; and he did too much the former of them, for a great part of his life, in that excessive drunkenness which he gave himself up unto. Nearchus, having coasted along all the countries, from the Indus to the mouth of the Persian Gulf, arrived at the isle of Harmuzia (now called Ormus), where hearing that Alexander was within five days' journey of that place, he went to him, and gave him an account of his voyage, and what discoveries and observations he had made in it; with which being exceedingly delighted, he sent him back again to complete his first orders, and sail up the Euphrates to Babylon, as he had appointed.

Punishes oppressions committed during his absence.—While Alexander was in Carmania, he had many complaints made to him of the oppressions exercised by his lieutenants, and other officers in the provinces, during his absence in India; for reckoning that he would never come back again, several of them did let themselves loose to rapine, tyranny, and all manner of cruelty and oppression. All these he caused to be put to death for the expiation of their crimes, and with them six hundred of the soldiers who had been their instruments in these enormities; and he exercised the same severity upon all other of his officers whom he after that found in the same abuses, which conduced very much to the making of his government acceptable to the conquered provinces.

Resolves on the circumnavigation of Africa.—Being exceedingly pleased with the successful voyage that Nearchus had made with his fleet, and the account which he gave him of his discoveries, Alexander resolved on more sea adventures, purposing no less than from the Persian Gulf to sail round Arabia and Africa, and return by the mouth of the straits (then called Hercules's Pillars, now the Straits of Gibraltar), into the Mediterranean Sea; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed at the command of Necho king of Egypt (of which an account hath been above given). In order hereto, he sent his commands to his lieutenants in

Mesopotamia and Syria, for a fleet of ships, fit for such an undertaking, to be forthwith built at several places on the Euphrates, especially at Thapsacus, ordering great quantities of timber to be cut down on Mount Libanus, and carried thither for this purpose. This shows the greatness of his designs; but this, as well as all others of them, were quashed by his death.

Violation of Pasargada, and execution of Orsines.—On his coming to Pasargada, he was much offended at the violation which had been offered to the sepulchre of Cyrus, who was there buried. For since he was last there (which was a little after his taking of Persepolis), it had been broken up and robbed. The Magians who had the keeping of the sepulchre, and several others, were put to the torture, for the finding out of the authors of the sacrilege. But no discovery being made this way, at length by the malice of Bagoas, a beloved eunuch of Alexander's, the whole guilt was charged upon Orsines, the governor of the province. This Bagoas was a very beautiful young eunuch: Nabarzanes, who conspired with Bessus in the imprisonment, and afterwards in the death, of Darius, presented him unto Alexander, and by this present saved his own life. Alexander became criminally attached to Bagoas, and the latter grew so far into his favour, that he prevailed with him to sacrifice this noble Persian [Orsines] to his revenge, contrary

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to all honour, justice, and gratitude. For Orsines had very much served Alexander, especially in that province; for Phrasaortes, the governor of it, dying while Alexander was in India, and all things there being like to run into confusion upon it, for want of one to take care of the government, he took upon him to supply that defect, and preserved all things there in good order for the service of Alexander, to the time of his arrival thither; and on his entering the province, met him in the most honourable manner, and being a person of great wealth, as well as of ancient nobility, he presented him and his followers with many noble presents, to the value of several thousands of talents. But when he presented the rest of Alexander's friends and favourites, taking no notice of Bagoas, and saying withal, when he was put in mind of him, "That he paid his respects to the king's friends, not to his catamites;" this so angered the eunuch, that to work his revenge, he

contrived that the whole charge of violating the sepulchre of Cyrus was turned upon the governor of the province; and having suborned false witnesses to accuse him of this and many other enormities, he prevailed with Alexander to put him to death, in the manner as I have said; which, considering the services he had done him, and the munificence with which he had received him on his entering into his province, is deservedly reckoned one of the basest of his actions.

Reaches Susa.—From Pasargada Alexander marched to Persepolis, where he lamented his folly in having burned that city; from thence he passed on towards Susa. In his way thither he met Nearchus with his fleet; for Nearchus, according to his orders, had sailed up the Persian Gulf into the Euphrates; but there, hearing Alexander was on his march towards Susa, he sailed back again to the mouth of the Pisitigris, and from thence up that river to a bridge which Alexander was to pass. And there the land army and the sea army meeting, they both joined together. For which Alexander offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to his gods, and made great rejoicings in his camp, and high honours were there given to Nearchus, for his successful conduct of the fleet, in bringing it safe through so many dangers to that place.

Marries Statira, eldest daughter of Darius, and encourages marriages between his officers and Persian ladies.—When Alexander came to Susa, where he had left all the captive ladies at his last being there, he took to wife Statira, the eldest of Darius's daughters, and gave the younger, called Drypetis, to Hephestion, his chief favourite, and at the same time married most of the rest of them, to the number of about one hundred, to others of his commanders and principal followers. For they being the daughters of the prime nobility of the Persian empire, he hoped, by these marriages, to make such a union of the Grecians and Persians together, as should render them both as one nation under his empire. And for five days together these nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, and all manner of feasting and rejoicing. All the dowries of these ladies Alexander paid, and at the same time distributed great rewards to such of his followers as had best deserved

of him in the wars, and paid the debts of all the soldiers of his army; which last article alone amounted to ten thousand talents, Justin and Arrian say twenty thousand. On these and other such occasions he expended vast sums, which were all supplied him out of the immense treasures of Darius: for out of them he laid up, in his treasury at Ecbatana only, one hundred and ninety thousand talents, besides what he had at Babylon, and in other treasuries through the empire.

Mutiny in the army.—These nuptial solemnities being over, he left the main of his army under the conduct of Hephestion, and with the rest went on board the fleet, which he had caused to be brought up the Eulæus (in Daniel called the Ulai), on which Susa stood, and sailed down that river into the Persian Gulf, and from thence passed up the Tigris to the city Opis, where Hephestion met him with the rest of the army. On his coming to that place, he caused it to be proclaimed through the whole army, that all those Macedonians, who by reason of their age, or the wounds they had received in the wars, or other infirmities, found themselves unable any longer to bear the fatigues of the camp, should have full liberty to return into Greece, declaring his intentions to dismiss them bountifully, and to cause them with honour and safety to be conveyed to their own homes. This he intended as a kindness to them; but it being taken by another handle, as if he were weary of his Macedonians, and dismissed them only to make room for the new recruits which he had lately raised out of the conquered countries, to be taken into the army in their stead, they fell into a mutiny, and desired all to be dismissed; telling him, that since he despised his soldiers, by whom he had gained all his victories, he and his father Hammon might alone wage his wars for the future; they would serve him no longer. Thus his folly in challenging that imaginary god for his father, how much soever he valued himself upon it, was made his reproach on this as well as on all other occasions by everybody else. This mutinous humour, though it broke not out till on this occasion, had been long a breeding among them. They disliked his affecting the Persian manners and habit, his marrying a Persian lady, and his causing so many of his followers to do the same. But that which disgusted them most was his ingrafting the new recruits which he made out of the conquered countries into the Macedonian militia, and the advancing of many Persians to places of honour and trust, both in the army

and in the provinces, equally with the Macedonians: for he having conquered by them alone, they thought they alone ought to reign with him, and engross all his favours, and therefore were grievously discontented with all the methods which he took for the uniting of the Persians with them and these discontents being heightened by every step which he made for the effecting of this union, at length broke out into a mutiny on the occasion mentioned. Whereon he having punished some of them, and this being of no effect to reduce the rest, he retired into his tent, and there shut himself up for two days; after that, on the third, he called together his Asiatic soldiers, excluding the Macedonians,

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and spoke very kindly to them, assured them of his favour, and treated them as if he intended for the future wholly to depend upon them, choosing his guards out of them, and advancing several of them to places of honour and trust, without taking any further notice of the mutineers, which soon brought them to a better temper; for seeing themselves thus kept at a distance, and wholly neglected, and excluded the favours they formerly enjoyed, they came to the door of his tent with tears of repentance, and there continued for two days in humble supplication for his pardon and favour: this prevailed with him on the third to admit them into his presence, and be reconciled unto them; and from this time they no more mutinied against him, or faulted any of his proceedings.

Marches to Ectatana: death of Hephestion.—From Opis he marched by several stations to Ecbatana in Media. While he was there, he lost his favourite Hephestion; for, having drunk too hard, he contracted a fever by it, and of that he died. For Alexander having long given himself up to great drinking, encouraged his followers in it, drinking sometimes whole days and nights with them: and it is said, that in one of these drunken bouts at which he was present, the excess was carried on so far, that forty persons died of it. The death of this favourite was much lamented by him, and his funeral was solemnized with extravagant honours, as well as expenses, and also with as extravagant cruelty: for he caused his physician to be crucified, for no other reason but that he could not make a man immortal, who, by all manner of excesses, did the utmost he could to kill himself. And this cruelty

was the more signal, in that the patient himself baffled all that the physician prescribed for his recovery; for when, to allay the heat of his fever, and make way for remedies to take place for the cure of it, the physician had directed an abstinence from all flesh-meats and wine, he refused to be restrained from either, but took both in such quantities as soon put it beyond the power of physic to give him any relief; and thus, by the cause of his distemper, and by wilfully disappointing all the means of being cured of it, he became doubly his own murderer; and yet the poor physician, who could help neither, was forced to answer for all. And many instances may be given of such irrational and unjust actions, where will and pleasure rule without restraint, which often, upon reflection, bring the authors themselves to the bitterness of regret and too late repentance; and may be sufficient to let all such see, that it is the interest of princes, as well as of their people, that their authority be regulated by such just laws as may hinder them from doing such irrational and unjust things, as often passion and humour, when let loose from all restraint, may carry men into.

Subdues the Cossæans, and marches to Babylon, 324.—Alexander, to divert his grief after this loss, led his army against the Cossæans (a warlike nation in the mountains of Media; which none of the Persian kings could ever bring into subjection to them), and having, in a war of forty days, wholly subdued them, he passed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon. On his approach near that place, the Magians and other prognosticators sent advice to him not to come thither, several

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signs portending, that his entering that city would prove fatal unto him. But contemning all these, he marched with his whole army into that place, where he found ambassadors from all quarters of the world waiting his coming thither; to all which he gave audience in their order, and took care to return such answers to every one of them, as would send them away from his presence best pleased with him.

Projects numerous magnificent designs. —While he continued at Babylon (which was near the space of a whole year), he projected many designs; one was the circumnavigation of Africa; another for the making of

a full discovery of the Caspian Sea, and of all the nations round it; and for both these he had provided fleets; another was to conquer the Arabians; and a fourth to make war against the Carthaginians, and carry on his conquest to the Pillars of Hercules, having a great ambition in all things to imitate that hero of the Grecian poets. And besides all these, he had many designs for the improving of Babylon. For finding it not only in its greatness, but also in the abundance which it was supplied with of all things necessary, either for the support or pleasures of life, to exceed all other places of the East, he resolved there to fix the seat of his empire; and therefore projected to add all the improvements to it that it was capable of. What damage that place, as well as the country about it, suffered by Cyrus's breaking down the banks of the Euphrates at the head of the canal called Pallacopa, I have above shown. This he did set himself to remedy in the first place, whereby he would have recovered a whole province; which was drowned by the overflowings of the river in that place, and also have made the river itself much more navigable, and consequently much more profitable to the Babylonians, by turning the main of the stream again that way, as formerly it had been. In order hereto, he sailed to the place where the breach was made, and having taken a view of it, he immediately ordered that to be done for the repairing of it which he thought would have remedied the evil. How he failed of the effect hath been already said. But that which he chiefly set his heart upon was to repair the temple of Belus. This Xerxes destroyed in his return from Greece (as hath been above related), and it had lain in its rubbish ever since. This he purposed to build again, and in a more stately and magnificent manner than it had been before. In order whereto, in the first place, he commanded the ground where it stood to be cleared of its rubbish: but finding the Magians, to whom he had committed the care of the work, went on but slowly with it, he employed his soldiers to assist them; and although ten thousand of them laboured every day in this work for two months together, to the time of his death, yet were they forced to leave it imperfect, the ground being still uncleared, so great were the ruins of the old building that were left upon it. But when it came to the turn of the Jews, who then served Alexander among his Asian recruits, to labour in this work, they could not by any means be induced to put the least helping hand to it; arguing that their religion being against idolatry, it forbade them to do anything towards the building of an idolatrous temple; and to this resolution they all firmly stood: so that,

though several severe punishments were inflicted upon them for it, not one of them

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could be brought to recede from it; whereupon Alexander, admiring their constancy, dismissed them his service, and sent them all home into their own country.

Dies of a fever brought on by excessive drinking, 323. —But the greatest part of the time that Alexander lay in Babylon was spent in gratifying himself in the pleasures and luxuries of the place, especially in drinking, which he carried up to the utmost excess, spending sometimes whole days and nights in it, till at length he drank himself into a fever, of which in a few days after he died, in the same manner as his favourite Hephestion had before him. This happened about the middle of the spring, in the first year of the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, which fell in the year B. C. 323. At his death, there went a general report that he died of poison; and the same hath been said of other great princes when they have died unexpectedly, and often with very little reason for it. He having sat out one long drinking bout, was immediately invited to another; at which there being twenty in company, he drank to every one of them in their order, and pledged each of them again, and then calling for the Herculean cup (which held six of our quarts), he drank this full to Proteas a Macedonian, who was one of the guests, and a little after pledged him again in the same. And he having done thus much, I think there needed no other poison to kill any man living. Immediately after this last cup, he dropped down upon the place, and then fell into that violent fever of which he died. However, that he died of poison was not only a transient report, but a fixed and lasting opinion among the Macedonians; and there were such strong reasons to make it believed, as rendered it very probable that a poisonous liquor was also one ingredient of the cup that killed him. The sons of Antipater were charged to be the authors of this treason; and the common report was, that Cassander the eldest of them brought the poison out of Greece, and that Iollas his brother, who was cupbearer to Alexander, gave it to him; and that he chose this time for it, that the excessive quantity of wine which he then drank might cover this worse cause of his death. Alexander, a little before this

time, having dismissed ten thousand of his veterans, who were past service, sent Craterus to conduct them into Greece, with commission to succeed Antipater in his government of Macedon, Thrace, and Thessaly, and ordered Antipater to come to him to Babylon, to take Craterus's place in the army. But Antipater being jealous, and not without good reason, that he was sent for to be put to death for the many mal-administrations he had been guilty of in his government, did by the hands of his sons execute this treason upon the life of Alexander, to save his own. And the death of Alexander happening so convenient to deliver him from this danger, made it the more believed that he was the author of it; and it is certain Cassander could never after overcome the odium of it, but was detested for it by the Macedonians

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as long as he lived. Pausanias, in his Arcadics, tells us of a fountain in Arcadia called Styx, whose waters are so exceeding cold as to be poisonous. Some water of this fountain, they say, was mingled with the last cup that Alexander drank at this entertainment, and thereby it was made mortal to him. This water distils from the rock Nonacris, out of which it proceeds in a small quantity, and is of so piercing a nature, that it breaks through all vessels into which it is put, excepting only a mule's hoof. And therefore they tell us, that it was carried in such a hoof from Greece to Babylon, for the executing of this villanous murder.

Character of Alexander the Great.—And here ended all the designs of this great and vain-glorious prince. Never had any man a greater run of success than he had for twelve years and a half together (for so long he reigned from the death of his father): in that time he subjected to him all the nations and countries that lay from the Adriatic Sea to the Ganges, the greater part of the then known habitable world. And although most of his actions were carried on with a furious and extravagant rashness, yet none of them failed of success. His first attempt upon the Persians, in passing the Granicus with only thirty-five thousand men, against an army above five times as many guarding the banks of the river on the other side, was what no man else that was well in his wits would have run upon, and yet he succeeded in it; and this success, creating a panic fear of him through all the Persian empire, made way for all the other victories which he afterwards

obtained; for no army after that, though twenty times the number of his (as was that of Arbela), would take courage enough to stand before him. He was a man of some virtues, but these were obscured with much greater vices. Vain-glory was his predominant folly, and that which chiefly steered him through all his actions. And the old Greek ballads, and the fables of their ancient heroes, were the patterns from which he formed most of his conduct. This made him drag Betis round the walls of Gaza, as Achilles had Hector round those of Troy. This made him make that hazardous expedition into India; for Bacchus and Hercules were said to have done the same. And this made him, in imitation of the former, make that drunken procession through Carmania on his return, which is above mentioned; for Bacchus was said to have returned that way in the same manner. And the same was the cause of that ridiculous affectation, whereby he assumed to himself to be called the son of Jupiter: for most of the Grecian fables making their heroes the sons of some god or other, he would not be thought in this, as well as not in anything else, to come behind them. But God having ordained him to be his instrument, for the bringing to pass of all that which was by the prophet Daniel foretold concerning him, he did by his providence bear him through in all things for the accomplishing of it, and when that was done, did cast him out of his hand; for he died in the prime vigour and strength of his life, before he had outlived the thirty-third year of his age.

II. REIGN OF ARIDEUS PHILIP, B. C. 323—317.

High priests of Judah—Onias, 321.

Aridæus Philip established on the throne at Babylon under the guardianship of Perdiccas: government of the empire divided amongst the generals, 323. —After the death of Alexander there arose great confusions among his followers about the succession. But at length, after seven days' contest, it came to this agreement, that Aridæus, a bastard

brother of Alexander's, should be declared king; and that if Roxana, who was then gone eight months with child, should bring forth a son, that son should be joined with him in the throne, and Perdiccas should have the guardianship of both; for Aridæus, being an idiot, needed a guardian as much as the infant. After this, the governments of the empire being divided among the chief commanders of the army, all went to take possession of them, leaving Perdiccas at Babylon to take care of Aridæus, and direct for him the main affairs of the whole empire. For some time they contented themselves with the name of governors; but at length took that of kings, as they had the authority from the first. As soon as they were settled in the provinces to which they were sent, they all fell to leaguing and making war against each other, till thereby they were, after some years, all destroyed to four. These were Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus; and they divided the whole empire between them. Cassander had Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, and those parts of Asia as lay upon the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; Ptolemy, Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Palestine, and Cæle-Syria; and Seleucus all the rest. And hereby the prophecies of Daniel were exactly fulfilled, which foretold that the great horn of the Macedonian empire, that is, Alexander, being broken off, there should arise four other horns, that is, four kings out of the same nation, who should divide his empire between them and the manner how they did so will in the future series of this history be fully declared.

Commencement of the Philippian era. —Aridæus being thus placed on the throne, they changed his name to that of Philip; and from hence the Philippian era hath its original, which the Egyptians computing from the first day of that year in which Alexander died, that is, from the first day of their Thoth preceding (which fell on the twelfth of our November), Ptolemy the astronomer doth the same in his Canon, though contrary to the method hitherto observed by him for in all other descents preceding this, he begins the reign of the successor from the Thoth following, and not from the Thoth preceding the death of the successor.

Alexander son of Roxana united with Aridæus Philip in the nominal sovereignty of the empire. —Sisigambis, the mother of Darius, though she had borne with great patience the death of her father, her husband, and eighty of her brothers slain by Ochus in one day, and since that, the death of

her son, and the ruin of his family, yet could not bear the death of Alexander. He had shown great kindness to her, and not

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knowing where to expect any more, she took his death to be the completion of her calamity, and therefore, on her hearing of it, refused to take any more sustenance, and famished herself to death out of grief for it. Her death was accompanied with that also of her two granddaughters, Statira the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the widow of Hephestion: for Roxana, having craftily got them into her power, by the concurrence of Perdiccas, caused them both to be flung into a well and murdered. She feared Statira might be with child; and, if that proved to be a son, it might disturb the settlement which was made in favour of her son, in case she bore one; and therefore thus made her away to prevent it, and her sister with her. And not long after, she was delivered of a son, who was called Alexander, and his name, with that of Aridæus, or Philip, was afterwards joined in the government of the empire; though neither of them had any more than a name in it, the authority being wholly usurped by those who had divided the provinces among them.

Perdiccas establishes Eumenes in the government of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, 322. —In this division of the provinces, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia were assigned to Eumenes, who had been secretary of state to Alexander. But these had not yet been thoroughly subjected to the Macedonian dominion; for Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, still held those countries, and Alexander, having been called out of those parts in the prosecution of his other wars, before he could fully reduce him, was forced to leave him behind in the possession of his kingdom, and he had continued in it ever since. And therefore he being first to be conquered before Eumenes could be put in possession of this government, Perdiccas sent to Antigonus and Leonnatus for the effecting of it. The former of them had the government of Pamphylia, Lycia, Lycaonia, and the Greater Phrygia; and the latter, that of the Lesser Phrygia and the Hellespont: but they having both of them other designs in their heads for the promoting of their own interest, neither of them had any regard to what Perdiccas ordered. Leonnatus was then marching into Greece, under pretence of carrying

assistance to Antipater, governor of Macedonia, who was then hard pressed by a confederacy of the Greeks against him, but in reality to seize Macedon and Greece for himself; but he being slain in battle against those Greeks, this did put an end to all his designs. When Eumenes came to him with Perdiccas's order, he endeavoured to draw him into his measures, and in order hereto, communicated to him his whole scheme; but Eumenes, liking neither the man nor his project, refused to be concerned with him in it. Whereon Leonnatus would have put him to death for the concealing of the secret; which Eumenes being aware of, fled to Perdiccas, and revealed the whole matter to him. Whereon he grew very much into his confidence, and was, on other accounts, very acceptable unto him; for he was a very steady man, and had the best head-piece of all Alexander's captains. And therefore Perdiccas, to gratify him, taking the two kings along with him, marched into Cappadocia, and having vanquished Ariarathes, and cut him off with all his family and kindred, settled

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Eumenes in the quiet possession of his government, and afterwards having subdued Isaurus and Laranda, two cities of Pisidia that had slain their governors and revolted, he marched into Cilicia, and there took up his winter quarters.

Perdiccas projects a marriage with Cleopatra sister of Alexander the Great, and aims at the empire.—While Perdiccas lay there, he projected the divorcing of Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had lately taken to wife, and the marrying of Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, in her stead. She had been wife to Alexander king of Epirus; but he having been slain in his wars in Italy, she had ever since lived a widow, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Thither Perdiccas sent Eumenes to propose the match, and court her to it: for she being in great credit and esteem with the Macedonians, as sister to Alexander both by father and mother, he proposed by this marriage to strengthen his interest with them, and then in her right to seize the whole empire.

Confederacy between Antipater, Craterus, and Ptolemy, to oppose Perdiccas.—Antigonus getting knowledge of this project, and that the

cutting of him off, to make way for the success of it, was one part of the scheme, he fled into Greece, to Antipater and Craterus, who were then making war with the Ætolians, and discovered to them the whole plot; whereupon clapping up a peace with the Ætolians, they immediately marched to the Hellespont to watch these designs, and took Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, into confederacy with them, for the better strengthening of themselves against them. This Craterus was one of the eminentest of Alexander's captains, and of all of them the best beloved and esteemed by the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had sent him to conduct home into Macedonia ten thousand of his veterans, who were by age, wounds, or infirmity, disabled from further service, with others to take upon him the government of Macedonia and Greece, in the room of Antipater, whom he had called to Babylon, as hath been before mentioned. And therefore, after the death of Alexander, these provinces having been assigned to him in joint authority with Antipater, he had accordingly taken on him the government of them in co-partnership with him, and very amicably associated with him in all his wars, as especially he did in this, which the discovery of Perdiccas's designs made it necessary for them to engage in. In the interim, Perdiccas sent Eumenes into his province, not only to put all things there in as good posture as he could, but also to have a watchful eye upon Neoptolemus, governor of Armenia, which lay next him; for Perdiccas had some suspicion of him, and not without cause, as it will afterwards appear.

Perdiccas marches into Egypt against Ptolemy, 321. —In the beginning of the next spring, Perdiccas, having assembled all his forces together in Cappadocia, deliberated with his friends whether he should march immediately into Macedonia against Antipater and Craterus, or else into Egypt against Ptolemy. Should he march first into Macedonia, the fear was that Ptolemy, who had made himself very strong in Egypt, should take the advantage to seize all the Greater Asia. For the preventing of this, it was resolved not to leave Ptolemy at his

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back, but to reduce him first, and after that to carry the war into Macedonia; and that in the interim Eumenes should be left with part of the army to

guard the Asian provinces against Antipater and Craterus. For the executing of which resolutions, Perdiccas gave unto Eumenes the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, in addition to those he had before, and made him captain-general of all the countries from the Hellespont to Mount Taurus, ordering all the governors of them to obey his orders; and then, by the way of Damascus and Palestine, marched into Egypt, carrying the kings with him in this expedition also, thereby to give the greater countenance and authority to his actings in it.

Eumenes remains in Asia Minor, and successfully opposes Antipater and Craterus. —Eumenes, to make good his charge, lost no time in providing for himself an army to withstand Antipater and Craterus, who had passed the Hellespont to make war upon him. They, in the first place, made use of all manner of endeavours to draw him over to their party, promising him the provinces which he had, with the addition of others to them; but he, being a steady man, would not, on any terms, be wrought upon to break his faith with Perdiccas. But they had better success with Alcetas and Neoptolemus; for they prevailed with the former, though the brother of Perdiccas, to stand neuter, and with the other to come over to them: but while he was on his march to join their army, Eumenes fell upon him, and having vanquished him in battle, took from him all his baggage, and Neoptolemus himself difficultly escaped with three hundred horse only to Antipater and Craterus; the rest of his forces, that were not cut off in battle, taking service under Eumenes. Whereon Antipater marched into Cilicia, from thence to pass into Egypt to the assistance of Ptolemy, if his affairs should require it; and sent Craterus and Neoptolemus with the rest of the army into Cappadocia against Eumenes, where it coming to a battle between them, Craterus and Neoptolemus were both slain, and Eumenes gained an entire victory; which was wholly owing to his wisdom and military skill in ordering the battle: for whereas the Macedonians generally had that love for Craterus, that not one of them would have drawn a sword against him, Eumenes ordered the matter so, that none of the Macedonians that were in his army knew that Craterus was with the enemy till that he was slain, and the victory won.

Perdiccas unsuccessful in Egypt: his death. —In the interim, Perdiccas entered Egypt, and there waged war against Ptolemy, but not with the same

success. For Ptolemy, since his having entered on the government of Egypt, managed all things there with that justice and benignity, that he had not only made himself strong in the affection of the Egyptians, but had drawn many others thither, who flocked to him out of Greece and other countries, to enjoy the benefit of so just and mild a government, which added great increase to his strength; and the army of Perdiccas were so well affected to him, that they went with great unwillingness to make war against him,

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and many of them daily deserted to him; all which made against Perdiccas, and at last ended in his ruin: for having unfortunately endeavoured to pass a branch of the Nile, which made an island in it over against Memphis, he had a thousand of his men drowned in the attempt, and as many more devoured by the crocodiles of that river; which angered the Macedonians who followed him to that degree, that rising in a mutiny against him, they slew him in his tent, and most of his friends and confidants with him. About two days after came the news of Eumenes's victory; had it been known two days sooner, it would have prevented the mutiny, and the revolution which afterwards followed in favour of Ptolemy, Antipater, and those of their party.

Forces of Perdiccas go over to Ptolemy: Eumenes declared an enemy of the Macedonian state. —The next day after the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy passed over the Nile into his camp, and there so effectually pleaded his cause before the Macedonians, that he turned them all over to him; and when the news of Craterus's death came, he took the advantage of that grief and anger, with which he saw them actuated for it, as to cause them, by a public decree, to declare Eumenes and fifty others of that party by name, enemies to the Macedonian state; and, by the same decree, Antipater and Antigonus were appointed to make war against them as such. And whereas all were inclined to have conferred on him the guardianship of the kings, in the room of Perdiccas, he rather chose to keep where he was, recommending Pithon and Aridæus to this charge, and by his interest it was that they were appointed to it. The former had been a noted commander in the army of Alexander through all his wars, and followed the party of Perdiccas till his late misfortune at the Nile, when in dislike of his conduct

he deserted from him and went over to Ptolemy. But as to the other, no mention is made of him, till on the death of Alexander he was appointed to take care of his funeral; for which having made great preparations, at length, after two years' time spent herein, he carried the corpse in great solemnity from Babylon into Egypt, and there deposited it in the city of Memphis, from whence it was afterwards translated to Alexandria.

Antipater guardian of the two kings in the room of Perdiccas.—A prophecy having been given out, that, wherever Alexander should be buried, that place, of all others, should be the most happy and prosperous; this put the chief governors of provinces upon a strife which of them should have the body of this deceased prince, each of them desiring to make the chief seat of his government happy by it. Perdiccas, out of love to his country, would have it carried to Ægæ in Macedonia, the usual burying-place of the Macedonian kings, and others elsewhere. But Ptolemy prevailed to have it brought into Egypt, where Aridæus having carried it not long before the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy, to gratify him for it, procured that he was chosen into this office: but Eurydice, the wife of king Aridæus (now called Philip), putting in to have all affairs managed according to her direction, and the Macedonians favouring her in this pretence, they were so tired with the impertinency of this woman, that when they had led back the army to Triparadisus in Syria, they there resigned their charge, and it was conferred wholly on Antipater: who thereon made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, wherein he excluded all that had been of the party of Perdiccas and Eumenes and restored all of the other party

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that had been dispossessed. In this new distribution Seleucus had the government of Babylon conferred on him; who, from this beginning, afterwards grew up to be the greatest of all Alexander's successors, as will hereafter be related. Antipater, having thus settled affairs, sent Antigonus to make war upon Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia, leaving his son Cassander with Antigonus in the command of general of the horse in his army, to be a spy upon him.

This year, Jaddua the high priest of the Jews being dead, Onias his son succeeded him in that office, and lived in it twenty-one years.

Eumenes defeated by Antigonus at Orcynium, 320.—Early the next spring, Antigonus marched out of his winter-quarters against Eumenes; and at Orcynium in Cappadocia it came to a battle between them, in which Eumenes lost the victory, with eight thousand of his men. This was caused by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal commanders of his horse, who, being corrupted by Antigonus, deserted to him in the battle. However, the traitor escaped not the punishment which he deserved; for Eumenes, having taken him, caused him immediately to be hanged for it. After this, Eumenes shifted from place to place, till at length he was shut up in the castle of Nora, which was situated in the confines of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he endured the siege of a whole year.

Ptolemy obtains possession of Syria and Phœnicia. —In the mean time, Ptolemy finding how convenient Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa lay for him, both for the defence of Egypt, as well as for the invading from thence the island of Cyprus, which he had an eye upon, resolved to make himself master of these provinces. They were, in the first partition of the provinces of the empire, granted to Laomedon the Mytelenian, one of Alexander's captains, and had been confirmed to him also in that second partition which was made by Antipater at Triparadisus; and he had accordingly, from the death of Alexander to this time, been possessed of them, without any interruption or disturbance. Ptolemy at first thought to have bought him out of them, and offered him vast sums for this purpose; but not prevailing this way, he sent Nicanor, one of his captains, with an army into Syria against him, while he with a fleet invaded Phœnicia. Nicanor having vanquished Laomedon in battle, and taken him prisoner, thereon seized all the inland country, and Ptolemy had the same success on the maritime; so that hereby he made himself master of all those provinces; and Antipater being returned into Macedonia, and Antigonus otherwise engaged against Eumenes, neither of them could hinder this enlargement of his power, though both misliked it.

Masters Judea and Jerusalem. —But when all other parts of this country, after the vanquishing of Laomedon, readily yielded to Ptolemy, the

Jews alone refused to submit to this new master, and for some time stood out against him. For having a just sense of the oath which they had sworn to the former governor, they were truly tenacious of the faith which they had thereby engaged to him; and therefore, till

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overpowered by force, would comply with nothing that was contrary to it. Whereon Ptolemy marched into Judæa, and laid siege to Jerusalem. The place, being strongly fortified both by art and nature, might have held out long against him, but that the Jews had then such a superstitious notion for the keeping of their sabbath, that they thought it a breach of their law concerning it, even to defend themselves on that day; which Ptolemy having observed, made choice of their sabbath to storm the place; and then took it in the assault, because none of them would on that day defend their walls against him. Josephus, being unwilling to expose his nation to the contempt of the Greeks for so ridiculous a folly, tells the story otherwise in his Antiquities, as if Ptolemy were admitted into Jerusalem upon articles of composition, and seized the place in breach of them; but other historians, and those whom he himself quotes elsewhere, give that other account of it which I have here related, and which I think was the truth of the matter: for it appears from the book of the Maccabees, that till Mattathias and those with him made a decree to the contrary, it was the stated opinion of the Jews, that they were to do nothing on the sabbath day, even for the saving of their own lives, against those that fought against them.

Carries 100,000 Jews into Egypt.—When Ptolemy had thus made himself master of Jerusalem and all Judea, he did at first deal very hardly with the inhabitants; for he carried above one hundred thousand of them captives into Egypt. But afterwards reflecting on the steadiness with which they adhered to the fealty they had sworn to their former princes and governors, he thought them the properest for the highest trust; and therefore, having chosen out of them thirty thousand of the strongest and best qualified for military service, he committed to them the garrisoning and keeping of those towns which were of the greatest importance to him to have well maintained, and appointed the rest, at their desire, to be with them in the same places, to administer all necessaries to them. And whereas

he had lately brought under him Cyrene and Libya, he placed several of them there: and from them were descended the Cyrenian Jews, of whom was Jason, who wrote the history of the Maccabees in five books (of which the Second Book of Maccabees, which we now have, is an abridgment), and of whom also was Simon, that bore Christ's cross at his crucifixion, and others that are mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

Death of Antipater: Polysperchon becomes guardian of the two kings, 319.—Antipater, being worn out with age, died in Macedonia, and at his death appointed Polysperchon, who was the oldest of Alexander's captains then remaining, to be the guardian of the kings and governor of Macedonia, in his stead.

Cassander forms a party against Polysperchon. — Cassander resented the appointment of Polyspherchon with great indignation: for he could not bear that his father should prefer any one before him in this trust; and therefore he forthwith set himself to form a party against the new guardian, and seized as many places as he could within the

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verge of his government, both in Greece and Macedon, and purposed no less than the dispossessing him of all the rest. And for the better carrying on of this design, he went to Ptolemy and Antigonus, to engage them to be on his side in it; and they both encouraged him to proceed therein, but with a view only to their own interest. The aim of the former was to secure himself in the provinces he had gotten; and that of the other was to possess himself of all Asia; and they thought, if the Macedonians were embarrassed by a war at home, they might both of them, with the greater ease, obtain their designs.

Antigonus, generalissimo of Asia Minor, aims at the possession of the empire.—For no sooner was Antipater dead, but Antigonus, finding himself possessed of the greatest power of all Alexander's captains then surviving, formed a project of making himself master of all: for he was left by Antipater generalissimo of all the Lesser Asia, with full authority over all the provinces in it, and had then under his command an army of seventy thousand men, besides thirty elephants: which was a force which no other

power in the empire could then resist, and therefore he resolved to seize the whole. In order hereto, his first step was to make a reform in all the governments of the provinces within the verge of his power, by putting out all such governors as he had no confidence in, and placing others in their steads who wholly depended on him. And accordingly he drove Aridæus out of his government of the Lesser Phrygia and the Hellespont, and Clitus out of that of Lydia, and so proceeded to do the same in all the other provinces and cities of the Lesser Asia. But his greatest difficulty was to master Eumenes, whose valour, wisdom, and military skill made him more formidable to him than all the rest, though he had then been for a whole year shut up and besieged by him in the castle of Nora: and therefore he would make trial again to draw him over to him, and sent his countryman Jerome of Cardia, the famous historian of those times, to make proposals to him for this purpose; with whom Eumenes managed the treaty so wisely and craftily, that he got rid of the siege at the time when he was almost brought to the point of perishing by it, and without obliging himself to anything that Antigonus intended by the composition. For an agreement being made, and the oath whereby Eumenes was to swear to it being, according to the form sent by Antigonus, that he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to Antigonus, he altered the form, putting it, that he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus, and then referred it to the Macedonians that lay at the siege, to judge which form was properest; who, still retaining their affection for the royal family, gave their judgment for the latter. And therefore, Eumenes having sworn according to this form, they raised the siege, and departed. But when Antigonus had an account how this matter was managed, he was so displeased at it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and immediately despatched his orders to have the siege again renewed. But they came too late to be put in execution; for Eumenes, immediately on the raising of the siege, quitted the fortress, and with the five hundred men that bore the siege with him, marched into Cappadocia, and there got together of his old soldiers about two thousand

more, and made all other preparations for the war, which he knew would be again renewed against him.

Polysperchon constitutes Eumenes captain-general of Asia Minor in opposition to Antigonus.—In the interim, the defection of Antigonus from the interest of the kings, and setting up for himself, being notorious, a commission was sent to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, from Polysperchon their guardian, constituting him captain-general of all the Lesser Asia, with orders to Teutamus and Antigenes, commanders of the Argyraspides, to join with him, and under his command to make war against Antigonus. And those who had the keeping of the kings' treasures were commanded everywhere to supply him with money for this war; and letters were sent everywhere from Olympias to the same purpose. Hereon Eumenes set himself with vigour to augment his forces with new recruits, and make all other preparations, which might enable him successfully to execute all the orders he had received. But before he could get together an army sufficient for it, Menander, one of Antigonus's captains, coming upon him into Cappadocia with a great army, he was forced to march thence in haste with only three thousand men that he had then about him. But having by long marches gotten over Mount Taurus into the country of Cilicia, he was there met by the Argyraspides, who, according to the orders received from the kings, joined with him, they being in number about three thousand men. These were the remainders of the old soldiers of Alexander, by whom he had won all his victories; and he having given them, when they marched with him into India, shields plated over with silver, as a mark of special honour to them, from hence they were called the Argyraspides, i. e. the silver-shielded (for so that name signified in the Greek language); and they were eminent, above all of their time, for valour and skill in war. But the year being then spent, Eumenes could do no more at that time than enter into winter-quarters with them in that country.

Operations of Ptolemy and Antigonus against Eumenes, 318.—While he lay there, he sent his emissaries into all parts to raise him more forces; who being plentifully supplied with money, executed their commissions so successfully, that in the ensuing spring he took the field with an army of twenty thousand men, horse and foot, which did put all his enemies into no small fear of him. And therefore Ptolemy, for the crushing of him, came

with a fleet upon the coasts of Cilicia, and made all manner of attempts to draw off the Argyraspides from him; and Antigonus endeavoured the same by several emissaries sent into Eumenes's camp for this purpose. But both miscarried herein: for Eumenes carried himself with that benignity and affability to all that were with him, and conducted all his affairs with so much prudence, that he engaged the hearts of all his soldiers to him with so strong a link of affection and confidence, that not a man of all his army could be induced to desert him.

Eumenes endeavours to dispossess Ptolemy of Syria and Phœnicia, but obliged to withdraw to Mesopotamia.—Eumenes, having his army thus firmly fixed to him, marched with them into Syria and Phœnicia, to

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dispossess Ptolemy of these provinces, which, against all right, he had violently seized to himself. His intention hereby was to open a secure correspondence between him and Polysperchon by sea; for could he have gotten the naval strength of the Phœnicians into his power, this, in conjunction with the fleet of Polysperchon, would have made them absolute masters of the seas, and they might then have sent and received succours to and from each other, according as their affairs should require: and had this design succeeded, they must have carried all before them. But the fleet of Polysperchon being, through the folly of Clitus who commanded it, all broken and destroyed by Antigonus, this baffled the whole project. For Antigonus, immediately on the gaining of this victory, put himself upon the march with a great army to find out Eumenes, and fall upon him; of which Eumenes having received intelligence, and finding himself not strong enough to encounter so great a force as Antigonus was bringing against him, he durst not stay his coming, but forthwith withdrew out of Phœnicia, and marching through Cœle-Syria, passed the Euphrates, and wintered at Carrhæ in Mesopotamia. This was the ancient Charan, or Haran, of the Holy Scriptures, where Abraham dwelt before he came into the land of Canaan, and where after that Nahor the brother of Abraham, and his posterity after him, had their habitation for several generations. And it was, in the histories of after-ages, rendered famous for the great battle there fought between the Romans and the Parthians, wherein the former received

that signal overthrow, in which Crassus, and most of their army under his command, were cut in pieces. The Turks now call it Harran, by the old name; and it was in late ages famous for being the prime seat of the Sabians, a noted sect in the East, of which I have above spoken. Hence those of this sect were called Harranites, as well as Sabians, in those parts.

Eumenes proceeds to Susa, and strengthens himself against Antigonus, 317.—Eumenes, while he lay at Carrhæ, sent to Pithon, governor of Media, and Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to join with him, for the aiding of the kings against Antigonus, and caused the orders of the kings for this purpose to be communicated to them. Their answer hereto was, that they should be very ready to give all aid to the kings, but would have nothing to do with him who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. But the truth of the matter was, they feared the great genius of Eumenes: for the intention of most of Alexander's commanders, who, after his death, had divided the governments and provinces of his empire among them, was to set up for themselves, and make themselves sovereigns, each in the country which he had seized; and it was with a view to this, that on the death of Alexander they did set up an idiot and an infant to have the names of sovereigns after him, that under so weak a government they might the better ripen their designs for the usurpations they intended; and all these measures they thought would be broken, if Eumenes got the ascendant; and therefore all of them that were for these measures were against him. But whether his purpose was to advance himself to the sovereignty, or preserve it to the family of Alexander, is uncertain. His professions

always were for the family of Alexander, and whatever his secret intentions might be, none of his actions made any discovery to the contrary. But thus much is certain, that as he was the wisest and the valiantest of all Alexander's captains, so was he the most steady and faithful to all his obligations, having never falsified his faith in any one particular wherein he had engaged it; though he himself perished for want of it in others, as will be hereafter related. From Carrhæ Eumenes marched, in the beginning of the spring, towards Babylon; in which march he had like to have lost all his

army, by a stratagem of Seleucus upon him. For he having encamped on a plain near the Euphrates, Seleucus, by cutting the banks of the river, overflooded the place where he lay. But Eumenes having immediately drawn off his army to an adjoining eminence, thereby saved them from the present danger, and the next day after, having found out a way again to drain off the overflowings, he marched off without receiving any great inconvenience from it; whereon Seleucus prayed truce with him, and permitted him safely to pass through his province to Susa, where he put his army into quarters of refreshment, and from thence sent messengers to all the governors of the upper provinces of Asia to call them to his assistance. He had before transmitted to them letters from the kings, which commanded them to join him for the support of the royal interest, and now he sent to let them know where he was, to press upon them the speedy execution of the royal command. And his messengers found them all together, they having lately joined in a war against Pithon, governor of Media, which they had just then finished. For Pithon, playing the same game in those provinces of the Upper Asia that Antigonus did in the Lower, had put Philotas to death to seize his province, and intended to have proceeded in the same manner with the rest, till he should have usurped all to himself; which being discerned, they all joined, under the command of Peucestes, governor of the province of Persia, in a common war against him; in which having vanquished him in battle, they drove him out of Media, and forced him to flee to Babylon, to crave of Seleucus the protection of his life. And they were still encamped together after this victory, when Eumenes's messengers came unto them; whereon they immediately marched to Susa, and there joined him with all their forces, which consisted of about twenty-five thousand men, horse and foot. This reinforcement made him more than a match for Antigonus, who was then on his march after him; but the year being far advanced before he could reach the Tigris, he was forced to take up his winter quarters in Mesopotamia, where Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, joining him, they there concerted together the operations of the next campaign.

Macedonian affairs: Aridæus Philip put to death, and Alexander Ægus sole king.—In the interim, a great change happened in Macedonia; for Olympias, the mother of Alexander, having formerly fled out of

Macedonia into Epirus, with Alexander her grandson, and Roxana his mother, for fear of Antipater, now after his death was again returned, and, having gotten the power of the kingdom into her hands, put Aridæus, the nominal king (whom they called Philip), to death, with Euridice his wife, after he had borne the title of king six years and

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seven months. And with him she slew also Nicanor, the brother of Cassander, and an hundred more of his principal friends and adherents: which cruelty was retaliated upon her the next year after; for then Cassander, coming upon her with an army, besieged her in Pydna, and having forced her to surrender, first shut her up in prison, and afterwards caused her to be there put to death. After the cutting off of Aridæus, Alexander, the son of Roxana, alone bore the title of king, till at length he was also in like manner cut off by the treachery of those who usurped his father's empire. But almost all the time he bore his title alone, he bore it in a jail; for Cassander, after he had taken Pydna, shut up him and his mother in the castle of Amphipolis, till at length he murdered them both, to make way for himself to be king of Macedon, as will hereafter, in its proper place, be more fully related.

III. REIGN OF ALEXANDER ÆGUS, B. C. 316—305.

Kings of Syria—Seleucus Nicator, 312.

High priests of Judah—Onias, 321.

Campaign in Media and Persia between Eumenes and Antigonus, 316.—Antigonus, in the beginning of the spring, marched to Babylon, where having joined the forces which Pithon and Seleucus had there got ready for him, he passed the Tigris to find out Eumenes; and, on the other hand, Eumenes was not wanting to put himself in a posture to encounter

him, being now superior to him in the number of his forces, and much more so in the wisdom and sagacity of his conduct: not that the other was defective herein; for, next Eumenes, he was certainly the best general and the wisest politician of his time. But the great disadvantage which Eumenes lay under was, he commanded a volunteer army, it being made up of the forces brought him by the several governors of provinces who had joined him, and every one of these would have the general command; and Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, there was not one of them but thought himself, for this reason, preferable before him. To master this difficulty, he pretended that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and showed him a royal pavilion richly furnished with a throne in it, and told him, that if they would sit in council there, he himself would be present to prosper all their consultations and undertakings upon which they should enter in his name; and having wrought the superstition which they had for Alexander into a belief of this, he caused such a pavilion and throne to be erected as he pretended to have seen in his dream; and placing a crown and sceptre in the throne, he prevailed with them there to meet in council, and consult together in common, under the presidency of Alexander, in the same manner as when he was alive, without owning any other superior; which quelled all further strife about this matter: for hereby a priority was yielded to none, and all pretences to its being still kept alive were reserved to the opportunities which the future events of their affairs might give to lay claim thereto. However, the army had that confidence in the great abilities of Eumenes, that in the time of battle, and in all cases of danger, he was always called to the supreme command, and the soldiers would not fight till they saw him in it. And by the wisdom of his

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management he brought it to pass in all other cases, that though in outward show he seemed to waive all superiority, yet in reality he had it, and all things were ordered according to his directions. And the royal command to all the keepers of the public treasuries being to give out unto Eumenes all such sums as he should think fitting to require, this command of the purse gave him the command of all things else; for hereby he was enabled constantly to pay his army, and also to give gratuities to the chief leaders

among them, which had no small influence to engage them to him. And in this posture stood the affairs of both parties, when this year's war began, which was carried on with great vigour on both sides; and all Media and Persia became the field of it; for they ranged these countries all over with marches and counter-marches upon each other, and all manner of stratagems and trials of military skill were put in practice on both sides. But Eumenes having a genius much superior in all such matters, he did thereby, notwithstanding the disadvantages he lay under from a mutinous and ungovernable army, make the campaign end in his favour: for he had worsted Antigonus in two encounters, in which he had slain and taken a great number of his men; and when winter approached, he secured the best quarters for himself in the province of Gabiene, and forced Antigonus to march northward, to seek for his in the country of Media, at the distance of twenty-five days' march from him.

Eumenes gains the advantage, but is treacherously delivered up by his soldiers and put to death, 315.—But the licentiousness of Eumenes's soldiers being such, that they would not be kept together, but, for the sake of a more luxurious plenty, scattered themselves all over the province, and quartered at so great a distance from each other, as would require several days for them again to embody; Antigonus, on his having an account hereof, took a march towards him in the middle of winter, reckoning to be upon him before he should be able to get his army together, and thereby gain an easy and absolute victory over him. But Eumenes, who was never wanting in any precautions necessary for his security, had his spies and scouts so well placed, and so well furnished with dromedaries, the swiftest of beasts, to give him intelligence, that he had notice of this march of Antigonus some days before he could arrive, and thereby had time to defeat it by a stratagem, which saved the army, when all the other commanders gave it for lost: for getting up upon those mountains which lay towards the enemy, with such forces as were nearest at hand, he there caused them, the next night, to kindle fires in such manner, as might represent the encampment of an army; which being seen by Antigonus's scouts at a great distance, and speedily notified to him, this made him believe that Eumenes was there with all his army ready to encounter him; and therefore, not thinking it proper to engage his men, as then fatigued and tired out by a

long march, with a fresh army, he stopped so long to refresh them, that Eumenes had gotten all his forces together before he could come up with him, and then he found he came too late to put his designs in execution. However, not long after, this brought on a battle between them, wherein Eumenes got the victory; which would have proved decisive in his favour, but that he lost all the fruits of it, and himself too, by the treachery of his own men. For the battle being fought in a sandy

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field, the feet of the men and horses in the engagement raised such a dust, as involved all in a cloud, so that there was no seeing of anything at the least distance: of which Antigonus taking the advantage, sent out a party of horse, that seized and carried off all the baggage of Eumenes's army before they could be perceived, whereby he gained the main point, though he lost the victory. For Eumenes's soldiers, when returned from the pursuit of the enemy, finding their camp taken and all their baggage, with their wives and children carried off, instead of using their swords against the enemy again to recover them, turned all their rage upon their general; and therefore having seized and bound him, sold him to Antigonus to redeem what they had lost, and then went all over to him, which absolutely determined the war for the interest of Antigonus; for immediately hereon he became master of all Asia, from the Hellespont to the river of Indus. Eumenes being thus fallen into his hands, he was for some time in a doubt how to dispose of him, he having been formerly his intimate friend, while they both served together under Alexander: the remembrance hereof did at first put the affection he had for him into a struggle with his interest for the saving of his life; and Demetrius his son became an earnest solicitor for him, being very desirous, out of the generosity of his temper, that so gallant a man should be kept alive. But at length, reflecting on his immovable fidelity to Alexander's family, how dangerous an antagonist he had in him on this account, and how able he was to disturb all his affairs, should he again get loose from him, he durst not trust him with life, and therefore ordered him to be put to death in prison; and thus perished the wisest and the gallantest man of the age in which he lived. He had not indeed the fortune of Alexander, but in everything else far exceeded him: for he was truly valiant without rashness,

and wise without timidity, readily foreseeing all advantages that offered, and boldly executing all that were feasible; so that he never failed of anything that he undertook, but when disappointed by the treachery of his own men. By this means he lost the battle which he fought with Antigonus in Cappadocia; and by this means only was it that he was at last undone in Gabiene. After his death, Antigonus, with all his army, in the solemnest manner attended his funeral pile, and showed him the greatest honour that could be done him after his death, and sent his bones and ashes in a sumptuous urn of silver to his wife and children into Cappadocia. But this could make no amends for the taking away of his life. However, it showed, that even in the opinion of the worst of his enemies he was a person of that eminent merit as deserved a much better fate.

Antigonus master of all the Asiatic provinces, from the Hellespont to the Indus.—Antigonus now looking on the whole empire of Asia as his own, for the better securing of it to him, made a reform through all the eastern provinces, putting out all such governors as he distrusted, and placing others of whom he had greater confidence in their stead, and such as he thought dangerous he cut off. Of this number were Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraspides: and he had marked out Seleucus, governor of Babylon, for the same destruction; but he, being aware of it, fled into Egypt, and there under the protection of Ptolemy saved his life. And as to the Argyraspides,

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who were those that betrayed Eumenes, he sent them into Arachosia, the remotest province of the empire, giving it in charge to Sibyrtius the governor of it, by all ways and means to cause them there to be all consumed and destroyed, so that not a man of them might again return into Greece. And this he did out of a just abhorrence of the treachery which they had been guilty of towards their general, though he himself had the fruit of it.

Confederacy between Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander against Antigonus.—In the interim, Seleucus being got safe into Egypt, he so effectually represented to Ptolemy the formidable power

of Antigonus, as he also did to Lysimachus and Cassander, by messengers sent to them for this purpose, and made them so sensible of the danger they were in from it, that he drew them all three into a league against him. Antigonus, being aware that Seleucus, on his flight, might endeavour to engage those princes into measures prejudicial to his interest, sent to each of them ambassadors to renew his friendship with them. But finding by their answers, and the high demands which they made, that nothing but a war was to be expected from them, he hastened out of the East into Cilicia; and having there taken care for the recruiting and reinforcing his army, and ordered all things in the provinces of Lesser Asia as best suited with his interest, he marched thence into Syria and Phœnicia.

Antigonus marches into Syria and Phœnicia, to dispossess Ptolemy and prepare a fleet, 314.—The intentions of Antigonus in entering into these provinces were to dispossess Ptolemy of them, and make himself master of their naval force; for finding that a dangerous war was coming upon him from the confederated princes, and judging aright that, without making himself master of the seas, there was no managing of it with success against them, he found it necessary to have the Phœnician ports and shipping at his command: but he came too late for the latter of them, Ptolemy having carried away all the Phœnician shipping into Egypt before his arrival: neither did he easily make himself master of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza held out against him. The two latter he soon reduced, but Tyre endured a siege of fifteen months before it could be brought to yield to him. However, having all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia in his power, he immediately set himself to the building of a fleet of ships in them, cutting down vast quantities of timber from Mount Libanus, and causing them to be carried to the several ports where the ships were a building; in which work several thousands of hands were employed; and by this means he soon equipped such a number of ships, as did, with those sent him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and other confederated places, made up a fleet which soon gave him the mastery of the seas. That which chiefly edged him on with so much speed to provide himself with this fleet was an affront offered him by Seleucus: for while he lay encamped near Tyre on the sea-shore, Seleucus came thither with one hundred sail of Ptolemy's fleet, and Antigonus, not having any shipping to encounter him, he passed by the

coast where he was encamped, in contempt of him, within the sight of all his army; which very much disheartening his men, and raising a mean opinion of his power in such of his allies as were then present with him, for the remedy hereof, he

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called them together, and did let them know, that even that very summer he would be on those seas with a fleet of five hundred sail, which no power of the enemy should be able to withstand; and accordingly he made his word good before the end of the year.

Antigonus leaves Demetrius Poliorcetes in Phœnicia, and marches into Asia Minor against Cassander: Tyre taken, 313.—But Antigonus finding that, while he was intent upon these affairs in Phœnicia, Cassander grew upon him in the Lesser Asia, he marched thither with one part of his army, and left Demetrius his son (then a young man, not exceeding the twenty-second year of his age), with the other part, to defend Syria and Phœnicia against Ptolemy. By this time Tyre was reduced to great extremities; for Antigonus's fleet, being now set to sea, barred all provisions from being carried to them, which soon brought them to a necessity of surrendering. However, they obtained terms for the garrison of Ptolemy to march safely thence with all their effects, and for the inhabitants to retain theirs without any damage. For Andronicus, who then commanded at the siege for Antigonus, was glad on any terms to gain so important a place, especially after being tired out with so long a siege; for it lasted (as I have already said) fifteen months. It was but nineteen years before that Alexander had destroyed this city in such a manner, as it might seem to require the length of ages for it again to recover itself; yet in so short a time it grew up again into a condition of enduring this siege for more than double the time of that of Alexander's. This shows the great advantage of trade: for this city being the grand mart where most of the trade both of the East and the West did then centre, by virtue hereof it was that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour.

Ptolemy regains possession of Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria, 312.—Antigonus, on his coming into Lesser Asia, soon reduced the

growing power of Cassander, and forced him to very mean terms of accommodation; but after he had made them, he repented of the agreement and would not stand to it, but sent to Ptolemy and Seleucus for assistance, and went on with the war: which detained Antigonus longer in those parts than he intended, and in the interim gave Ptolemy the opportunity of gaining great advantages against him in the East. For having with his fleet sailed to Cyprus, he reduced most of that island to him, and from thence made a descent, first upon the Upper Syria, and next upon Cilicia; where having taken great spoils and many captives, he returned with them into Egypt; and there having, by the advice of Seleucus, formed a design for the recovery of Phœnicia and Syria, he marched thither with a great army. On his coming to Gaza, he there found Demetrius ready to obstruct his further progress. This brought on a fierce battle between them; in which Ptolemy gained the victory, having slain five thousand of Demetrius's men, and taken eight thousand captive; which forced Demetrius to retreat, first to Azotus, and from thence to Tripoly, a city of Phœnicia, as far back as the confines of the Upper Syria, and quit all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœle-Syria to the victor. But before he left Azotus, having

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sent to desire leave to bury the dead, Ptolemy not only granted him this, but sent him also all his equipage, tents, and furniture, with all his friends, family, and servants, without any ransom; which kindness Demetrius had the opportunity of returning, when awhile after he got the like advantage of Ptolemy. All the other captives he sent into Egypt, to be there employed in his service on board his fleet; and then marching forward, had all the sea-coast of Phœnicia forthwith surrendered unto him, excepting only Tyre: for Andronicus, who had lately taken that city after the long siege I have mentioned, having then the government of it, held it out for some time. But at length the garrison soldiers, falling into a mutiny against him, delivered the place to Ptolemy, and him with it.

Seleucus recovers Babylon.—After these successes, Seleucus, having obtained of Ptolemy one thousand foot and three hundred horse, marched eastward with them to recover Babylon. With so small a force did he undertake so great an enterprise, and yet succeeded in it. On his coming to

Carrhæ in Mesopotamia, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, he brought all the Macedonians that were there in garrison to join with him. And as soon as he drew near to Babylon, great numbers of the inhabitants of that province flocked to him for remembering his mild government, and disliking the severity of Antigonus, they were glad of his return, and desirous to see him reinstated in his former command over them; and therefore, on his approach to the city, he found the gates open to him, and he was received into the place with the general acclamation of the people. Whereon those who were of the party of Antigonus retired into the castle; but Seleucus, having now the possession of the city, and all the people on his side, soon made himself master of this fortress, and with it again received his children, friends, and servants, whom on his flight into Egypt Antigonus had there shut up in prison; and then applied himself to get together such an army as might enable him to keep what he had gotten; for he had not long been in possession of this city, ere Nicanor (who was governor of Media for Antigonus) put himself upon the march with an army to drive him thence.

Seleucus seizes Media and the other eastern provinces.—Seleucus, on his having received intelligence of it, passed the Tigris to meet him, and having gotten him at a disadvantage, stormed his camp in the night, and put his whole army to the rout; whereon Nicanor, with some few of his friends, fled through the deserts to Antigonus, and all his forces that survived the rout, part through dislike of Antigonus, and part through fear of the conqueror, joined with him. Whereby having gotten a great army under him, he seized Media, Susiana, and other neighbouring provinces and places, and thereby firmly fixed his interest and his power in those parts, which he daily improved by the clemency of his government, and the justice, equity, and humanity which he practised towards all that were under it; and by these means, from so low a beginning as I have mentioned, he grew up at length to be the greatest of all Alexander's successors.

Commencement of the era of the Seleucidæ.—From this retaking of Babylon by Seleucus began the famous era of the Seleucidæ, made use

of all over the East, by heathens, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans. It is called by the Jews the Era of Contracts, because, after they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were forced to use it in all their contracts, and other instruments of civil affairs; and it afterwards grew so much in use among them, that till a thousand years after Christ they had no other way whereby to compute their time, but this Era of Contracts only; for it was not till then that they began to reckon by the years from the creation of the world. As long as they continued in the East, they continued in the Eastern usage of computing by the Era of Contracts (as they called it); but when, about the year of our Lord 1040, they were driven out of the East, and forced to remove into these western parts, and here settled in Spain, France, England, and Germany, they learned from some of the Christian chronologers of these countries to compute by the years from the creation. The first year of this era, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the Julian period 953, and takes its beginning from the autumnal equinox of that year. But the true year of the creation of the world, according to Scaliger's computation, was a hundred and eighty-nine years, and according to others, two hundred and forty-nine years, higher up than where this era of the Jews placeth it. However, the Era of Contracts is not at this time out of use among those people; for they continue still to reckon by it, as well as by the other. The Arabs call it Taric Dilcarnain, i. e. *The Era of the Two-horned.* The reason of this name some deduce from Alexander, who is, in the Alcoran and other Arabic books, frequently called *The Two-horned.* And he is often found with two horns on his coins. This most likely proceeded from the fond vanity which he had of being thought the son of Jupiter Hammon; for that god of the heathens being usually represented with two rams' horns on his head, Alexander might cause himself to be so represented too, the better to make the fiction pass that he was his son. But this era hath no relation to Alexander, although it hath been by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name, *The Era of Alexander:* for Alexander was dead twelve years before it began, and its commencement only was from the recovery of Babylon by Seleucus. And therefore it is most proper to deduce the origin of this Arabic name, Taric Dilcarnain, from Seleucus: and Appian gives us in him a sufficient reason for it; for he tells us, that Seleucus being a person of that great strength, that laying hold of a bull by the horn, he could stop him in his full career, the

statuaries for this reason usually made his statues with two bulls' horns on his head. And therefore it is most likely that he, and not Alexander, was first meant by the two-horned in the Arabic name of this era; for it was from him, and not from Alexander, that it had its origin. It is in the books of the Maccabees called *The Era of the Kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But whereas the First Book of the Maccabees begins the years of this era from the spring, the Second begins them from the autumn following, and so did the Syrians, Arabs, and Jews, and all others that anciently

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did or now do use this era, excepting the Chaldeans. For they, not reckoning Seleucus to be thoroughly settled in the possession of Babylon till the spring in which Demetrius made that retreat from thence which we shall speak of in the next year following, they began not this era till from that spring, and for the same reason reckoned the beginning of all the years of it from that season also. So that, whereas all other nations that computed by this era began it from the autumn of the year B. C. 312, it had not its commencement among the Chaldeans till from the spring of the year next after following.

Ptolemy fails to recover Upper Syria: his forces under Cilles completely defeated by Demetrius Poliorcetes.—In the interim, Ptolemy, having again made himself master of all Phoenicia, Judaea, and Coele-Syria, sent Cilles, one of his generals, to take possession of the Upper Syria also, and drive Demetrius thence, who was then retreated thither. But Cilles, out of contempt of the baffled enemy he had to deal with, making his encampments negligently and loosely, Demetrius, on his having an account hereof from his spies, by a long and speedy march came upon him before he was aware, and surprising him in the night, got an absolute victory over him, taking his camp, and making him and seven thousand of his men prisoners of war; which equalling the defeat he had before received at Gaza, again balanced the matter between him and Ptolemy; and also put it in the power of Demetrius (for the sake of which he most valued this victory) to make a return to Ptolemy of the kindness he had before received from him for after this victory, he sent back unto him Cilles, and all his friends,

without ransom, in the same manner as Ptolemy had before sent back to him all his friends after the victory which he had gotten over him at Gaza.

Antigonus effects a junction with Demetrius: Ptolemy returns to Egypt with numerous Phoenicians, Syrians, and Jews.—Antigonus, receiving an account at Celenae in Phrygia (where he then resided), of this victory of his son's over Cilles, hastened thence into Syria, to prosecute there the advantages of it; and having passed Mount Taurus, joined his son in the Upper Syria: whereon Ptolemy, finding himself not strong enough to encounter the joint forces of the father and son together, dismantled Ace, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza, and retreated again into Egypt, carrying with him most of the riches, and a great number of the inhabitants of the country: whereon all Phoenicia, Judaea, and Coele-Syria returned again under the power of Antigonus. The inhabitants of those countries, whom Ptolemy carried with him into Egypt on his retreat, followed him thither rather voluntarily, and out of free choice, than by compulsion: for he being a person of a very benign temper, and having always shown great clemency and humanity to all under his government, this so far captivated the hearts of those people to him, that they rather chose to follow him into a strange country, than tarry the coming of Antigonus in their own (from whom they expected a contrary treatment); and that especially since they had terms of great advantage offered them by Ptolemy to invite them to this removal: for his mind being then much set upon the making of Alexandria to be the capital of Egypt, was glad of all that he could get to come thither to inhabit the place, and offered great privileges and

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immunities to draw them thither. And here Ptolemy planted all those that followed him in this retreat; among whom were a great number of the Jews.

Great increase of the Jewish colony at Alexandria.—Alexander had planted several of that nation at Alexandria before; and Ptolemy, after his first irruption into Judaea, had brought from thence many more of them thither, where they enjoyed the benefit of a plentiful country, a secure protection, and many other advantages. The report whereof coming into Judea excited in many others there a desire to follow them; and accordingly

many did so on this occasion: for Alexander had, on his first building this city, given them, for their encouragement to plant there, the same privileges and immunities with the Macedonians; and Ptolemy had continued the same to them. By which means the Jewish quarters in that city increased to the number of several thousands of families; and many Samaritans, as well as Jews, upon the like encouragement, became inhabitants of this place, and there multiplied to a great number.

History of the Jews by Hecataeus of Abdera derived from Hezekias. —Among those that followed Ptolemy into Egypt on this occasion, one was Hezekias, a person of eminent note among that people, and one of their chief priests. Hecataeus the historian, being then with Ptolemy, makes particular mention of him, as a person of great wisdom and prudence, a powerful speaker, and one that thoroughly understood the world, being then about sixty years old. And further, he saith, that he having contracted an acquaintance with him, they had frequent conferences together; and that in them he learned from him what was the religion, policy, and manner of living of the Jews, wherein they differed from other nations; all which, he saith, this Hezekias had with him written in a book; which book, no doubt, was the book of the law of Moses. And I doubt not it was by this person that he was induced to have so favourable an opinion of the Jews and their religion; and that it was from him that he received the information of most of that which he wrote of them; for he composed a particular history of the Jews, therein treating of them from Abraham down to his time: in which he speaks so honourably of them and their religion, that Origen tells us, Herennius Philo, a heathen writer, who flourished about the time of Trajan the Roman emperor, did for this reason raise a doubt, whether it were the genuine work of Hecataeus or no; making this inference from hence concerning it, that either it was composed by some Jew under the name of Hecataeus, or else, if he were the true author of it, he was corrupted to the Jewish religion when he wrote it. If one of these two must be the truth (though I see no necessity for it), the latter is as possible as the other. This Hecataeus was of Abdera, a Grecian city in Thrace, which had been famous for the birth of Democritus, Protagoras, and other learned men: he was bred up with Alexander, and followed him in all his wars, and after his death put himself under the protection of Ptolemy, and lived with him in Egypt;

where having from the conversation which he had with this learned Jew, and

others of that nation, who followed Ptolemy thither, fully informed himself of their laws, customs, and religion, he wrote that history of them which I have mentioned; out of which Josephus hath extracted several passages in his writings, especially in his first book against Apion; but the book itself is not now extant. There was another very noted historian of the same name; but he was a Milesian, and lived long before, in the time of Darius Hystaspes.

Story of Mosollam, out of Hecataeus.—Josephus tells us of another Jew, called Mosollam, who about this time followed Ptolemy, and had listed himself a horseman in his army; and out of the same Hecataeus gives us a very remarkable story of him; the words of Hecataeus are as followeth: —"As I was travelling towards the Red Sea, there was in company with us a certain Jew, called Mosollam, one of a Jewish troop of horse that was sent to be our convoy, a very valiant man, and remarkable for his great skill in archery, in which he excelled even all the Greeks and barbarians of his time. As several of us were travelling on in this journey together, a certain soothsayer, who took upon him to foretell the fortune of our journey, bade us all stand still, and we did so. Whereon this Jew asked us what we stood for. Look ye, answered the cunning man, and showed him a bird. If that bird stands, said he, ye are to stand; and if he riseth and flies on, you are to go forward too; but if the bird take its flight the contrary way, you must all go back again. The Jew hereat, without a word speaking, lets fly an arrow, and kills the bird; whereon the diviner, and some of the company, had great indignation, and fell on him in most outrageous terms. Why, certainly, said the Jew, to them, are ye not all mad to make such a bustle about a foolish bird? How could that poor wretched creature pretend to foreshow us our fortune, that knew nothing of its own? If this bird could have foretold good or evil to come, it would have kept out of this place, for fear of being slain by the arrow of Mosollam the Jew." Thus far Hecataeus, who, it is plain, tells this story of purpose to expose and condemn the superstition of the heathens, which then obtained concerning such matters, and to commend

and extol the wisdom of the Jews, in rejecting and despising all those follies.

Antigonus sends an expedition, under Athenaeus, against the Nabathaean Arabs, 311.—Antigonus, having thus recovered all Syria, Phoenicia, and Judea out of the hands of Ptolemy, sent Athenaeus, one of his lieutenants, with an army against the Nabathaean Arabs: they being a clan of thieves, had made inroads upon the countries now under his command, and carried off much plunder from them; and to be revenged of them for it, Antigonus sent these forces against them. The chief city of those Arabs was Petra, which standing on a high rock in the deserts, was from thence called by the Greeks Petra, by the Hebrews Sela, and by the Arabs Hagar: for Hagar signifieth the same in Arabic that Sela doth in Hebrew, and Petra in Greek, that is, a rock, and hence it is that St. Paul calls Mount Sinai Hagar; for that was all a rocky mountain, which, beginning at the Red Sea, runs a great way into Arabia; and on part of it the city of Petra was built. There being a

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certain mart at stated seasons held in the neighbourhood, the Nabathaeans, having left their wives, children, and aged, with their goods, under a guard at Petra, were gone to this mart. Athenaeus, craftily laying hold of this opportunity, by long marches got to Petra in their absence, and having surprised the place, slew the guards, and carried off all the plunder that he found in the place, and then marched back with as much speed as he came; and when he had gotten at such a distance, that he thought himself out of the reach of the enemy, he stopped to refresh his men with rest, now tired out with so long a march; but not taking sufficient care to secure his encampment, the enemy, having gotten early notice of what he had done, made a speedy pursuit after him, and falling upon him in the night, while his men were all drowned in sleep and weariness, they cut off all of them, excepting only fifty horsemen that escaped, and recovered the whole booty. After this returning to Petra, they from thence wrote letters to Antigonus in the Syriac language, accusing Athenaeus of the wrong he had done them. To which Antigonus, temporizing with the present necessity, returned such an

answer as disowned the enterprise of Athenaeus, and allowed the revenge as just which they had taken of him.

Second expedition against the Nabathaean Arabs, under Demetrius.—But as soon as he had gotten more forces ready, he sent his son Demetrius with them to execute that vengeance upon those robbers which the other failed of: who, having received his orders, marched with all the haste he could, hoping to be upon them before they should know of his coming. But his march being discovered, notice was given of it by fires all over the country; which immediately brought them all together to Petra, where they having left a strong garrison, and divided the booty between them, which had been there laid up, fled with it into the deserts, driving all their flocks and herds with them. So that Demetrius, on his coming thither, finding the place too well provided to be taken, made peace with those people upon the best terms he could, and returned; and, after a march of three hundred furlongs (which is about thirty-six of our miles), he came to the lake Asphaltites, and there encamped.

Description of Lake Asphaltites, or the Dead Sea.—This was also called by some the Sea of Sodom, by others the Dead Sea, and in Scripture the Salt Sea. It was called the Sea of Sodom, because there Sodom once stood; the Dead Sea, because it is stagnated water without any motion, and in which no living creature is said to be found; the Salt Sea, because of its exceeding saltness; and Asphaltites, from the Greek word *Asphaltus*, which signifieth bitumen, which it produceth in great quantities, and the best that can anywhere be found: and this last is the name by which the Greeks and Latins called it. At present, the adjacent inhabitants call it the Lake of Lot. It extends, from north to south, about seventy of our miles in length, and is about eighteen miles over in the broadest place. On the east side of it anciently lay the land of Moab, and on the west side that part of the land of Canaan

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which was the portion of the tribe of Judah; and, towards the south, it abutted upon the land of Edom. The rivers Jordan and Arnon run into it at the north end, and are there lost; for nothing runs out of it again; but, like

the Caspian Sea, it receives brooks and rivers into it, and emits none out; wherein it is of a contrary nature to the sea or lake of Tiberias (called the sea of Galilee and the lake of Genezaret in the Gospels), on which our Saviour was so conversant; for that, as it receiveth the river Jordan at one end, so emits it again at the other; but when it falls from thence into the lake Asphaltites, it is there absorbed, and no more heard of. Demetrius, on his encamping on this lake, observing the nature of it, and that a good revenue might be made of the bitumen which it yielded, gave Antigonus an account of it on his return. Antigonus, though no way pleased with the peace which he had made with the Nabathaeans, whom he sent him to destroy, yet applauded him for the discovery he had made of a way for the augmenting of his revenue by the bitumen of this lake, and immediately sent thither Jerome the Cardian to take care of it. But when he had, according to his instructions, gotten ready several boats fit for the purpose, and was gathering into them all the bitumen of the lake to carry it all to one place, there to be disposed of for the benefit of Antigonus, the Arabs, to the number of six thousand men, fell upon him, and having destroyed his boats, and slain most of his men employed in them for this work, drove him thence, and thereby put an end to this project. This Jerome, being a fellow-citizen of Eumenes, followed his party to the time of his death; but being then taken prisoner by Antigonus, he after that entered into his service, and was appointed by him to this employment. Many years after this, he was governor of Syria for Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus: for he lived to a great age, being one hundred and four years old at the time of his death; and his eminent skill in all affairs, both of the camp and cabinet, recommended him to the favour and first respects of the princes under whom he

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served. He wrote the history of Alexander and his successors, and their posterity down to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and beyond it: but though he had lived long in Syria and Phoenicia, first under Antigonus, and afterwards under Seleucus and Antiochus his son, and therefore was well acquainted with the state and affairs of the Jews, and had many occasions in his history to make mention of them, yet he passed them over in a total silence, not speaking as much as one word of them; for which he is faulted

by Josephus, as if this his neglect of them proceeded from his malice and envy towards those people.

Expedition of Demetrius to recover Babylon from Seleucus: its failure.—Antigonus, receiving an account from Nicanor of the successes of Seleucus in the East, sent Demetrius his son with an army to Babylon to drive him thence, and recover that province out of his hands. In the interim, he himself marched towards the maritime parts of Lesser Asia, to suppress the power of the three confederated princes, which was there growing against him, and appointed a time for his son to come thither to him, after he should have executed the commission on which he sent him to Babylon. Demetrius, according to his father's order, having gathered his forces together at Damascus, marched thence to Babylon; and Seleucus being then absent in Media, he entered that city without opposition. For Patrocles, whom Seleucus had left his lieutenant in that place, finding himself not strong enough to encounter Demetrius, had retreated with those forces he had with him into the fens, where being surrounded with rivers, ditches, and morasses, he there protected himself by the inaccessibleness of the place, and ordered all the rest to flee out of the city; whereof some passing the Tigris, and others retreating into the deserts, and others in other places of safety, thereby saved themselves till the enemy was again retreated. Demetrius, finding the city deserted, laid siege to the castles: for there were two of them in that city well garrisoned, and of large extent. These were the two palaces which I have above described; of which one stood on the one side of the Euphrates, and the other on the other side, just over against it. One of these he took, and having expelled the garrison of Seleucus, placed one of his own in it of seven thousand men. The other held out till the time limited to him by his father for his return. And therefore, leaving Archelaus, one of his principal commanders, with one thousand horse and five thousand foot, to continue the siege, he marched back with the rest of his army into Lesser Asia, to the assistance of his father, having first plundered the whole province of Babylon of all he could lay his hands on in it; by which he absolutely alienated the hearts of all the people from Antigonus, and firmly united them to Seleucus and his interest ever after. For even those who had till then been for Antigonus, concluding that his forces would never have used them so, had there been any intentions for their

returning to them again, took this act of depredation to be a declaration of their resolutions to desert them for the future; and therefore they made their peace with Seleucus, and all went, without any further reserve, entirely over to his interest. So that on his returning to Babylon, after the retreat of Demetrius, he soon expelled the forces he had there left, recovered the castle which he had garrisoned,

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and thenceforth settled his interest in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could be never after any more shaken. And therefore from this year of the Babylonians began the epocha of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Asia placed its commencement in the year before, as I have already observed.

Treaty of peace between Antigonus, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy.—Demetrius on his return into Lesser Asia having raised the siege of Halicarnassus, which was besieged by Ptolemy, this brought on a treaty of peace between the confederated princes and Antigonus; in which it was agreed, that Cassander should have the command of all in Macedonia, till Alexander, the son of Roxana, should be grown up; that Lysimachus should have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt and the adjacent parts of Libya and Arabia; and Antigonus all Asia; and that all the Grecian cities should enjoy their liberties. But this agreement did not last long; for many infractions of it being pretended on both sides, as soon almost as it was made, this brought them all again into the war. But the true reason was the great power of Antigonus; and the daily growing of it was a continual terror to the other three, and therefore they could not sit quiet till they had suppressed it.

Murder of Alexander *Ægus*, and the other heirs of Alexander the Great, 310.—Alexander, the son of Roxana, being grown up to the fourteenth year of his age, Cassander thought it not consistent with his ambitious designs to let him live any longer; for he being resolved to seize the kingdom of Macedon for himself, it was necessary for him first to make away with the true heir; and therefore sent to the castle of Amphipolis, where he had for several years shut up him and his mother, and caused them both to be there privately murdered. However, Ptolemy in his Canon

continues to reckon the years of his reign in the same manner as if he were alive, till at length those who had divided the empire of Alexander among them, after having long usurped the regal authority, took also the regal style, and declared themselves kings, each in the particular countries which they had taken possession of. Polysperchon, who governed in Peloponnesus, hearing of the death of Roxana and her son, laid hold of this occasion to make loud exclamations against Cassander for the fact, accusing him everywhere for the villany of it, that he might thereby excite the odium of the Macedonians against him. All this he pretended to do out of his zeal and affection for the house of Alexander; and to make the greater show hereof, he sent for Hercules, the other son of Alexander, which he had by Barsina, the widow of Memnon, and having gotten him and his mother to him from Pergamus, where hitherto he had been brought up, he proposed to the Macedonians the instating of him in his father's kingdom; which very much terrifying Cassander, soon brought him to an agreement with him on his own terms; and when he had gained those terms, having obtained all that he proposed for the better securing of himself in the possession of them, he was easily induced by Cassander to cut off this son of Alexander also. And therefore the next year following he caused him and his mother to be put to death in the same villanous manner as Cassander had the other son and his mother before: and

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thus each acted his part in destroying the heirs, that after their death they might with the better safety share the inheritance between them.

Renewal of the war between Ptolemy and Antigonus.—Ptolemy, having renewed the war against Antigonus for the reason I have mentioned, took by his lieutenants several cities from him in Cilicia and elsewhere. But Demetrius soon dispossessed him again of all in Cilicia; and other of Antigonus's lieutenants had the same success against him in other places. Only in Cyprus Ptolemy having, by the cutting off of Nicocles king of Paphos, extinguished all the interest that Antigonus had in that island, thereby secured it wholly to himself.

Epicurus founds his school of philosophy.—This year Epicurus, being thirty-two years old, first began to poison the world with his impious philosophy. He first taught it at Mitylene in the isle of Lesbos, and afterwards at Lampsacus on the Hellespont, and after that at Athens, of which city he originally was. He returned thither in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and there kept his school in a garden till the sixty-third of his age, in which he died. According to him, all things were first made, and have ever since subsisted, by chance. For he denied that the world was created by the power of God, or is at all governed by his providence. He held also that there is no future state; but that this world is every man's all, and that the highest felicity attainable here is the highest good that man is capable of, and this he placed in indolence of body and tranquillity of mind; but held that virtue and morality were the only true means of attaining thereto. And therefore, though our modern infidels build their impious doctrines upon Epicurus's philosophy, yet they cannot their immoral and wicked lives. For if virtue alone be the only true way whereby to attain that indolence of body and tranquillity of mind, in which, according to this scheme, the highest felicity of man doth consist, it must certainly be every man's highest wisdom to practise it. Out of this impious school have sprung the Sadducees of the Jews, the Zendichees of the Arabs, and the deists of the present age. The first of these, it is to be acknowledged, went no further than to the denial of angels, spirits, and a future state; for they acknowledged the world to be created by the power of God, and to be governed by his providence; and therefore they received the law of Moses, but with the expectation of none other than of temporal blessings for the reward of keeping it; but the other two go thorough-stitch with the whole of this impious scheme, excepting only that part of it which recommends a virtuous life.

Ptolemy invades maritime Asia and European Greece, and opens a correspondence with Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, 309, 308.—Ptolemy, to make himself amends for his losses in Cilicia, invaded Pamphylia and Lycia, and other maritime parts of Asia, and divested Antigonus of Phaselis, Caunus, Mindus, and several other cities which he before held on those coasts. And then sailing into the Aegean Sea, now called the Archipelago, he took in the island of Andrus; and from thence

passing to the continent, there possessed himself of Sicyon, Corinth, and several other places. While he was in those parts he entertained a correspondency with Cleopatra the sister of Alexander.

She was the same that was married to Alexander king of Epirus, at the time when her father Philip was slain, and had ever since the death of her husband (who fell in his wars in Italy) lived a widow, and for several years past had her residence at Sardis in Lydia; but being there ill used by Antigonus, under whose power that city was, Ptolemy took that opportunity to draw her over to his party, and invited her to him, hoping to make her presence with him turn to his advantage in his war with Antigonus.

Cleopatra murdered by order of Antigonus.—But when she had put herself upon the journey to go to him, Antigonus's lieutenant, who governed for him at Sardis, stopped her on the road; and having brought her back thither again, caused her a little after, by the order of Antigonus, privately to be put to death. Whereon Antigonus, coming himself to Sardis, condemned to death those women of her retinue by whose hands the murder was committed, and then celebrated the funeral of the dead lady in a very solemn and sumptuous manner, thinking thereby to avoid the odium and infamy of the fact; whereas such hypocritical devices do most an end prove those facts which they are contrived to disown, and rather increase than prevent the detestation that is due to the authors of them. But this was not the only vile fact he committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy built their interest upon the clemency and justice of their government, whereby they established to themselves lasting empires, which continued in their families for many generations after. But Antigonus, being a man of a quite contrary disposition, acted all by violence, sticking at nothing that he thought would promote his interest, how wicked or vile soever; and therefore according to his rule of proceeding, everything and every person was to be removed that stood in the way of his designs, without any regard had either to justice or humanity; and thus he proceeded to support himself by force only, till at length that failing, he lost both his empire and his life with it: and may such be the fate of all others that follow the same courses!

Ptolemy recovers possession of Libya and Cyrene: previous history of Ophellas, 307.—Ophellas, prince of Libya and Cyrene, being slain by Agathocles king of Sicily, Ptolemy again recovered these provinces. Ophellas was a soldier of Alexander's, and after his death followed the fortune of Ptolemy, and went with him into Egypt. From thence he was sent by him to reduce Libya and Cyrene to his obedience, these being provinces assigned to Ptolemy, as well as Egypt and Arabia, on the division of the empire; in which expedition having succeeded, and being thereon made governor for Ptolemy of these countries, he seized them for himself: and Ptolemy's other engagements against Antigonus and Demetrius not giving him leisure to look that way, he continued undisturbed in the possession of them till this year. But Agathocles, being now in Africa making war against the Carthaginians, and finding he wanted more strength to carry it on, invited Ophellas into an alliance with him, promising him no less than the empire of all Africa for the reward of the undertaking. This bait was readily swallowed by Ophellas; and therefore having gotten together an army of twenty thousand men, after a long march he joined Agathocles with them in the territories of the Carthaginians. But the wicked tyrant, when

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strengthened by so great a reinforcement, having gained all that he intended, treacherously cut off Ophellas, and used his army only for his own interest. How this succeeded with him I shall not here relate. All that is to my purpose is, to show how Ptolemy after this again recovered the provinces of Libya and Cyrene; for Ophellas being thus slain, and this ill-projected expedition having drained those countries of all their forces, they forthwith fell again under the power of Ptolemy without opposition, and he and his successors continued to hold them as provinces of the kingdom of Egypt for several ages after. And under the protection of those princes, the colony of the Jews, which had been there planted by this first Ptolemy (as hath been above mentioned), increased, and grew to a great number. For in the time of Vespasian, no fewer than three thousand of them were put to death in that country for one mutiny; and yet, within a few years after, under the reign of Trajan, they mastered the whole province, and slew of the other inhabitants of it above two hundred thousand persons; which could not have been done, had not there been a great number that effected it. This

Ophellas had for his wife Eurydice, a fair Athenian lady, of the descendants of Miltiades. On the death of her husband she returned to Athens, where Demetrius, meeting her the next year after, fell in love with her, and took her to wife.

Demetrius weakens the power of Cassander at Athens by driving out Demetrius Phalereus, 306.—For Demetrius came to Athens in the beginning of B. C. 306, to restore, as he pretended, the liberties of that and the other cities of Greece; but in reality to expel thence the garrison of Cassander, and depress his power in those parts, which having fully effected by driving Demetrius Phalereus out of that city, he returned again to his father. This Demetrius Phalereus had governed Athens under Cassander ten years. And never were the Athenians under a more just government, or enjoyed greater peace and happiness, than while he presided over them; and, in acknowledgment hereof, they erected for him as many statues in that city as there were days in the year; and than this a greater honour was never done to any citizen of that place; and of all this and much more was he well deserving: for he was not only a learned philosopher, but also a person of great wisdom, justice, and probity, and these virtues he exercised in a very eminent degree through all the acts of his government. On his now being dispossessed of it, he retired to Cassander, and after his death went into Egypt to Ptolemy, and is said there to have had the chief management of Ptolemy's library, and to have procured for it that translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek which we now call the Septuagint; of which we shall treat hereafter in its proper place, where we shall have occasion to speak more of him.

Demetrius wrests the island of Cyprus from Ptolemy.—Demetrius, on his return from Athens, was sent by his father with a great fleet

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and army to dispossess Ptolemy of the island of Cyprus; and therefore, sailing thither, he made a descent upon it at Carpasia; and having taken that city and Urania, he marched to Salamine, the capital of the whole island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who was then chief commander for him in Cyprus, being at that time with most of his forces in Salamine, went forth

on his approach to that place, and gave him battle; but being overborne by the number and valour of the enemy, he was forced to retreat into the city, with the loss of one thousand of his men slain, and three thousand taken prisoners, and there prepare for the bearing of a siege. From whence Ptolemy, having an account sent him of his misfortune, got ready a great fleet with all the expedition he was able, and sailed thither for his succour. This brought on a great fight at sea between the contending princes; in which Demetrius having obtained the victory, Ptolemy was forced to take his flight back into Egypt with eight ships only, leaving all behind him in the power of the conqueror; whereon the whole island of Cyprus, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines Ptolemy had therein, fell into his hands. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. Menelaus the brother, and Leontiscus the son of Ptolemy, being among the captives, Demetrius sent them both home, with their friends and dependants, without ransom, in remembrance of the like kindness shown him by Ptolemy after the battle of Gaza. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces; so that hereby he very much increased his military strength both by sea and land, as well as enlarged his father's dominions, by adding this large and rich island to them.

Antigonus and Demetrius assume the title of kings: their example followed by Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus.— Antigonus, on the news of this victory, being very much elated by it, thenceforth assumed the title of king, and wore a crown, and sent another crown to Demetrius, and gave the title of king to him also; and from this time they both used it in all their epistles, orders, decrees, and other writings; which the Egyptians hearing of, that Ptolemy, to whom they bore great affection, might not seem lessened by his misfortunes, they gave him also the same title. This example being followed by Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, they also about the same time assumed the title of kings, each in their respective territories; in which they had all along before usurped the regal authority.

Seleucus establishes his power from the Euphrates to the Indus, 305.—By this time Seleucus was grown very great in the East. For having slain Nicanor in battle, who was sent against him by Antigonus, he not only secured to himself hereby Media, Assyria, and Babylon, but carrying his

arms farther, reduced under him Persia, Bactria, Hyrcania, and all the other provinces on this side the Indus, which Alexander had before made himself master of.

Antigonus and Demetrius invade Egypt by land and sea: failure of the expedition.—Antigonus, to pursue the blow which Demetrius had given Ptolemy in Cyprus, drew together into Syria an army of near one hundred thousand men for the invading of Egypt, hoping there to

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get as easy a victory over him as he had at Cyprus, and so dispossess him of that country also. While he marched thither with his bulky army, Demetrius his son coasted him with as great a fleet at sea, till they came both to Gaza; where, having concerted matters between them, Demetrius sailed to make a descent upon the country at one of the mouths of the Nile, while Antigonus invaded it by land. It was not without great difficulties that Antigonus passed the deserts that lay between Palestine and Egypt, and when he was arrived in Egypt he found much greater. And Demetrius met with no less at sea; for storms had much shattered his fleet, and Ptolemy had so well guarded all the mouths of the Nile, that he could find no access to put on shore at any of them: neither could Antigonus make any better progress with his army at land; for Ptolemy had so carefully provided against him in all places, and so strongly guarded all passes and avenues, that he could make no impression upon him anywhere, and (what afflicted him most) great numbers of his men daily deserted from him to the enemy. For Ptolemy, having sent boats to several places on the river, where Antigonus's soldiers came for watering, caused it to be there proclaimed from those boats, within their hearing, that whoever should come over to him from Antigonus's army, if he were a common soldier, he should have two minas, and if a commander, a talent: whereon great numbers of them, as well commanders as private soldiers, especially of the mercenaries, went over to him, and that not only for the sake of the reward, but especially out of the greater liking they had to Ptolemy; for Antigonus being a crabbed old man, and very haughty, morose, and severe, Ptolemy by reason of the benignity of his temper, and his humane and courteous carriage to all he had to do with, had the affections of all men much beyond him. Antigonus therefore,

after he had in vain hovered over the outskirts of Egypt, till all his provisions were spent, finding he could gain no advantage on Ptolemy, but that his army daily diminished by sickness and desertions, and he could no longer subsist the remainder in that country, was forced to return back into Syria with baffle and disgrace, having lost great numbers of his men at land, and many also of his ships at sea, in this unsuccessful expedition.

Renewal of the league between Ptolemy, Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus.—Hereon Ptolemy wrote to Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, of his success; and having renewed his league with them against this their common enemy, he became thenceforth firmly settled in his kingdom, and was never after any more disturbed in it. And therefore Ptolemy the astronomer here placeth the beginning of his reign, and from hence reckoneth the years of it in his Chronological Canon. Therein till now he continued to compute by the years of Alexander Ægus, though he had been slain five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of Ptolemy, and the firm settlement which he obtained hereby in the throne, gave him a new epocha after that to go by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of November, nineteen years after the death of Alexander.

IV. JEWISH AND EGYPTIAN HISTORY IN THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY I. SOTER TO THE DEATH OF SIMON THE JUST, B. C. 304-292.

Kings of Syria—Seleucus Nicator, 312.

High priests of Judah—Onias, 321, Simon the Just, 300-292.

Rhodians support Ptolemy, and confer on him the title of Soter, 304.—The Rhodians subsisting chiefly by their trade with Egypt, for this reason adhered to the interest of Ptolemy; and when sent to by Antigonus for the assistance of some of their shipping in the Cyprian war, they refused to aid him with any for that undertaking. Antigonus therefore, as soon as the

Egyptian expedition was over, sent Demetrius with a fleet and army to reduce that island to his obedience. But after a year's time spent in the siege of Rhodes, the chief city in it, not being able to take the place, he was content to make a peace with them upon terms, that they should associate with Antigonus in all his wars, except only against Ptolemy. For it being chiefly by the assistance of Ptolemy that they were enabled to sustain so long a siege, and were at length so happily delivered from it, they would make no peace which should oblige them to act anything against him; and when the enemy was gone, in acknowledgment of the aid which he had given them in this dangerous war, having for the greater solemnity first consulted the oracle of Jupiter Hammon about it, they consecrated unto him a grove, and for his greater honour made it a very sumptuous work; for it being a furlong square, they surrounded it with a most stately portico on every side, and from his name called it the Ptoleméum; and there, according to the impious flattery of those times, they paid divine honours unto him: and in commemoration of their being thus saved by him in this war, they gave him the additional name of Soter, that is, the Saviour, by which he is commonly called by historians, to distinguish him from the other Ptolemies that after reigned in that country.

Seleucus invades India beyond the Indus, and concludes peace with Sandrocottus, 303.—Seleucus, having secured himself in the possession of all the countries from the Euphrates to the river Indus, made war upon Sandrocottus for the making of himself master of India also. This Sandrocottus was an Indian by birth, and of a very mean original: but giving out that he would deliver his country from the tyranny of foreigners, under this pretence got together an army, and by degrees having increased it to a great number, took the advantage, while Alexander's successors were engaged in war against each other, to expel the Macedonians out of all those Indian provinces which Alexander had conquered, and seized them to himself. To recover these provinces, Seleucus marched over the Indus: but finding that Sandrocottus had by this time brought all India under his power, and from the several parts of it drawn into the field an army of six hundred thousand men, and had in it a vast number of elephants managed for the war, he thought not fit to run the hazard of engaging so great a power: and therefore,

coming to a treaty with him, he agreed that on his receiving from Sandrocottus five hundred of his elephants he should, on that consideration, quit to him all his pretensions in India; and on these terms peace was made between them. And Seleucus, having thus settled this matter, marched back into the western parts to make war against Antigonus; the necessity whereof was one main cause that hastened this peace with Sandrocottus.

Demetrius Poliorcetes again invades Greece: Lysimachus and Cassander send to Ptolemy and Seleucus, 302.—For Demetrius, after he had ended his war with the Rhodians, sailed a second time with a great fleet and army into Greece, under the same pretence of freeing the Grecian cities, but in reality to weaken and suppress the power of Ptolemy and Cassander in those parts, and there dispossessed Ptolemy of Sicyon, Corinth, and most of the other places which he held in Greece; and pressed so hard upon Cassander that he was forced to sue to him for a peace. But when he found that none could be had but upon the terms of resigning himself absolutely to the will and pleasure of Antigonus, he and Lysimachus, having had consultation hereupon, agreed both of them to send ambassadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, with a representation of the case; by which it being made appear, that the designs of Antigonus were to suppress all the other successors of Alexander, and usurp the whole empire to himself, it was thought time for them all to unite together against him for the bringing down of his overgrowing power. And therefore Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, having confederated together for this purpose, this hastened Seleucus out of India back again into Assyria, there to provide for the war.

Cassander remains in Europe to oppose Demetrius, whilst Lysimachus passes into Asia to oppose Antigonus.—The first operations of it began on the Hellespont; for Cassander and Lysimachus having concerted matters together on that side, it was agreed between them, that while the former remained in Europe to make a stand against Demetrius in those parts, the other, with as many forces as could be spared from both their territories, should make an invasion upon the provinces of Antigonus in Asia. And accordingly Lysimachus passed the Hellespont with a great

army; and partly by force, and partly by desertions and revolts, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and most of the countries from the Propontis to the river Meander, under his power. Antigonus was at Antigonia, a new city built by him in the Upper Syria, and was there celebrating solemn games which he had appointed in that place, when the news of this invasion was first brought to him. On his hearing hereof, and the many revolts which had been made from him, he immediately broke up his sports, and dismissing the assembly, forthwith set himself to prepare for a march against the enemy; and as soon as he had gotten all the forces together which he had in those parts, he hastened with them over Mount Taurus into Cilicia; and having at Quinda in that province taken out of the public treasury (which was there kept) what money he thought necessary, he there-with recruited and augmented his forces to a number sufficient for his purpose, and then marched directly against the enemy, retaking in his

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way many of those places which had revolted from him. Lysimachus, not finding himself strong enough to encounter Antigonus, stood upon the defensive only till Seleucus and Ptolemy should come up to his assistance; and in this manner wore out the year's war, till both sides were forced to go into winter-quarters.

Seleucus advances from Babylon, and Antigonus recalls Demetrius from Europe, 301.—In the beginning of the next year Seleucus, having gotten together a great army at Babylon, marched hence into Cappadocia for the pursuing of the war against Antigonus: of which Antigonus having notice, sent for Demetrius out of Greece to his assistance; who immediately obeying his father's orders, transported himself to Ephesus, and recovered again that city to Antigonus, and many other adjacent places, which on the coming of Lysimachus into Asia had revolted from him.

Ptolemy again recovers Phœnicia, Judea, and Cæle-Syria.—Ptolemy, on Antigonus's leaving Syria, took the advantage of his absence to invade that country, and soon recovered again all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœle-Syria, excepting only Tyre and Sidon, which, being well garrisoned, held out against him for Antigonus. For the reduction of them he first laid siege

to Sidon; but as he was carrying it on, being informed that Antigonus had beaten Seleucus and Lysimachus, and was marching against him for the relief of the place, he suffered himself to be imposed on by this false report; and therefore forthwith making a truce with the Sidonians for five months, raised the siege, and returned into Egypt.

Signal overthrow of Antigonus and Demetrius at Ipsus: death of Antigonus.—In the mean time, the forces of the confederated princes being got together under the command of Seleucus and Lysimachus on the one hand, and Demetrius having joined Antigonus on the other, the controversy between them was soon brought to a decisive issue in a fierce battle, wherein they engaged with their whole forces against each other, near a city in Phrygia, called Ipsus; in which Antigonus being slain, and his army broken and defeated, the confederates gained an absolute victory. Antigonus was past eighty years old, some say past eighty-four, when he thus fell. Demetrius, finding the battle lost, and his father slain, made his escape to Ephesus with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, which were all the remains which he could pick up of near ninety thousand men with which he and his father entered the field of battle. With these he went on board his fleet, which he had there left on his coming out of Greece; and shifting from place to place, sometimes met with good fortune and sometimes with bad: and although he still retained some territories in Greece and elsewhere, and afterwards for some years reigned in Macedonia, yet he could never recover his father's empire: but, for the seventeen years which he afterwards lived, met with disappointments in all attempts which he made towards it, till at length, falling into the hands of Seleucus, he died in the prison which he confined him to. Among the territories which he retained for some time after this battle, were Tyre and Sidon, and the island of Cyprus.

Empire of Alexander the Great finally divided between Ptolemy, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus: the four horns of the he-goat of Daniel's prophecies.—After the death of Antigonus, the four confederated princes divided his dominions between them; and hereby the whole empire of Alexander became parted, and settled into four kingdoms. Ptolemy had

Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœle-Syria, and Palestine; Cassander, Macedon and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, Bithynia, and some other of the provinces beyond the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; and Seleucus all the rest. And these four were the four horns of the he-goat mentioned in the prophecies of the prophet Daniel, which grew up after the breaking off of the first horn. That first horn was Alexander, king of Grecia, who overthrew the kingdom of the Medes and Persians; and the other four horns were these four kings, who sprung up after him, and divided his empire between them. And these also were the four heads of the leopard, spoken of in another place of the same prophecies. And their four kingdoms were the four parts into which, according to the same prophet, the "kingdom of the mighty king (i. e. of Alexander) should be broken, and divided towards (i. e. according to the number of) the four winds of heaven," among those four kings, "who should not be of his posterity," as neither of the four above-mentioned were. And therefore by this last partition of the empire of Alexander were all these prophecies exactly fulfilled. There were indeed former partitions of it into provinces among governors, under the brother and son of Alexander: but this last only was a partition of it into kingdoms among kings; and therefore of this only can these prophecies be understood. For it is plain they speak of the four successors of Alexander as of four kings; where they are represented by four horns, they are expressly called so; and where they are represented by four heads, the very symbol speaks them so. For who are heads of kingdoms but the kings that reign over them? The leopard in that prophecy was the empire of the Macedonians, and the four heads were the four kings that after Alexander divided it into four kingdoms, and as kings reigned over them. But none of Alexander's successors were kings till about three years before this last division of his empire was made. At first indeed there were five kings of these successors; but Antigonus, not being king above three years, and his kingdom being absolutely extinguished in his death, for this reason these prophecies take no notice of him, but confine the succession of the great horn to these four only who conquered him. And it is further to be observed, that though Antigonus and the other four called themselves kings three years before the battle of Ipsus, which produced this last partition, yet it was till then only a precarious title, which each assumed by his own authority only. But after this battle, there being a league made between the four survivors who conquered in it, whereby each of them had

their dominions set out to them into so many kingdoms, and each of them were authorized by the consent of all to govern them as kings, independent of all superiors; from this time only can their respective divisions

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be truly and properly reckoned as kingdoms, and they as kings to preside over them. And in all their contests, which they or their successors afterwards had about the limits of their several kingdoms, they always appealed to this league, as the original charter by which they held their kingdoms, and that regal authority by which they reigned over them. And therefore, from the making of this league only can they properly and in the truest sense be called kings; and they were four only, that is, Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, that were so by virtue of it. And to these four do the prophecies refer.

Accession of Simon the Just to the high priesthood of the Jews, 300.—Onias, the first of that name, high priest of the Jews, being dead, he was succeeded in the high priesthood by Simon his son, who from the holiness of his life, and the great righteousness which shone forth in all his actions, was called Simon the Just. He was the first of that name that was high priest, and lived in that office nine years.

Seleucus fixes his residence at Antioch: description and history of Antioch.—Seleucus, after his victory over Antigonus, having seized the Upper Syria, there built Antioch on the river Orontes, which afterwards for many years became the queen of the East. For here the Syrian kings had the seat of their empire; and here the Roman governors who presided over the affairs of the East had their residence; and when Christianity prevailed, it became the see of the chief patriarch of the Asian churches. It was situated on the river Orontes, at the distance of about twenty miles from the place where it falls into the Mediterranean Sea. It is reckoned to be in the midway, by land, between Constantinople and Alexandria in Egypt, and to be about seven hundred miles distant from each. He called it Antioch, say some, from the name of his father; others, from the name of his son; and others, from that of both. For Antiochus was the name of his father, as well as of the son that succeeded him in his kingdom. He built sixteen other

cities, which he called by the same name, whereof one was in Pisidia, of which mention is made in the Scripture. But Antioch on the Orontes was the most remarkable of them. Antigonus had not long before built a city in the neighbourhood, which from his name he called Antigonia, and intended to have made it the chief seat of his empire. This Seleucus razed to the ground, and having employed the materials to build this new city, transplanted all the inhabitants thither. These cities having both stood on the Orontes, and very near each other, the benefit of the river, and the smallness of the distance, made the transportation the more easy. He built also several other cities in that country, whereof there were three of especial note; one of them he called Seleucia, from his own name; another Apamia, from Apama his wife, the daughter of Artabazus the Persian; and the third Laodicea, from Laodice his mother. Apamia and Seleucia stood upon the same river with Antioch; the former above it, and the other fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the

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sea: and upon the same coast towards the south lay Laodicea. For the sake of these four cities, the country in which they stood had the name of Tetrapolis, i. e. "the country of the four cities:" not but that there were several other cities in it; but these being of more eminent note, and making four distinct governments, on which all the rest were dependents, from hence they gave occasion for the name to that country; and indeed it was no more than an occasional name given it for this reason. The true name of it was Seleucis: this Seleucus gave it from his own name; and it extended southward as far as Cœle-Syria: for Syria was divided into three parts; Syria properly so called, Cole-Syria, or the hollow Syria, and Syria Palestina. The first of these, which I call the Upper Syria, contained Commagena, Cyrrhestica, Seleucis, and some other small districts, and extended from the mountain Amanus on the north to the mountain Libanus on the south, and was afterwards called Syria Antiochena. The second reached from Libanus to Anti-Libanus, including Damascus and its territories, which consisting mostly of deep valleys between high mountains, it was for this reason called Cæle-Syria, i. e. the hollow Syria. From Anti-Libanus to the borders of Egypt was Syria Palestina: and the maritime parts of the two latter, from

Aradus to Gaza, was that which the Greeks called Phœnicia. But not only Seleucis, but Antioch itself was also called Tetrapolis, but from another reason, that is, because it consisted of four quarters as of so many cities: the first of them only was built by Seleucus; the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the Syro-Macedonian empire; the third by Seleucus Callinicus; and the fourth by Antiochus Epiphanes. Each of these quarters had its proper wall, whereby it was separated from the rest, and were also enclosed by one common wall encompassing the whole. The place where it stood was very liable to earthquakes, and it often suffered exceedingly by them. However, it continued for near sixteen hundred years to be the chief city of the East, till at length, A. D. 1265, it was taken from the western Christians by Bibars, sultan of Egypt, and utterly destroyed by him. Since that, Aleppo hath succeeded, in its stead, to be the metropolis of those eastern parts. All the walls are still remaining, that is, the walls of each quarter, as well as those which surround the whole; but all being desolated within, excepting some few houses, which make only a small and contemptible village, those four quarters of the city look only as so many fields within their enclosures. It is now called Anthakia, but is remarkable for nothing else but its ruins. The patriarchal see, which once adorned it, hath since its desolation been translated to Damascus. But he that hath at present the title of patriarch of Antioch in that place scarce reacheth the figure formerly borne by the meanest deacon of that church: to so low a condition is the state of Christianity now sunk in those parts.

Luxurious suburb of Daphne.—Daphne was reckoned a suburb of this city, though at the distance of about four or five of our miles from it. There Seleucus planted a grove which was ten miles in compass, and in the middle of it built a temple, and consecrated both to Apollo and Diana, making the whole an asylum. This was the same to Antioch that Baiæ was to Rome, and Canopus to Alexandria; that is, the

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place where the inhabitants resorted for their pleasures, for which it was excellently fitted. For it had most delicious fountains and rivulets of the best water, most pleasant walks of cypress trees in the grove, and the purest air, and everything else that nature could afford for pleasure and delight; which

being further improved by all the arts of luxury, whatsoever could any way administer to a voluptuous enjoyment was there to be had in the utmost excess; and the Antiochians, as their corrupt inclinations led them, there resorted for it. So that though the place had been consecrated to Apollo and Diana, it was by the Antiochians in reality wholly devoted to Bacchus and Venus; which made it so infamous, that Daphnicis moribus vivere, i. e. to live after the manners of Daphne, grew into a proverb, to express the most luxurious and dissolute way of living; and all that had any regard to their reputation for virtue and modesty avoided to go thither. And Cassius the Roman general, on his coming to Antioch, by public proclamation prohibited all his soldiers from going to that place, under the penalty of being cashiered, that they might not be corrupted by the luxury and debaucheries of it. It was so noted a place, that to distinguish this Antioch, near which it lay, from the many other cities that were of the same name elsewhere, as it was sometimes called Antioch on the Orontes, so was it as often called Antioch ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ, i. e. Antioch near Daphne.

Lysimachus marries the daughter of Ptolemy, and Seleucus marries the daughter of Demetrius, 299.—Lysimachus, to strengthen himself in his kingdom, made a strict alliance with Ptolemy, and for the firmer cementing of it, took to wife Arsinoe, one of his daughters, and some time after married another of them to Agathocles his son. Seleucus, following this example, contracted the like alliance with Demetrius, and married his daughter Stratonice, which he had by Phila the sister of Cassander. She being a very beautiful lady, Seleucus, on the fame of it, desired her in marriage; and Demetrius, being then in a low condition, was glad of so potent an ally, and therefore readily laid hold of the proposal, and forthwith sailing from Greece, where he had still some towns, carried her, with the whole fleet that he had then remaining, into Syria. In his way thither, he made a descent upon Cilicia, which was then held by Plistarchus, brother of Cassander, by the gift of the four kings after the death of Antigonus. Hereon Plistarchus went to Seleucus to complain of the wrong, and to expostulate with him for making an alliance with the common enemy, without consent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be contrary to the league that was made between them. Demetrius, having intelligence hereof, marched immediately to Quinda, where the public treasury of the country was kept,

and having seized all the money he found in it, which amounted to twelve hundred talents, hastened back to his fleet with the prey, and putting it all on board, sailed to Orassus, a maritime town in Syria, where he met Seleucus, and delivered to him his bride: and after some days there spent in nuptial feasts, and mutual treats and entertainments, he sailed back again into Cilicia, and made himself master of the whole province, and then sent Phila his wife to Cassander her brother to excuse the matter.

Dissension between Seleucus and Demetrius, 298.—By this means the power of Demetrius began again to grow in those parts; for he had there on this acquisition all the province of Cilicia, the whole island of Cyprus, and the two strong and wealthy cities of Tyre and Sidon in Phœnicia: which making Seleucus jealous of his neighbourhood, he would have bought him out of Cilicia for a large sum of money, which he offered him for the purchase. But Demetrius not accepting the bargain, he would have picked a quarrel with him about Tyre and Sidon, demanding them of him, in great anger, as cities belonging to Syria, of which he was king. To which Demetrius returned as angry an answer, telling him, that though he should be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never buy a son-in-law at such a rate; and immediately hereon sailed to both those cities, and having strengthened the garrisons he had in them with more forces, and furnished them with all things necessary for their defence, he defeated for the present the design which Seleucus then had of taking them from him. So that Seleucus got nothing hereby but an ill name: for he was generally blamed and reflected on for his insatiable greediness, in that having so large an extent of dominion, as reached from the river Indus to the Mediterranean Sea, he would not let his father-in-law quietly enjoy these poor remains of his broken fortunes.

Megasthenes composes his Indian history.—About this time flourished Megasthenes, who wrote a history of India: for he was a confidant of Seleucus's; and having been employed by him in his transactions with Sandrocottus, king of India, and resided with him some time in that country, and gone over a great part of it, he then gathered up those materials out of which he afterwards composed his book. Some fragments of it are

preserved by Josephus and Eusebius, wherein he makes mention of Nebuchadnezzar, and the greatness of his power: and he is often quoted by Strabo, and other ancient writers, as Athenæus, Arrian, Cicero, Pliny, and Solinus. But the book itself is not now extant. Annius, a lying monk of Viterbo in Italy, who was born anno 1437, and flourished towards the end of that century, counterfeited several books under old names, of which number were Manetho, Berosus, and Megasthenes, whom he called Metasthenes, out of a mistake, which he was led into by Rufinus's Latin version of Josephus; and this first gave occasion for the discovery of the cheat. Those books he published with a comment upon them, and for some time they went for the genuine works of the authors whose names they bore; but are now exploded everywhere as fictions, framed of purpose to impose a cheat upon the world. And of the same stamp are Inghiramius's Etruscan Antiquities, and Jeffrey of Monmouth's British History: for all these are no other than the fictions of the first editors. They framed them to perpetuate their names by the publication: and they have truly done so; for they are still remembered for it, but no otherwise than under the style of infamous impostors.

Death of Cassander.—Cassander, having governed Macedon from the death of his father nineteen years, died of a dropsy, leaving behind him, by Thessalonice his wife, one of the sisters of Alexander the Great, three sons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander; Philip, who succeeded him in the kingdom, dying soon after, left the crown to be contested for between his two brothers that survived.

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, regains his kingdom by the assistance of Ptolemy, 297.—Pyrrhus, the famous king of Epirus, being in Egypt, there married Antigone, one of Ptolemy's family. He, having been kept out of his kingdom by Neoptolemus a usurper, followed Demetrius in his wars while very young, and fought valiantly in his cause in the battle of Ipsus, and after that continued with him till the marriage of Seleucus with Stratonice. Then, by the interposition of Seleucus, peace and reconciliation having been made between Demetrius and Ptolemy, Pyrrhus was delivered to Ptolemy as a hostage, on the part of Demetrius, for the performance of the articles, and

carried by him into Egypt; where having, by his generous and noble deportment, gained much upon the favour of that prince, he gave him in marriage Antigone, the daughter of Berenice, his best beloved wife. Ptolemy had another wife, called Eurydice, who was the daughter of Antipater, and sister to Cassander. When Antipater sent this lady into Egypt to be married to Ptolemy, he sent with her for a companion Berenice, she being then the widow of one Philip, a Macedonian, newly deceased, by whom she had this Antigone. On her arrival in Egypt, she soon grew so much into the liking of Ptolemy, that he married her also, and loved her much more than any other wife he had. And therefore, on Pyrrhus's having married her daughter, she prevailed with Ptolemy to assist him with a fleet and money; by means whereof he recovered his kingdom, and from this beginning grew up to be the most eminent person of the age in which he lived.

Proceedings of Demetrius in Samaria: wars in Greece: losses in Asia, 296, 295.—Demetrius from Tyre made an inroad upon the Samaritans, and wasted Samaria; so saith Eusebius, and it is certain that at this time Demetrius was in possession of Tyre and Sidon; but it is more likely that this was done by Demetrius's lieutenants in those parts, than by Demetrius himself in person: for according to all other histories, Demetrius's wars in Greece detained him there all this year, and also the next [B. C. 295]. For the Athenians having revolted from Demetrius, after the reduction of the Messenians (which had been the work of the former year), he employed a whole year in the siege of Athens, and at length, by famine, forced them to a surrender. After Demetrius had settled his affairs at Athens, he formed a design for the subduing of the Lacedæmonians, and having overthrown them in two battles, would certainly have succeeded in the enterprise, but that when he was going to make an assault upon the city of Lacedæmon, and must in all likelihood have taken it, a message came to him, that Lysimachus, having with a great army invaded his territories in Asia, had taken from him all the cities which he had in those parts;

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and immediately after that another, that Ptolemy had made a descent upon Cyprus, and taken from him all that island, except only the city of

Salamine, into which his mother, his wife, and children were retired, and that he pressed that place with a hard siege. All these grievous tidings coming one upon the back of the other, drew back Demetrius from Lacedæmon to look after his other affairs, when he was just ready to have taken that city. And not long after he had an account that Salamine was also lost. But Ptolemy was so generous, that on his mastering the place, he sent him his mother, and his wife and children, without ransom, with all the persons, equipage, and effects, that belonged to them, adding also several magnificent presents, and all manner of honour at their dismission. And when Ptolemy had thus made himself master of Cyprus, then most likely was it that Tyre and Sidon fell into his hands also, it not being possible that after the loss of Cyprus Demetrius could any longer keep them. At the same time, it seems most likely Demetrius also lost Cilicia to Seleucus: for from this time we find the latter only in the possession of this province, and all the cities in it: and no time seems more proper for Seleucus to have seized it, than when this declension of Demetrius's fortunes in those eastern parts had put it out of his power any longer to defend it against him.

Contest between the two sons of Cassander for the kingdom of Macedonia: Demetrius obtains the kingdom, 294. —The contest going on between Antipater and Alexander, the sons of Cassander, about the kingdom of Macedon, and Thessalonice, the mother of both, favouring the younger son, this so exasperated Antipater, the eldest of them, against her, that, in an impious rage, he fell upon her, and slew her with his own hands, notwithstanding she earnestly supplicated to him, by the breasts with which she had nourished him, to spare her life. This accident gave a favourable turn to the fortunes of Demetrius. For Alexander, the other brother, to be revenged on Antipater for this horrid fact, called in Demetrius to his assistance; which opened him a way to the throne of Macedon. For the wicked parricide of Antipater, in murdering his mother, having created a general detestation of him, by that time Demetrius had with his army reached the borders of Macedon, he was deserted of all men, and forced to fly into Thracia, where he soon after perished in banishment. Alexander, being thus rid of his brother, desired to be rid of Demetrius also; in order whereto he laid a design to cut him off; which Demetrius having notice of, was beforehand with him, and first cut off Alexander, by slaying him at an

entertainment, in the same manner as Alexander had laid the plot to have slain him, and thereon got the kingdom of Macedon in his stead, where he reigned seven years, till another cross turn of fortune threw him again out of that kingdom, and a while after he was cast out of everything else that he had been possessed of. By the death of Thessalonice and her two sons, the whole royal family of Philip king of Macedon was utterly extirpated, as that of Alexander had been before in the death of Alexander Ægus and Hercules his sons. And so these two kings, who by their oppressive and destructive wars had made many tragedies in other princes' families, had them

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all at length, by the just ordination of Providence, brought home to their own, both Philip and Alexander, their wives, and all that were descended of them, dying violent deaths.

Seleucus builds Seleucia on the Tigris: Babylonians flock to the new city, 293.—About this time Seleucus built Seleucia on the Tigris, at the distance of forty miles from Babylon. It was placed on the western side of that river, over against the place where now Bagdad stands on the eastern side, which soon grew to be a very great city. For Pliny tells us it had in it six hundred thousand inhabitants, and there are not much above one hundred thousand more in London, which is now (waiving the fabulous account which is given of Nankin in China) beyond all dispute the biggest city in the world. For by reason of the breaking down of the banks of the Euphrates, the country near Babylon being drowned, and the branch of that river, which passed through the middle of the city, being shallowed and rendered unnavigable, this made the situation of Babylon by this time so very inconvenient, that when this new city was built, it soon drained the other of all its inhabitants. For it being situated much more commodiously, and by the founder made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the Euphrates, and the place of his residence whenever he came into those parts, in the same manner as Antioch was for the other provinces which were on this side that river, for the sake of these advantages, the Babylonians in great numbers left their old habitations, and flocked to Seleucia. And besides, Seleucus, having called this city by his own name, and designed it for an eminent monument thereof in after-ages, gave it

many privileges above the other cities of the East, the better to make it answer this purpose; and these were a further invitation to the Babylonians to transplant themselves to it.

Desolation of Babylon.—And by these means, in a short time after the building of Seleucia, Babylon became wholly desolated, so that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore Pliny tells us, "That it was exhausted of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation, by the neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator built there on purpose for this end." And Strabo saith the same, as doth also Pausanias in his Arcadics, where he tells us, "That Babylon, once the greatest city that the sun ever saw, had in his time (i. e. about the middle of the second century) nothing left but its walls." These remained long after: for the space within being made a park by the Parthian kings, for the keeping of wild beasts in it for their hunting, the walls were kept up to serve for a fence to the enclosure; and in this state it was in Jerome's time, who lived in the fourth century. For he tells us, "That excepting the walls, which were repaired for the enclosing of the wild beasts that were there kept, all within was desolation:" and in another place, "That Babylon was nothing else in his time but a chase for wild beasts, kept within the compass of its ancient walls for the hunting of the king," that is, of Persia. For after the Parthians, there reigned in Jerome's time over

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those countries a race of Persian kings, and continued there to the time of the Saracen empire, by which they were extinguished. When or how those walls became demolished is nowhere said, no writer for several hundred years after Jerome's time speaking any more of this place. The first after him that makes mention of it is Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Navarre, who in his Itinerary, which he wrote near six hundred years since (for he died in the year of our Lord 1173), tells us, that he was upon the place where this old city formerly stood, and found it then wholly desolated and destroyed; only he saith, "Some ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace were then still remaining, but men were afraid to go near them by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that were then in the place." Texeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his Travels from India to Italy, tells us, "That there was

nothing then remaining of this old and famous city, but only some few footsteps of it; and that there was no place in all that country less frequented than that tract of ground whereon it formerly stood." And Rauwolf, a German traveller, who passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, tells us the same thing. His words are as followeth: "The village of Elugo lieth on the place where formerly old Babylon, the metropolis of Chaldea, did stand. The harbour lieth a quarter of a league off, whereunto those used to go that intend to travel by land to the famous city of Bagdad, which is situated further to the East, on the river Tigris, at a day and a half's distance. This country is so dry and barren that it cannot be tilled, and so bare that I should have doubted very much whether this potent and powerful city (which once was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of Sinar) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation and several ancient and delicate antiquities that still are standing hereabout in great desolation. First, by the old bridge which was laid over the Euphrates, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining, built of burnt brick, and so strong that it is admirable. Just before the village of Elugo is the hill whereon the castle did stand, in a plain, whereon you may still see some ruins of the fortification, which is quite demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty near to it, did stand the tower of Babylon. This we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but it is so mightily ruined and low, and so full of venomous reptiles, that have bored holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter, when they come not out of their holes. Among these reptiles there are chiefly some, in the Persian language called eglo by the inhabitants, that are very poisonous: they are bigger than our lizards," &c. All which ruins, here mentioned by Rauwolf, are no doubt the same which Benjamin of Tudela saith were the ruins of the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, that is, the old palace which stood on the eastern side of the river; for it is of that only that Benjamin and Rauwolf speak. Of the ruins of Babylon on the western side, where the new palace stood which Nebuchadnezzar himself built, neither of them do take any notice.

Fulfilment of the prophecies of Isaiah.—All this put together shows how fully and exactly hath been fulfilled all that which the prophet

Isaiah prophesied of this place. For his words concerning it (ch. xiii. 19-22) are as followeth:—"And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah; it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation, neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their folds there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces: and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged." Thus far Isaiah: and besides this there are several other prophecies in the other prophets to the same purpose, which have been already taken notice of.

The name of Babylon subsequently applied to Seleucia.—It must be acknowledged that there is mention made of Babylon, as of a city standing long after the time where I have placed its desolation, as in Lucan, Philostratus, and others. But in all those authors, and wherever else we find Babylon spoken of as a city in being after the time of Seleucus Nicator, it must be understood, not of old Babylon on the Euphrates, but of Seleucia on the Tigris. For as that succeeded in the dignity and grandeur of old Babylon, so also did it in its name. At first it was called Seleucia Babylonia, that is, the Babylonic Seleucia, or Seleucia of the province of Babylon, to distinguish it from the other Seleucias which were elsewhere, and after that Babylonia simply, and at length Babylon. That Lucan by his Babylon, in the first book of his Pharsalia, means none other than Seleucia, or the new Babylon, is plain. For he there speaks of it as the metropolis of the Parthian kingdom, where the trophies of Crassus were hung up after the vanquishing of the Romans at Carrhæ; which can be understood only of the Seleucian or new Babylon, and not of the old. For that new Babylon only was the seat of the Parthian kings, but the old Babylon never. And in another place where he makes mention of this Babylon (i. e. book vi. 50), he describes it as surrounded by the Tigris in the same manner as Antioch was by the Orontes: but it was the Seleucian or the new Babylon, and not the old, that stood upon the Tigris. And as to Philostratus, when he brings his Apollonius (the Don Quixote of his romance) to the royal seat of the Parthian king,

which was at that time at Seleucia, then called Babylon, he was led by that name into this gross blunder, as to mistake it for the old Babylon: and therefore, in the describing of it, he gives us the same description which he found given of old Babylon, in Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and other writers. But it is no unusual thing for romancers often to make blunders and mistakes in geography of the places where they lay the scenes of their fables: and that the whole story of Apollonius Tyaneus,

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as written by Philostratus, is no more than a romance and a fable, is well known. And perchance the giving of the name of Babylon to Seleucia was that which gave rise to the present vulgar error that Bagdad is now situated in the very place where formerly old Babylon stood. For when Bagdad was first built, it was truly upon the same plot of ground where formerly Seleucia or new Babylon stood. For as old Babylon was exhausted by Seleucia, so afterwards was Seleucia, by Ctesephon and Almadayen, and these two again by Bagdad; it being the humour of the princes of those ages to build new cities to be monuments of their names, and to desolate old ones in the neighbourhood for the peopling of them. By this means Seleucia being reduced to a desolation, as well as Babylon, at the time when Abu Jaafar Almansur, caliph or emperor of the Saracens, begun his reign (which was in the year of the Lord 754), it had nothing upon it but the cell of a Christian monk called Dad, and a garden adjoining to it: from whence it had the name of Bagdad, that is, in the language of that country, the garden of Dad. And upon this place was the city first built, which hath ever since been called by this name of Bagdad. For the same Almansur being resolved, out of dislike to Hashemia, where his predecessor before resided, to build him a new city to be the capital seat of his empire, chose that place for it where this garden lay; and there in the year of our Lord 762 erected this city upon the very foundations on which formerly Seleucia had stood, on the west side of the Tigris. But not long after it was translated over to the other side, and there it at present stands, about three miles above the place where Ctesephon was formerly situated on the same side of the river, that is, on the eastern side: and that which was first built on the western side is now no more than a suburb to it. This city, from the reign of Almansur, was for

many years the capital of the Saracen empire, and still remains a place of great note in the East. But they are much mistaken who think it the same with old Babylon; for that was upon the Euphrates, but Bagdad is upon the Tigris, at the distance of forty miles from the place where that old city stood.

[Present state of the Ruins of Babylon.—"On the river Euphrates, and about 50 miles south of Bagdad, stands the town of Hillah. The road between Bagdad and Hillah lies through a level but uncultivated plain, though the dry beds of numerous canals, and the fragments of bricks and tiles strewed everywhere around, are proofs of its former different state. Nine miles north of Hillah, at the village of Mohawill, the ruins may be said to commence; and about five miles north of Hillah, and on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, the traveller approaches the great mounds of ancient Babylon. The latter at first sight

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appear to be natural hills, but a closer examination soon clearly shows that they are composed of bricks, and are evidently the remains of large buildings. Three of these immense mounds are found in succession from north to south. The first is called Mujelibe, or 'the overturned;' the second, El Kasr, or 'the palace;' and the third, Amram, from its supporting a small tomb of some Mahommedan saint of that name.

"Mujelibe is the loftiest of these gigantic mounds, and the Haroot and Maroot of Arabian tradition. It is an oblong square composed of sun-dried bricks, consolidated into huge sustaining masses by the intervention of reeds and slime. It is 140 feet high, and its sides face the four cardinal points. The side to the north and that to the west each measure about 550 feet along their bases; whilst those to the south and east are each 230 feet. The summit presents an uneven surface, and the entire mass seems to have been a platform upon which some great buildings were formerly erected. The interior is full of ravines and holes, which are literally garrisoned by the wild beasts of the desert, and the loathsome smell which issues from their dens is sufficient to deter the traveller from attempting to enter. Rennell erroneously supposed that this pile was the ancient temple of Belus,

but no such pyramidal succession of towers as Herodotus describes could ever have surmounted it, or otherwise a slight elevation at least would have been found towards the middle of the summit, whereas it there sinks in a deep hollow. It seems to have been the citadel of the great palace, which we shall next describe.

"At 2250 feet south of Mujelibe is the second hill, named El Kasr, or 'the palace.' This is a grand heap of ruins, forming nearly a square of about 700 yards in length and breadth, and rising about 70 feet above the general level. The bricks of which it is constructed are of the very finest description, and not sun-dried like those of Mujelibe, but baked in the furnace and ornamented with inscriptions. Each brick is placed with its written face downwards on a layer of cement, which scarcely exceeds the twentieth part of an inch in thickness; but at the same time the whole mass is so firm, that Porter experienced considerable difficulty in chipping off a few pieces. Fragments of alabaster vessels are also found here, together with fine earthenware, marble, and great quantities of polished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which present all the freshness of a modern material. Along the western and northern face of the mound are detached portions of a wall, which probably composed the piers or buttresses of the terraces, attached to the celebrated hanging gardens described by Diodorus, and which, according to Curtius, had the appearance of a forest.

"About 2400 feet from Kasr is the Amram hill. This is a triangular mass, of which the south-western side is 4200 feet, the eastern 3300 feet, and the northern 2500 feet. The entire heap is broken, like that of the Kasr, into deep caverned ravines and long winding furrows, from the number of bricks that have been taken away. Its former state or designation it is impossible to determine. At present it is a shapeless assemblage of bricks, mortar, and cement, where the foot of the traveller plunges at every step into dust and rubbish.

"Several smaller mounds are scattered around these three enormous masses, and the whole space is surrounded by several lofty corresponding ridges or ramparts, which form two sides of a great

triangle, of which the river Euphrates is the base. The length of this base is three miles and three quarters; that of the northern rampart is two miles and three quarters; and that of the southern two miles and a half. Within the triangle, and between the great mounds and the angle formed by the northern and southern ramparts, run two wall lines of defence, parallel with each other, and also parallel with the base formed by the river. On the other side of the great mounds that part of the Euphrates which forms the base of the triangle is defended by a wall enclosure, composed of sun-dried bricks, and rising in some places 60 feet above the bed of the river. Here most probably were fixed the splendid river-gates of brass which are described by Herodotus.

"Thus far we have noticed the ruins on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Herodotus however, as we shall presently see, describes Babylon as a square of fifteen miles every way, and cut in two by the river, the tower of Belus being on one side and the royal palace on the other. Rennell accordingly identifies the tower of Belus with Mujelibe, and the royal palace with Kasr, and supposes that the Euphrates anciently flowed in another channel between these mounds. This theory has been now completely refuted. Not the slightest trace of any such change in the course of the Euphrates could be discovered by either Rich or Porter. Taking it therefore for granted that the mound Kasr represents the royal palace, we must cross the river before we can find the temple of Belus, and here it will be necessary to take a preliminary survey of the present face of the country.

"The reader must imagine himself on the western bank of the Euphrates, and opposite the Kasr and Amram hills. Here the ground is level, low, and marshy, and contains no such mounds as those we have described. A few hillocks are to be seen in the neighbourhood of a village named Anana. There is also a ridge of earth about fourteen feet high, which runs due north for about 300 yards, and then forming a right angle due east, takes that direction till it reaches the river. At its termination the courses of sun-dried bricks are distinctly visible, but this is the only trace of an embankment corresponding to that on the opposite shore. How this western embankment came to be destroyed whilst the opposite one was preserved we cannot conjecture. The fact, however, is certain, and this circumstance may have contributed to the preservation of the eastern mounds, whilst those on the

western bank, unprotected by a corresponding dyke, have been mostly swept away by inundations of the river.

The reader must now be carried a considerable distance. Nine miles south-west of Mujelibe, and six miles in a straight line from Anana, is a huge oblong mass, 200 feet high, and more than 2000 feet in circumference at its base. The Arabs call it Birs Nimroud, or Nimrod's tower. It is composed of fine bricks baked in the furnace, and on the western side rises from the plain in one stupendous, though irregular, pyramidal hill. Rennell, who considers that Herodotus has exaggerated the dimensions of Babylon, will not include this extraordinary ruin within the limits of the city. Modern travellers, however, have been able to trace three out of the eight stories described by Herodotus as belonging to the great temple or tower of Belus, and thus to clear his statements respecting the extraordinary extent of the

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city from the charge of hyperbole. The first story is about 60 feet high, cloven in the middle by a deep ravine, and intersected in all directions by furrows channelled by the successive rains of ages. The second stage springs out of the first in a steep and abrupt conical form. On the summit is a solid mass of tower-like ruin, 28 feet wide and 35 feet high, forming to all appearance the angle of some square building. The ground about the foot of the hill is now clear, but is again surrounded by walls which form an oblong square, and enclose numerous heaps of rubbish, probably once the dwellings of inferior deities, or of the priests and officers of the temple.

"Such then are the remains of the great tower of Belus, or Babel, in the land of Shinar. Its foundation must be carried back to the time of Nimrod, in the second century after the flood, when the nations said, 'Let us build a city and tower, and make us a name.' Probably it was even then consecrated to the worship of Baal or the sun, and thus brought down the vengeance of Jehovah upon the builders; and whilst the descendants of Noah spread over the whole earth, it remained through successive ages a lasting monument of the guilty presumption of their idolatrous ancestors. This supposition in no way militates against the gradual additions and embellishments which it afterwards received, as the primeval temple of a national deity; neither can

anything be argued against its high antiquity from bricks with inscriptions having been found amongst its ruins. It stands not only as a testimony to the veracity of Herodotus, but, above all, as an awful confirmation of the truth of a far more ancient record of a divinely inspired author; a solemn relic of the first and mightiest fabric erected by the hand of man, fulfilling in the present day the sacred words of the prophet, 'wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures." ED.]

Other cities built by Seleucus, and colonized by Jews.—Seleucus built many other cities both in the Greater and Lesser Asia; sixteen of which he called Antioch, from the name of Antiochus his father; nine Seleucia, from his own name; six Laodicea, from the name of Laodice his mother; three Apamia, from Apama his first wife; and one Stratonicea, from Stratonice his last wife; in all which he planted the Jews, giving them equal privileges and immunities with the Greeks and Macedonians, especially at Antioch in Syria, where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as considerable a part of that city as they were at Alexandria. And from hence it was that the Jews became dispersed all over Syria and the Lesser Asia. In the eastern countries beyond the Euphrates they had been settled before, ever since the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was Seleucus Nicator that first gave them settlements in those provinces of Asia which are on this side the Euphrates. For they having been very faithful and serviceable to hìm in his wars, and other trusts and interests, he for this reason gave them these privileges through all the cities which he built. But it seems most likely that they were the Babylonish Jews that first engaged him to be thus favourable to this people: for the Jews of Palestine, being under Ptolemy, were not in a capacity to be serviceable to him. But

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Babylon being the place where he laid the first foundations of his power, and the Jews in those parts being as numerous as the Jews of Palestine, if not more, it is most likely that there they unanimously adhered to his interest, and were the prime strength that he had for the advancement of it; and that for this reason he ever after showed so much favour to them: and it is scarce probable that anything less than this could be a sufficient cause to

procure such great privileges from him, as he afterwards gave to all of that nation.

Death of Simon the Just, and completion of the canon of Scripture, 292.—Simon the Just, high priest of the Jews, dying after he had been nine years in that office, left behind him a son called Onias; but he being an infant, and therefore incapable of succeeding in the high priesthood, Eleazar, the brother of Simon, was substituted high priest in his stead. This Simon, as he had by the uprightness of his actions, and the righteousness of his conversation, both towards God and man, merited the surname of the Just, so also was he in all respects a very extraordinary person; which the character given of him in the fiftieth chapter of Ecclesiasticus sufficiently shows. There many of his good works, for the benefit both of the church and state of the Jews, are mentioned with their due praise. But his chiefest work was the finishing of the canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament. What was done herein by Ezra hath been above related. The books afterwards added were the two books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, and Malachi. That these could not be put into the canon by Ezra is plain; for four of those books are, upon just grounds, supposed to have been written by himself (that is, the two books of Chronicles and the books of Ezra and Esther), and the book of Nehemiah was written after his time, and so most likely was the book of Malachi also; and therefore a later time must be assigned for their insertion into the canon, and none is more likely than that of Simon the Just, who is said to have been the last of the men of the great synagogue. For what the Jews call the great synagogue were a number of elders, amounting to one hundred and twenty, who succeeding some after others, in a continued series, from the return of the Jews again into Judæa, after the Babylonish captivity, to the time of Simon the Just, laboured in the restoring of the Jewish church and state in that country; in order whereto, the Holy Scriptures being the rule they were to go by, their chief care and study was to make a true collection of those Scriptures, and publish them accurately to the people. Ezra, and the men of the great synagogue that lived in his time, completed this work as far as I have said. And as to what remained further to be done in it, where can we better place the performing of it, and the ending and finishing of the whole thereby, than in that time when those men of the great synagogue ended, that were employed therein,

that is, in the time of Simon the Just, who was the last of them? And that especially since there are some particulars in those books which seem necessarily to refer down to times as late as those of Alexander the Great, if not later. For in the third chapter of the First Book of Chronicles,

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we have the genealogy of the sons of Zerubbabel carried down for so many descents after him, as may well be thought to reach the time of Alexander: and in the 12th chapter of Nehemiah (ver. 22), we have the days of Jaddua spoken of, as of days past; but Jaddua outlived Alexander two years. I acknowledge these passages to have been interpolated passages, both put in after the time of Ezra, and after the time of Nehemiah (who were the writers of those books), by those who completed the canon. To say they were inserted by those holy men themselves who wrote the books, the chronology of their history will not bear for then they must have lived down beyond those times which those passages refer us to; but this is inconsistent with what is written of them. And to say that they were put in by any other than those who, by the direction of the Holy Spirit of God, completed the canon of the Scriptures, will be to derogate from their excellency; and, therefore, we must conclude, that since Simon the Just was the last of those that were employed in this work, it was by him that the last finishing hand was put thereto, and that it was in his time, and under his presidency, and chiefly by his direction, that the canon of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, by which we now receive them, was perfected and finally settled in the Jewish church.

And thus far having brought down this history through the Scripture times, till the canon of the Scriptures of the Old Testament was fully perfected, I shall here end the first part of it. After this followed the Mishnical times, that is, the times of traditions. Hitherto the Scriptures were the only rule of faith and manners which God's people studied: but thenceforth traditions began to be regarded, till at length they overbore the word of God itself, as we find in our Saviour's time. The collection of those traditions they call the Mishnah, that is, the second law, and those who delivered and taught them were styled the Mishnical doctors. From the death of Simon the Just their time began, and they continued to be known

by that name, till Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh collected all those traditions together, and wrote them into the book which they call the Mishnah; which was done about one hundred and fifty years after Christ, as hath been above related. The ages in which they flourished, till the time of Christ, shall be the subject of the Second Part of this History.